

| THE ARCHITECTURE OF RED VIENNA |

THE ARCHITECTURE OF RED VIENNA 1919–1934

EVE BLAU

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To George Blau and Gertrud Marie Blau, whose
memories of the Vienna of their childhood gave me
special access to the time and place.

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THE ARCHITECTURE OF RED VIENNA

Introduction In 1919 the Social Democratic city council of Vienna initiated a radical program of municipal reforms designed to reshape the social and economic infrastructure of the Austrian capital along socialist lines. The centerpiece of this program and the most enduring achievement of “Red” Vienna was the construction of the Wiener Gemeindebauten, 400 communal housing blocks in which workers’ dwellings were incorporated with kindergartens, libraries, medical and dental clinics, laundries, workshops, theaters, cooperative stores, public gardens, sports facilities, and a wide range of other public facilities. Distributed throughout the city, the *Gemeindebauten* provided Vienna with not only a large amount of new living space—64,000 units in which one-tenth of the city’s population was rehoused—but also a vast new infrastructure of social services and cultural institutions (figure i.1).

The building program was carried out by the first socialist city administration to govern a major European capital and metropolis of two million inhabitants. As that government’s most visible achievement, the *Gemeindebauten* were understood to have been shaped by its political purposes, and they became its symbol. Yet throughout the socialist building campaign, the capital was an enclave in a country ruled by a conservative, clerical, and rabidly antisocialist political majority. The architecture of Red Vienna, therefore, took shape not only within the context of a socialist program of municipal reforms but also in the midst of highly charged, and often violent, political conflict between right and left (figures i.2 and i.3). In February 1934, when the government troops of Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss and the Austro-fascist *Heimwehr* (militia) stormed the housing blocks, the *Gemeindebauten* became an actual battleground, as well as the site of the first armed resistance to fascism by a European party of the left.¹ Defeated after three days of fighting, both the resistance and Red Vienna itself succumbed to the forces of reaction that would soon overpower much of democratic Europe. In the contemporary press, the torn and battered *Gemeindebauten* were portrayed as Europe’s “Fallen Bastions,” and became the symbols not so much of resistance and political resolve as of defeat (figure i.4). Indeed, as symbols, the buildings of Red Vienna, which were so inextricably bound up with the politics of the time, were shaped and reshaped by political events and by history.

As architecture, too, the *Gemeindebauten* have been understood largely in terms of the political events that overtook them: as an example of architecture allied to political purposes and shaped by political and economic forces.² But just what those political purposes and forces were, and what their relationship was to the architectural forms and spaces produced by Red Vienna, is still far from clear.

To the British journalist G. E. R. Gedye, who witnessed the shelling of the Karl-Marx-Hof and the rout of the socialist administration from Vienna by Dollfuss and the *Heimwehr* in 1934, as well as the subsequent annexation of Austria and Adolf Hitler’s triumphant entry into Vienna in March 1938, the significance of the *Gemeindebauten* was evident: they provided “the best object lesson in the world of what Socialism can and cannot do on a democratic basis in a Socialist capital of an anti-Socialist State.” Shell-torn and bullet-scarred in 1939 (figure i.5), they spoke not only of socialism but also of “the meaning of Fascism.”³ The *Gemeindebauten* were the very embodiment of ideological conflict.

It is my concern in this book to understand how that conflict both marked and shaped the buildings of Red Vienna—in terms of their program, spatial conception, language, and use—as well as how political meaning itself is manifest in architecture. My purpose, therefore, is not only to explore how the political ideology of those who sponsored their making is expressed (or reified) in the forms of the *Gemeindebauten*,

1.2. Top: "The Red Metropolis." Socialist propaganda from *Der Kuckuck*, 17 April 1932, 1.

1.3. "Constitutional reform—as the Heimwehr would like it!" Socialist propaganda from *Der Kuckuck*, 6 October 1928, 1.



DIE ROTEN MILLIONENSTADT

IST HOFFUNG UND ERHEBUNG DER ARBEITENDEN
VÖLKER ALLER KAPITALISTISCHEN LÄNDER DER WEIT

**DARUM BLEIBE WIEN ROT
IMMERDARI**

Der Kuckuck
1932



or how this episode reveals the contradictions and ideological conflicts inherent in the historical moment. Rather it is to ask how the architecture of Red Vienna itself constructed meaning in relation to the ideological conflicts that defined Austrian politics in the interwar period; it is to examine both how that architecture was shaped by the conditions of its making and how it engaged its own codes, practices, and history to stake out a political position in relation to those conditions. To ask this question is to propose a methodology that combines analysis of ideological currents and of social, economic, and political history with a close reading of the architecture itself, one that allows for both the operations of ideology and the instrumentality of a form of knowledge particular to architecture. The underlying premise for such a methodology emerges from a consideration of the historiography of Red Vienna itself.

At the time they were built, the *Gemeindebauten* represented an extraordinary achievement under difficult circumstances. Vienna had emerged from World War I bankrupt and diminished, the capital no longer of an empire but of a group of rural and alpine provinces named the Republic of German-Austria.⁴ Cut off from its former sources of coal, oil, and food, Vienna, in the first years of the republic, hovered on the edge of economic collapse and famine. Operating at continuously increasing deficits, Austria itself survived by securing loans and inflating the currency. By the time the Austrian crown (*krone*) stabilized in 1922, it was worth a fraction of its prewar value.⁵

During this period the socialists played a key role in sustaining the republic. Founded in 1889, the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria had won a few seats in Parliament, but had otherwise been unable to achieve much before World War I. After the war, however, the Social Democrats emerged as the only political group that was capable of controlling the masses of unemployed workers and ex-soldiers and averting a



1.4 Left: Josef Schneider and C. Zell, *Der Fall der Roten Festung* (Vienna: Marx, 1934).

1.5 Karl-Marx-Hof, 18 February 1934. Photo showing shell damage.

Bolshevik revolution in Austria (as occurred in neighboring Hungary and Bavaria in 1918). But once the threat of a communist revolution in Austria had subsided at the end of 1919, the Social Democrats began to lose influence in national politics, and by June 1920 the party ceased to play a central role in the power politics of the Republic.⁴ In the meantime, the first socialist mayor of Vienna had been elected in May 1919. The Social Democrats therefore retreated to the capital, where they decided to make “Red Vienna” a model of municipal socialism that would prefigure the future socialist society.

When they came to power in Vienna, the Social Democrats inherited not only a depleted municipal

budget but an acute housing shortage. This was the result primarily of a long history of official neglect of the living conditions of Vienna’s industrial workers, who were housed in quarters considered to be among the worst in Europe. It was also the consequence of an urban economic structure that permitted landlords in Vienna to maintain quasi-monopolistic control over the housing market. The inequity of this situation led to violent conflict between tenants and landlords, and to a deeply felt class hatred between the proletariat and petit bourgeois house-owning classes in Vienna.

It was therefore a matter not just of ideology but of the utmost political urgency that the Social Democrats address this problem swiftly and decisively. Con-

sequently, in 1923, as soon as the Austrian currency stabilized, the socialist city council began building on a large scale. By 1934, during a fifteen-year period of political and economic instability, 64,000 dwellings were built in which 200,000 people were rehoused. The new housing was financed out of taxes, which were sharply graded to put the burden on the rich, and built at a nonrecoverable cost to the municipality. (The rents that the city charged its tenants amounted to less than 3.5 percent of the average semiskilled worker's income, and they were intended to cover only regular maintenance and repair costs.)

For the Social Democrats the building program was the centerpiece of a wide-ranging program of municipal reforms designed to reshape the traditional *Volkskultur* (popular or folk culture) of the Viennese working class into a new *Arbeiterkultur* (socialized working-class culture) through a broad set of social and cultural institutions concerned with education, housing, health, and child care. Through these organizations, which drew male and female workers into an extensive network of communal activities (from athletic competitions to travel clubs and music societies), the Social Democrats set about to transform the Viennese proletariat into "a new socialized humanity." The *Gemeindebauten*, which were distributed throughout Vienna (most within two to three miles of the city center) were to be the principal sites for the development of this new socialized urban culture. Incorporating worker housing with the new cultural and social institutions, they were part dwellings, part public buildings.

Even before fighting broke out in 1934, the *Gemeindebauten* were the focus of intense ideological conflict in Vienna. Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s there was almost no public discussion of the buildings that was not politically partisan and factious.⁷ The conservative opposition consistently attacked both the tax policies and techniques implemented by the Social Democrats and the forms of the

buildings themselves. In antisocialist propaganda the *Gemeindebauten* were portrayed as socialist "voter blocks" and "red fortresses," which, it was suggested, were monumentally built and strategically sited throughout the city (in middle-class districts and near bridges, railway stations, and major traffic arteries) for paramilitary or defensive purposes.

Yet the same qualities of the buildings, in particular their monumentality and dense urban character, were construed by critics on the far left as the products of (compromised) reform socialism and reflections of petit bourgeois ideology. By far the harshest (and the only substantive) critique of the *Gemeindebauten* was that offered by architects who were sympathetic not only to the Social Democrats' social policies but also to the progressive social and cultural program of international modern architecture. As architecture, in other words, the *Gemeindebauten* were problematic from the start.

Advocates of the peripheral *Siedlung* in Vienna—Adolf Loos, Josef Frank, Franz Schuster, and Margarete Lihotzky, among others—were sharply critical of the Social Democrats' building program (though they participated in it) because it seemed to lack the comprehensive plan, technologically advanced building methods, and innovative spatial arrangements that distinguished the housing built under the banner of "the new architecture" in Germany during the same period. Favored by the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning (which met in Vienna in 1926), the exurban German *Siedlungen*—especially those built outside Berlin under the direction of Martin Wagner and outside Frankfurt under Ernst May (who had worked with Raymond Unwin before the war)—were conceived as garden city satellite towns.

The housing typology favored (particularly after 1929) by the architects and planners of the German *Siedlungen* was a new form: the *Zeilenhau*. Fully within the modern idiom, with flat roofs, smooth stucco-faced walls, and horizontal strip windows, these were

widely spaced row-blocks of Taylorized apartments oriented away from the street, preferably along a north-south axis, so that they would face east-west for cross-ventilation and daylight exposure to sun. The *Siedlung* composed of *Zeilenbauten*, containing cellular dwelling units, was the product of extensive typological and technological research into standardization of both spatial units and structural elements and rationalization of the building industry, including experiments in prefabrication, carried out at Frankfurt and within the German housing research institute (*Reichsforschungsgesellschaft für Wirtschaftlichkeit im Bauund Wohnungswesen*).⁸

The Viennese *Gemeindebauten*, by contrast, were designed by architects who had trained in Vienna before World War I, many in Otto Wagner's master class at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. Unlike the German *Zeilenbauten*, their design derived from an indigenous urban building typology; the *Hof-Haus*, or perimeter block. Urban blocks four, five, or six stories high, ranging in size from 20 to 2,000 units, the *Gemeindebauten* were generally larger than the traditional Viennese apartment house; they often occupied an entire city block, sometimes several. Most had gardens, playgrounds, wading pools, and other facilities in their large central courtyards.

Unlike their counterparts in Germany, the Viennese did not experiment with prefabrication; they instead made a special point of using a purposely labor-intensive method of stucco-covered bearing wall construction as a means of creating employment. The buildings, which were designed by more than 190 architects in a period of less than ten years, varied considerably in quality and articulation. Again as part of the city's employment program, in this case for artists and artisans, they were in general elaborately and individually detailed with sculpture, molded and painted decoration, glazed tiles, and ornamental brick and metalwork. The Viennese did, however, standard-

ize and mass-produce doors, windows, stairs, and other fittings.

Compared to the Taylorized living environments of the German *Siedlungen*, with their built-ins and rationalized plans, the individual apartments in the *Gemeindebauten* were small and minimally equipped. They had running water, toilets, gas, and electricity, but no "luxury fittings" such as bathtubs or showers, built-in cupboards, or closets. Instead, the emphasis in the *Gemeindebauten* was on public, communal facilities such as laundries equipped with modern appliances, bathhouses with tubs, showers (some even equipped with steam baths and swimming pools), kindergartens, child-care facilities, clinics, libraries, carpentry shops, meeting rooms, theaters, and even cinemas.

As housing, the Viennese *Gemeindebauten* "worked" in ways that the German housing did not: they were affordable and well served by public transportation (which the German *Siedlungen* often were not), to the general satisfaction of the inhabitants. Architecturally, however, the buildings seemed to lack just those features that had distinguished the German building programs: a unified planning concept, advanced building techniques, and innovative spatial organization. Intricately woven into the existing fabric of the city, and filled with local reference and historical allusion, the *Gemeindebauten* appeared regressive from both a technological and a typological point of view.

International opinion was negative on the same grounds. Werner Hegemann, writing in *Wasmuths Monatshefte* in 1926, lamented that the Viennese building program, which at the time was the most extensive urban architectural undertaking in Central Europe, represented a "missed opportunity." Rather than "large-scale artistic unity" the Social Democrats in Vienna were fostering "architectonic form-chaos." Martin Wagner, city building director of Greater Berlin and a socialist, likewise condemned the Viennese program for failing to "find the proper artistic character

[of socialism] . . . which is unity and equality." In general, the Viennese *Gemeindebauten* were considered by the architectural advance guard to be an eclectic "architecture of compromise," heterodox, self-reflexive, cut off from, and seemingly unaware of, the larger discourse of modernism in European architectural culture.¹⁰

Subsequently, the *Gemeindebauten* were written out of the history of modern architecture. Sigfried Giedion ignored the building program entirely in his canonical history of the "new tradition," *Space, Time, and Architecture* (1941).¹¹ After World War II, the formal pluralism of the Viennese buildings as well as the political content of Red Vienna's program militated against its absorption (especially in the United States in the early years of the cold war) into either a positivist or formalist conception of "international style" modern architecture. In the 1950s, for example, Henry-Russell Hitchcock claimed that "The international acclaim that Viennese low-cost housing of this period received when new seems rather exaggerated now. From the first its significance was more political and sociological than architectural. It happened to be built, moreover, mostly by men not of the newest generation of architects at just the time when an architectural revolution was taking place in France and Holland and Germany."¹² But even historians of the left in Europe, including Leonardo Benevolo, evinced little interest in the heterodox modernism of the *Gemeindebauten*. For Benevolo, the significance of the Viennese building program lay in the techniques employed, especially the system of financing, and the extensive social facilities provided. The architecture, in contrast, did little more than propagate a superficial and "escapist" eclectic modernism of "form" without principle, although the buildings themselves were notable (and noteworthy) for the "Wagnerian monumentality" of their conception.¹³

In fact, the architecture of Red Vienna reached back into the history of modern architecture through

its association with the school and legacy of Otto Wagner. One of the most interesting, but also least carefully examined, aspects of the Viennese building program is the central role played in it by students of Otto Wagner. Of the 190 or so architects employed by the socialist municipality, only around 20 were municipal employees. Most were private architects, and this large majority included internationally known figures like Adolf Loos, Josef Hoffmann, Josef Frank, and Peter Behrens. Most of the large and important commissions, however, went to architects who had trained with Wagner at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna; thirty-three of the architects who designed the *Gemeindebauten* were Wagner students. These included, among others, Karl Ehn, Hubert Gessner, Heinrich Schmid, Hermann Aichinger, and Rudolf Perco, who designed the largest and most significant monuments of Red Vienna: the Karl-Marx-Hof, Reumannhof, Karl-Seitzhof, Rabenhof, Fuchsenfeldhof, and Engelsplatzhof. As Benevolo recognized, it was their work that gave the Viennese program its distinctive character.

These facts are well known, but the questions they raise—why designers of the Wagner School played such a key role in the Viennese building program and why the Social Democrats entrusted the conception of their building program to these architects—have never been satisfactorily answered. In the early research on the Wagner School these questions were not even addressed.¹⁴

The critical rediscovery of Wagner and the Wagner School in the 1960s and 1970s took place within the context of a general reevaluation of the myths, value systems, and methods of the Modern Movement that began in the 1950s; as part of a renewed concern for contextualism and historical continuity in postwar architectural practice.¹⁵ In this context, Wagner, whose own practice and pedagogy focused on urban architecture and in particular on the problem of reconciling the old with the new—of

building in the existing city at a scale commensurate with the technological social character and economic organization of the modern metropolis—seemed to offer a way of connecting with an architectural tradition at once creatively engaged with the facts of modern urban life and rooted in the craft of building and the city. The work of Wagner's students represented not only the legacy of Wagner's own practice and teaching but also the continuation of this tradition. It connected as well to another important turn-of-the-century Viennese school of urban architectural thought: that of Camillo Sitte, whose ideas regarding the three-dimensional conception of urban space were assimilated along with Wagner's monumentally conceived cosmopolitan metropolis into what Friedrich Achleitner has called "a scintillating traditionalism" in the *Gemeindebauten* of Wagner's students.¹⁴

In 1965 Sitte's principles of artistic city planning were made available to English-speaking audiences by George C. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins's translation of *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (*City Planning according to Artistic Principles*), Sitte's central treatise of 1889.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Vincent Scully, in the revised edition of his *Modern Architecture* (1974), reintegrated the Viennese *Gemeindebauten* and the tradition of Otto Wagner and his school (along with other neglected work of the teens and twenties outside the modernist canon) into the history of modern architecture; and he placed an image of the Karl-Marx-Hof, the showpiece of the Viennese program, on the book's cover.¹⁸

In Vienna during these decades, connection to the traditions of building and urban thought represented by Wagner and Sitte was never severed. Research on the Ringstrasse, on the fin de siècle, on Sitte, Wagner, Loos, and Wagner's best-known students, Josef Olbrich, Josef Hoffmann, and Josef Plečnik, was ongoing.¹⁹ The 1980s saw major monographs on Wagner, the Wagner School, Loos, Hoffmann, and Plečnik, as well as exhibitions on all aspects of late-nineteenth-

and early-twentieth-century Viennese architectural culture.²⁰

In the meantime, the political and economic history of Red Vienna and its building program had been written. The first book-length study of the Viennese program was by an American, Charles O. Hardy, whose *Housing Program of the City of Vienna*, sponsored and published by the Brookings Institution in 1934, was based on statistics supplied by the municipality. Concerned with the applicability of techniques employed in Vienna to U.S. conditions, Hardy's account downplays the political and focuses on the economic circumstances (the financing and management) of Red Vienna's building program. Charles A. Gulick's monumental two-volume *Austria from Habsburg to Hitler* (1948), the first detailed history of the First Republic, is a much larger, more complex, and more impassioned study. The product of sustained research over many years, it was written during and immediately after World War II. As a specialist in comparative labor history, Gulick was concerned with the historical and political evolution of the labor movement in Austria and the economic and social reforms it achieved during the interwar period. His exhaustive study, which laid the foundation for all future research, remains a fundamental as well as a profoundly moving text.²¹

The first comprehensive treatment of the municipal program of Red Vienna was Felix Czeike's two-part *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik der Gemeinde Wien in der ersten Republik (1919–1934)* (1959), which he followed with a comparative study of the policies of Vienna's successive Liberal, Christian Socialist, and Social Democratic municipal administrations between 1861 and 1934. Based on unpublished documents in the municipal archives (of which Czeike was director), this research provided the first history of the policies, programs, and achievements of the Social Democratic city council and *Magistrat* (administrative branch of the municipal government) in the period from 1919 to

1934.²² Detailed research on the building program itself began with the groundbreaking work of Renate Schweitzer (later Banik-Schweitzer), whose doctoral dissertation, "Der staatlich geförderte, der kommunale und gemeinnützige Wohnungs- und Siedlungsbau in Österreich bis 1945" (1972), incorporated a close reading of the minutes of the city council meetings in which fundamental budgetary and policy decisions were discussed.²³ This work, which also examined the nineteenth-century history of working-class housing in Vienna, was followed by research into the sociospatial history of Vienna by Banik-Schweitzer and other historians in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (Vienna city and provincial archive) and Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Stadtgeschichtsforschung (Institute for Urban History), including the monumental ongoing *Historischer Atlas von Wien* (1981–).²⁴

The architecture of Red Vienna was rediscovered as a critical focus in the 1970s, in connection with both this research and the revisionist trend in architectural history during these years. But the new attention was also due in some measure to a revival of interest (particularly after 1968) in the theory and politics of Austro-Marxism, as Eurocommunist and Eurosocialist groups renewed their efforts to find a "third way" between orthodox Marxist-Leninism and reform socialism. To leftist political groups in Europe—particularly in Germany, Austria, and Italy—Austro-Marxism seemed to provide a possible model for a new democratic and pluralist, non-Soviet left in Europe. During this period three new institutions in Austria became centers for research on Austrian Social Democracy and the political history of the First Republic: the Institute for Contemporary History at Vienna University; the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for the History of the Working-Class Movement at the University for Social Economic Studies, Linz; and the Scientific Commission for Research on the History of Austria between 1927 and 1938.²⁵ In the late 1960s and

1970s, Felix Czeike's fundamental documentation was followed by critical analyses of Social Democratic communal policies by Norbert Leser (1968), Anton Pelinka (1977), Rainer Bauböck (1979), Klaus Novy (1979), and Maren Seliger (1980).²⁶ Important contributions to the critical reassessment of the political and sociocultural project of Red Vienna came from scholars outside of Austria, most notably Anson Rabinbach, *The Crisis of Austrian Socialism* (1983), and Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919–1934* (1991). The last was part of an effort that began in Austria in the 1980s (see below) to demythologize the sociocultural achievement of Red Vienna that had been celebrated uncritically in a series of exhibitions held in Vienna between 1977 and 1988.²⁷

Indeed, the bulk of critical writing on the *Gemeindebauten* themselves in Austria in the 1970s was from the left and was directed toward an assessment of the Viennese (Austro-Marxist) legacy in social housing and city planning. Much of this research—by Karla Krauss and Joachim Schlandt (1970), Peter Haiko and Mara Reissberger (1974), Wilhelm Kainrath (1977), Gottfried Pirhofer (1978), Klaus Novy (1979), Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann (1980), and others—which aimed at unraveling the complex interrelation of political ideology and architectural form, tended to focus discussion on expressive content, often reviving without significantly advancing the debates of the twenties, when the *Gemeindebauten* were interpreted alternatively as reflections of socialist aggression (by the right), and petit bourgeois ideology (by the left).²⁸ One result, as Friedrich Achleitner remarked in 1980, was "to make the debate on the meanings appear [to be] more important than the fact itself!"²⁹

In the early 1980s Achleitner and others attempted to get beyond this semiological debate and to recover the "facts." Achleitner himself suggested that the linguistic/expressive contradictions embodied in the pluralistic forms of the *Gemeindebauten* should be

viewed in a larger historical context—as reflections of Austrian society and culture at the time, of contradictions (“irritations”) inherent in the historical situation. The result was an “architecture of compromise,” heterodox and self-reflexive, but containing within it the seeds of fertile future developments, particularly in the “theoretico-architectural positions” of Adolf Loos, Josef Frank, and Oskar Strnad.¹⁰ This is the line of research followed in Vienna since 1979 by Achleimer himself as well as by Johannes Spalt and Hermann Czech, Burkhardt Rukschcio and Roland Schachel, and others who have examined—in exhibitions, essays, and monographs—the modernist polemics of these architects and their own antifunctionalist, anti-regionalist theoretical positions.¹¹ In recent years other architects associated with Frank, Strnad, the Austrian Werkbund, and the progressive School of Applied Arts in Vienna—Franz Schuster, Ernst Plischke, Ernst Lichtblau, and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (who celebrated her hundredth birthday in January 1997)—received monographic treatment in exhibitions, catalogues, and books.¹²

In the early and mid-1980s interest in the building program shifted away from the *Gemeindebauten* to aspects of the housing program neglected or underplayed in previous accounts of the episode. This led to the recovery of the “lost” history of Vienna’s cooperative settlement movement by Wilfried Posch, Klaus Novy, and Wolfgang Förster. The assimilation of this “other” history, often incorporating the “view from below” as well as the intense typological debates within the profession itself, led to a new understanding of the architectural discourse surrounding the housing program.¹³ The larger revisionary history of the 1980s and early 1990s soon included monographs on architects (such as Theiss & Jaksch and Robert Oerley) who had made significant contributions to the socialist building program, but whose extensive private practices spanned the first half of this century.¹⁴ Other works examined the municipal housing within

the broader context of architectural production (public and private) in the interwar period (Helmut Wehlsmann, *Das Rote Wien* [1985]), in relation to housing and urban reform in Hamburg and Frankfurt in the 1920s (Gert Käbler, *Wohnung und Stadt* [1985]), and as a practical application of Austro-Marxist theory and the Gramscian concept of cultural hegemony (Alfred Georg Frei, *Rotes Wien* [1984]).¹⁵ The voices of working-class tenants of the *Gemeindebauten* were recovered in interviews conducted in the 1980s (by Reinhard Sieder and Gottfried Pirhofer) and assembled into an oral history of recalled experience.¹⁶

Recently a broad range of conceptual tools and critical methods have been brought to bear on the ideological content of the “red” municipality’s social and cultural policies. These studies—which include Helmut Gruber’s comprehensive study of Red Vienna’s “experiment in working-class culture” (1991), Doris Byer’s examination of the municipality’s public health policies in terms of social Darwinism (1987), Pirhofer and Sieder’s analysis of the methods of welfare officials as well as the spatial organization of the housing and communal facilities in terms of Michel Foucault’s panopticism (1982), and Gerhard Melinz and Gerhard Ungar’s “inter-caesura” perspective on social policy in “red” and “black” Vienna from 1929 to 1938 (1996)—have demythologized the sociocultural achievement of Red Vienna and provided important new insights into the relationship between subject and object, cultural and political hegemony, space and power in Red Vienna.¹⁷

Yet none of these works has had the impact or critical authority of Manfredo Tafuri’s sustained analysis of the “experience of Red Vienna” and the research into the architecture of social democracy carried out under his direction at the Institute of Architectural History at the University of Venice in the 1970s.¹⁸ For Tafuri, Red Vienna was a hopeless political project. Both Marxist and utopian, it was a “declaration of war without any hope of victory,” doomed to failure be-

cause of the contradiction between its revolutionary aims and reformist policies. Never, Tafuri wrote in the introduction to *Vienna Rassa* (1980), were technology, ideology, and form so in conflict as in Red Vienna.³⁹ The revolutionary content of Red Vienna's architecture was, Tafuri argued, like the revolutionary content of its political program, largely rhetorical. The symbolic world of the *Gemeindebauten*—of a communitarian, democratic society—was illusory, anachronistic, and powerless in the world outside. It was founded, he claimed, on a conception of the city as a large philanthropic and pedagogical institution, an instrument for the progressive reform of society and not (as it in fact was) a money-making enterprise. The monumental forms of buildings like the Karl-Marx-Hof, which Tafuri characterized as the “magic mountain” of Red Vienna, “proud, self-confident, affirmative,” were more self-assertive than the exurban “white housing” of Weimar Germany.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Tafuri argued, intellectual labor associated with architecture took a decided leap ahead qualitatively and quantitatively with the projects in Weimar Germany, whereas the Viennese buildings, which (he claimed) derived their organization from monastic and conventual architecture, were hopelessly regressive from a typological point of view. Therefore, even though they were inserted into the fabric of the existing city (rather than isolated on the periphery, as in Germany), the *Gemeindebauten* were closed off from it; like Red Vienna itself, they were interiorized, isolated enclaves in a city their makers were ultimately unable to rule.⁴¹

This is, of course, the only conclusion possible within the terms of Tafuri's critical discourse, and Tafuri's purpose in “deconstructing” (as he called it) the architecture of Red Vienna is to discover and lay bare the ideological conflicts in the historical moment.⁴² It is an analytical process (as Robert Maxwell observed) that is as “exhilarating in its impetus as it is cleansing in its action.” In *Vienna Rassa*, the central conflict between technology, ideology, and form that doomed the

architectural project of Red Vienna to failure before it started is resolved in the dramatic cadences of an “epic tragedy.”⁴³ The heroic forms, communitarian spaces, and eclectic details (filled with local reference and historical allusion) of the *Gemeindebauten* are read against the technological backwardness of Austrian politics, the ideological pluralism of Austro-Marxist political philosophy, and the empirical methods of the Social Democratic municipal administration. Along the way, as each project is interrogated and searched for its ideological contents, Tafuri provides profound insights into the interrelation of social and architectural ideas and the conflicts they reveal.

Yet revelation of those conflicts and of the ways in which ideology operates in architecture does not account fully for the architecture. To do this requires a different historiographical method, one that takes into account the operations of both ideology and a form of knowledge that is particular to architecture—that allows us to ask not only, What is the ideological content of the architecture? but also, In what ways can architecture (filled with ideological content) be instrumental, operative, strategic? Where, in effect, is the locus of politics in architecture?

In attempting to frame such questions I have turned to theoretical conceptions of the production of space, in particular those elucidated by Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja, that understand spatial structures and relations as the concrete manifestations of social structures and relations, and as an integral part of the instrumentality of political power. In *The Production of Space* Lefebvre explains the conception of the social production of space: “What we are concerned with . . . is the long *history of space*, even though space is neither a ‘subject’ nor an ‘object’ but rather a social reality—that is to say, a set of relations and forms. This history is to be distinguished from an inventory of things *in space* (or what has recently been called material culture or civilization), as also from ideas and discourse *about space*. It must account for both repre-

sentational spaces and representations of space, but above all for their interrelationships and their links with social practice.⁴⁴ The central idea here is that space is historically produced and therefore both shapes and is itself shaped by social practice. In other words, spatial structures such as architecture do not merely reflect political and social practices; in shaping the spaces in which social life takes place, they also condition those practices.

As Edward Soja points out, this understanding of the sociospatial dialectic departs from Marx's conception of the spatial contingency of social action (as fetishization and false consciousness) in its assertion that "social relations of production and class can be reconfigured and possibly transformed through the evolving spatiality which makes them concrete." He elaborates: "If spatiality is both outcome/embodiment and medium/presupposition of social relations and social structure, their material reference, then social life must be seen as both space-forming and space contingent, a producer and a product of spatiality. This two-way relationship defines—or perhaps, redefines—a socio-spatial dialectic which is simultaneously part of a spatio-temporal dialectic, a tense and contradiction filled interplay between the social production of geography and history."⁴⁵ If we can understand from this that spatial structures such as architecture participate in a sociospatial dialectic, and are dynamic and mutable, then it would seem that architecture can produce new meanings within the terms of its own discipline and thereby enter into the process of society's transformation. Following from this one could suggest that it is at the level of typology in architecture—where social and spatial practices would seem most clearly to intersect with each other and with the dynamics of history—that architecture itself can become active, instrumental, political.

This idea requires some clarification. The concept of architectural typology or type has been variously conceived since it was first formulated by

Quatremère de Quincy in the late eighteenth century as a logic of form that derived from reason, use, and custom—qualities that bound each architectural object to nature, society, and the classical tradition of architecture.⁴⁶ For Quatremère, type had both formal and social properties; it pertained to both the forms of architecture and their culturally constructed meaning. As Anthony Vidler, Rafael Moneo, and others have discussed, this loosely conceived and evocative notion of type ("the idea of an element which ought itself to serve as a rule for the model") was "flattened" (to use Moneo's word) in the nineteenth century into a programmatic conception of type as an index of functional and formal character: the basis for a system of architectural composition that could be taught and applied to the production of architectural objects to serve a wide range of social uses with convenience and clarity.⁴⁷ In the early twentieth century, both these notions of type were rejected by the theorists of the Modern Movement in favor of a concept of type as prototype, unburdened by history or the rules of academic practice and conceived instead in terms of scientific methods of inductive reasoning and the rational processes of modern industrial mass production.⁴⁸

The original Enlightenment concept of type as connected to use, memory, and conventions of practice was recovered in the critique of modern architecture in the 1960s and 1970s.⁴⁹ It was developed most fruitfully by a group of architects and architectural historians associated with the School of Architecture in Venice (Saverio Muratori in the 1950s and Massimo Scolari, Aldo Rossi, Carlo Aymonino, and other architects associated with the neorationalist *rendenza* in the 1960s and 1970s): first into a method of research into the temporal and spatial morphology of the city, and subsequently into a theory of architecture that sought to reconnect design to the continuous traditions of city building and to reaffirm the disciplinary autonomy of architecture.⁵⁰

Since that time, “typological consciousness” has come to be regarded as a habit of mind that classifies experience: as an ontological condition of architecture according to which the acquisition, structure, and use of architectural knowledge are conditioned by conventions of practice and cultural memory. Implicit in this conception of type are the (disputed) notions of intersubjectivity, of cultural consensus, and of a shared frame of reference within which architectural forms are generally intelligible and socially meaningful to architects, beholders, and users within a given society.¹¹

However differently it has been conceived and challenged, the idea of architectural type or typology has in some way described a relationship between production and object. Or to put it another way, the concept of typological consciousness at the same time establishes a link between society and architecture and manifests a form of knowledge, a mode of thought, and a body of theory and techniques that are specific to the discipline of architecture itself. It would seem therefore that it is at the level of typology—in the organization, use, and representation of space in architecture and in the relationship between the architectural object and conventions of culture—that ideological content and a form of knowledge specific to architecture converge; here the transformational, active, instrumental function of a politically charged urban architecture such as that of Red Vienna might be found to operate.

This idea informs a series of investigations in this book, framed in terms of questions regarding the conception, realization, reception, and representation of the building program of Red Vienna. In the first part of the book, the central question regarding the conception of the program—What was the political significance of housing for the Social Democrats and how was the building project conceived in relation to the larger sociopolitical objectives of Red Vienna?—is addressed in three chapters. Chapter 1, “Against the Idea of Force, the Force of Ideas: Municipal Socialism

and the Politics of Austro-Marxism,” examines the role of the building program within the larger political program of Red Vienna. It traces the theoretical roots of that program in Austro-Marxist thought and argues that the *Gemeindebauten* were conceived not in terms of housing reform but rather as instruments in the “slow revolution” toward socialism—as the spatial correlates of the Austro-Marxist concept of *hineinwachsen*, the process of slow growth from within, by which the gradual ascent to power was to be achieved. Chapter 2, “The Historical City: Patterns of Growth and Urban Life,” examines the sociospatial structure of Vienna. It reconstructs the history of Vienna’s dense, imbricated fabric and the conditions (socioeconomic, political, physical) that made large-scale urban intervention not just a matter of ideology but an absolute political necessity for the Social Democrats. Chapter 3, “Wohnen lernen: Learning to Live” (a quotation from Adolf Loos), recovers the prehistory of the building program in the period between 1918 and 1923, before major building operations began. It gives a critical account of the settlement, or *Siedlung*, movement in Vienna, where it grew out of allotment gardening (rather than garden city ideas). Under the leadership of Adolf Loos and the political economist Otto Neurath, it took a direction—antipicturesque, urban, and bound to the cultivation of food—that made it entirely different from the *Siedlungen* in Germany and elsewhere in Europe during this time. A response to the conditions of near famine in Vienna after World War I, the *Siedlung* was abandoned as a housing form for the socialist municipality in the early 1920s, when the worst of the economic crisis was over.

The middle chapters attempt to answer key questions regarding the realization of the building program: What were the techniques of financing, production, and administration used by the socialists to execute their massive building program? And what led them, once they had the funds and instruments in place, to select an urban building typology and to con-

struct the new socialist city within the confines of the old? “Vienna Builds on Itself” (chapter 4) provides a detailed account of some of the most original aspects of Red Vienna’s building program: the legal and financial structures put in place, including radical tax reforms; new land acquisition policy; techniques and organization of production, including standardization of building parts; and a massive reorganization of the municipal administration to supply, execute, coordinate, and oversee citywide building operations, to allocate living space, and to integrate the new social welfare, educational, and cultural facilities into the new buildings. This chapter also clarifies issues that until now have remained obscure: the processes by which the buildings were planned, designed, and built and the means by which crucial decisions regarding policy, program, and design were reached. Chapter 5, “*Grossstadt* and *Proletariat*,” questions the terms of the *Hochbau* oder *Flachbau* (high-rise versus low-rise) debate triggered by the socialists’ decision to build urban *Gemeindebauten* rather than suburban settlement houses; shifting the focus from housing typology to the city itself. Indeed, the evidence suggests, at issue was a decision on the part of the Social Democrats to engage the historical city of Vienna and to “enter into debate” with the forces that had shaped it—to generate a dialectical space in the city between the spaces of the “old” and the “new” Vienna.

The remaining chapters examine the buildings themselves and their reception and representation in relation to existing typologies, the spatial structure of the historical city, and the experiments of the avant-garde in the 1920s. Beginning with the new living space, chapter 6, “The New Dwelling: ‘The Gemeinde-Wien-Type,’” asks how the Viennese conception of working-class domestic culture differed from traditional forms of dwelling as well as from the rationalized spaces of the new German housing. Close analysis of the so-called *Gemeinde-Wien-Type* apartment plan developed in Vienna shows that this new

apartment unit not only represented a transformation of traditional working-class living space but also had consequences for the organization of public space in the city. The difference between the Viennese plans and the rationalized apartments in the new German housing are shown to be a matter of fundamental sociopolitical purpose not just of spatial organization.

Chapter 7, “The Red Hof: Social Democratic Program and Wagner School Practice,” posits new typological roots for the *Gemeindebau* in the relatively new turn-of-the-century building type known in Austria as the *Arbeiterheim* (working men’s home) and examines the role of Otto Wagner’s students in shaping it. In examining the relationship between Wagner School practice and the Social Democrats’ building program—along with the question of why the socialists entrusted the conception of important aspects of their program to architects who, in general, were not themselves socialists or otherwise associated with the party—it suggests that Wagner School design methodology, with its emphasis on urban architecture and the “facts” of modern life, enabled the architects who had trained with Wagner to embody both the big-city (*Grossstadt*) ideals and the social content of Red Vienna’s political program in their buildings.

Chapter 8, “Building and City: The Politics of the Plan,” asks how the buildings relate to and engage the historical spaces of the city into which they are inserted. Careful analysis of building and street plans shows how the *Gemeindebauten* introduced both a new scale and a new organization of building in Vienna. Intricately woven into the city’s existing fabric, they generated a discursive space that destabilized, while it seemed to reinforce, traditional relationships between inside and outside, insider and outsider, public and private (in terms of both property and space).

Chapter 9, “Architecture and Proletariat: The Semantics of Form,” asks what principle underlay the pluralism of Red Vienna’s building forms. The linguistic dimension of the architecture is considered in the

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context both of prewar debates on tectonics, the vernacular, and the metropolis (Semper, Wagner, Loos, Behrens, and others) and of postwar polemics regarding rationalism, functionalism, and the machine aesthetic (Schuster, Frank, and Neurath). In this final chapter it is argued that by means of a carefully conceived language of type-forms, the discourse regarding architecture and politics in Vienna—stymied in the press by partisan politics—was displaced from the printed page to the street, transposed from slogan and headline to the facades of the buildings themselves. The *Gemeindebauten* thus became legible in themselves and in relation to the city, communicating not only the way in which each building was to be used but also its relationship to the larger program of Red Vienna, as well as to the history and physical fabric of Vienna itself.

Politics in interwar Vienna precluded nonpartisan architectural discourse, which accounts in part for the difficulty historians and critics of Red Vienna's architecture have had in disentangling architectural from political signification, without disengaging the two entirely. But when the *Gemeindebauten* are understood as constructing a discourse rather than as an objective presence on the street, their polysemic forms cast architecture itself in an active instrumental role, communicating the purposes of the political project, as well as shaping the spaces, of Red Vienna. By reengaging the terms of that discourse, this book attempts to shed light both on the complex relationship among political program, architectural practice, and urban history in interwar Vienna and on the process by which architecture itself can generate a collective discourse that includes all members of society.



1

"AGAINST THE IDEA OF FORCE, THE FORCE OF IDEAS":
MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM AND THE POLITICS OF AUSTRO-MARXISM





VIENNA'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD HOUSING IS INDEED GREAT. ITS FINANCIAL PLAN HAS NOTHING TO OFFER LONDON OR AMSTERDAM, NEW YORK OR CHICAGO. BUT ITS VERY EXISTENCE AS A GREAT CITY THREATENED, UNEMPLOYMENT RIFE, ALL PRIVATE CAPITAL CONSUMED IN THE WAR, IT SET ITSELF TO THE TASK OF PROVIDING NOT ONLY HOUSES, BUT THE VERY BEST POSSIBLE HOMES FOR ITS WORKERS—THEREBY PUTTING TO SHAME WEALTHY AND POWERFUL MUNICIPALITIES WHICH HAVE TALKED BUT NOT BUILT.—Louis Pink, *The New Day in Housing* (1928)

WITH THE FUNDS AVAILABLE THE HOUSING SHORTAGE COULD HAVE BEEN RELIEVED MORE QUICKLY, WITHOUT SACRIFICING THE IMPROVED STANDARDS OF HEALTH AND COMFORT, BY DEVOTING THE AVAILABLE RESOURCES TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF A LARGER NUMBER OF PLAIN TEMPORARY ONE- OR TWO-STORY BRICK OR HOLLOW TILE DWELLINGS OF A BARRACKS TYPE, THAN BY THE ERECTION OF STRUCTURES WHICH IF PERMITTED WILL STAND FOR TWO CENTURIES.... THE REAL EMERGENCY WAS TEMPORARY; IN THE LONG RUN, IF VIENNA SURVIVED AS A GREAT CITY, NEWER AND BETTER HOUSING STANDARDS WERE BOUND TO DEVELOP; IF THE CITY DID NOT SO SURVIVE, TEMPORARY STRUCTURES WOULD SUFFICE.—C. O. Hardy, *The Housing Program of the City of Vienna* (1934)

As the world economic depression fastened its grip on American cities, devastating the construction industry, putting millions of workers in the building trades out of work, and bringing housing and urban building in general to a virtual standstill in the early 1930s, U.S. economists, public health officials, and town planning and housing experts began to turn their attention overseas to discover what the United States might learn from the European post-World War I experience in housing. It was time, *Survey Graphic* announced, for "Uncle Sam to take firm hold of his hammer and trowel and to follow in the footsteps of Europe, where practically every country has resorted, since the Great War, to one form or another of public subsidy of low-cost housing."¹ In the period between 1930 and 1938, numerous studies (many sponsored by government agencies) were undertaken by American as well as European housing specialists to assess the European postwar achievement.²

For these housing and planning specialists, who were looking to the European examples to extract general principles and identify models that were transferable to other contexts, Vienna was particularly problematic. While admiring the Viennese achievement, the international housing community in the 1930s was uncertain of its larger significance, finding little in the Social Democratic housing program of Red Vienna that could be usefully applied elsewhere. "Though quite rational for the Austrian capital," Louis Pink declared, the housing policy of Vienna "would spell madness almost anywhere else."³ Charles O. Hardy, who in 1934 wrote the first book-length study of the Viennese project, *The Housing Program of the City of Vienna*, reached a similar verdict. Hardy's examination of the Viennese experience was directed toward answering a question of special concern to the Brookings Institution, the sponsor and publisher of the study: "could [residential building activity in the United States] be revived by private agencies or . . . would [it] be necessary or desirable to turn to govern-

mental activity?" The Viennese "experiment" was considered to be pertinent as a "unique project of municipal building and municipal administration of residential property"; but it was also of "peculiar interest" because it was "carried on under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party," which had enjoyed "the longest continuous period of authority . . . by a Marxian Government anywhere outside of Soviet Russia."⁴

Hardy's conclusion, based on detailed statistical analysis, was that the Viennese program was too particular to have any wider application: "the housing program of Vienna was a development out of specific housing conditions, tax policies, building regulations, war-time adjustments, and class controversies, most of which were peculiar to Vienna." Furthermore, the basic premise—that the municipality should provide housing at the expense of the community—was economically and socially unsound: "Neither the acute housing shortage which characterized the early postwar years and called for emergency relief, nor the very bad housing tradition of the city which was the occasion for the permanent policy, goes far to demonstrate that the provision of shelter is in general one of those services which cannot be performed satisfactorily through private enterprise without governmental subsidy or governmental participation."⁵ Since the economic viability of Vienna, its future as a center of industry and trade, was itself in question, a far more expedient solution, Hardy suggested, would have been to use the available resources to build cheap temporary barracks, which "would have emptied a much larger number of old bad dwellings."⁶ The United States had little to learn from the Viennese experiment, the Brookings Institution concluded.

Housing specialists, including Catherine Bauer, who declared that "the entire situation was fundamentally an uneconomic one from the start," concurred that there was little in the Viennese program that could be usefully applied to other cities.⁷ Werner Hegemann (1881–1936), the German city planner and

architect who spent much of the period between 1905 and 1921 in the United States and who had organized international planning exhibitions in Boston, Berlin, Dusseldorf, and London in 1909 and 1910, had by far the most sophisticated understanding of the Viennese situation and its relevance for American and European cities.⁴ Throughout the 1920s, when he was editor of *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau* (Berlin), Hegemann himself had both contributed to and fostered discourse on the Viennese building program. After emigrating to the United States in 1933, he worked until his death on *City Planning Housing*; this was a sequel to his study, written with Elbert Peets, of the aesthetics of city planning: *The American Vitruvius; An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art* (1922).⁵ In the first volume of *City Planning Housing*, which appeared just before he died in 1936, Hegemann devoted a chapter to the question: "What hope or danger is there of seeing the Viennese housing experiment imitated in America?" His answer, "not much," was based on an assessment that "Vienna's splendid housing policy . . . would have been even more splendid if the working masses served by it could have hoped for economic survival and if a policy of resettlement and national regrouping had not been more immediately imperative than subsidizing by cheap tenements an industry which had lost its market."⁶ Red Vienna's housing, in other words, was not an end in itself but rather a strategic decision in a much broader combat.

Most housing professionals in the 1930s failed to comprehend the Viennese program, not only because of the complex historical circumstances of its production but because this new housing was the product not of a housing program but of a far-reaching program of municipal socialism, of which the construction and provision of housing was but one component. Only when it is considered within the context of that larger program does the significance of the municipal housing policy of Red Vienna become clear.

The program itself which, as I have mentioned, evolved in the years immediately following World War I, resulted in part from political events of that period, as the Social Democrats were gradually excluded from the national political scene and were forced to retreat to their political stronghold in Vienna. The theoretical foundations for the program, however, had been laid long before: they are to be found in Austro-Marxist theory, the branch of socialist thought developed by the intellectual leaders of the Austrian Social Democratic Party—Max Adler, Otto Bauer, and Karl Renner, among others—in the 1890s and early 1900s. The municipal program of Red Vienna therefore has an important prehistory in the intellectual foundations of Austrian Social Democracy and the evolution of the party in the decades preceding World War I.

AUSTRIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY BEFORE 1918

The Austrian labor movement began in the 1860s with the establishment of constitutional monarchy in Austria in 1867 and the legalization of workers' organizations. Before that time such organizations had been officially banned, along with strikes and all forms of collective agreement among workers. The new legislation, enacted in 1867 and 1870, permitted workers' associations but granted them no political rights; it also prohibited organizations of a political nature deemed "dangerous to the state."⁷ To circumvent this, the early workers' organizations, such as the Wiener Arbeiterbildungsverein (Vienna Worker's Cultural/Educational Association) founded in November 1867, defined themselves as educational societies. Thus restrictive legislation and officially sanctioned persecution in the Habsburg Empire were indirectly responsible for determining the character of the early workers' organizations and through them the orientation toward *Bildung* (education), helping to create the emphasis on the pedagogical role of the party that distinguished Austrian Social Democracy.¹²

Despite official suppression of its activities and publications, the labor movement in Austria continued to grow in the 1870s. However, the stock market crash in 1873 and internal disputes within the labor organization itself weakened the movement and kept the socialists from pursuing an effective course of action throughout the 1880s. In the 1890s industrial expansion, economic prosperity, and new leadership led to a reconciliation of moderate and radical factions within the socialist movement. This new harmony was due largely to Victor Adler (1852–1918), a physician whose experience treating the poor had made him aware of the condition of the proletariat in Vienna and led him to join the socialist movement. An intellectual committed to the peaceful acquisition of power, Adler was a powerful and moving speaker as well as an able politician; he was responsible for unifying the labor movement and consolidating its many factions into a political party whose compassionate leader he remained until his death in 1918.¹⁵

The Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria was founded in 1888/1889. Like the Habsburg Empire itself, it was multinational and multiethnic in constitution. From the beginning it was cast by its leaders and by circumstance as the ideological and political heir to Austrian liberalism. Though based on Marxist principles, the new Social Democratic Party was also committed to parliamentarism and to a program of reform. In the period from 1890 to 1907, the party's efforts were concentrated on obtaining parliamentary representation.¹⁶

Nevertheless, during this period the socialists' extraparlimentary activities were more effective than their parliamentary efforts. A succession of mass demonstrations in industrial cities in the western part of the empire eventually led to parliamentary reforms that abolished the old curial electoral system and introduced universal male suffrage (though not for provincial and municipal elections; they were included only after 1918). In the first elections held in May

1907 after the extension of suffrage, the Social Democrats won 23 percent of the popular vote and 87 of 516 seats in the new parliament.¹⁷ Yet the party's representatives were not able to accomplish much in Parliament in the years preceding the outbreak of war. None of the reforms proposed during this period—including the eight-hour workday, the regulation of women's, children's, and night labor, and the introduction of health, disability, and old-age insurance—were even discussed. Parliament itself was more or less paralyzed by the "nationalities conflict"—the movements for political and cultural self-determination within the empire—which preoccupied government and opposition, as they threatened Habsburg hegemony and socialist party unity in their challenge to the "multinational principle" underlying both.¹⁸ It was during this period of political stalemate around 1900 that the major theoretical work of the Austrian socialists, or "Austro-Marxists," as they came to be known, was accomplished and the foundations were laid for the policies and program of Red Vienna.

THEORETICAL PREPARATION: THE POLITICS OF AUSTRO-MARXISM The Austro-Marxists, so named by the American socialist Louis Boudin a few years before World War I, were a group of Marxist thinkers in Vienna. They included the intellectual leaders of the Austrian socialist movement: Max Adler (1873–1937), Otto Bauer (1881–1938), Karl Renner (1870–1950), and Rudolf Hilferding (1877–1941).¹⁹ The major theoretical work of the group was published in the first decade and a half of the twentieth century in *Mars-Studien*, founded and edited by Adler and Hilferding, which began publication in 1904.

Focusing on the analysis of specific historical phenomena, the Austro-Marxists were committed to developing Marxism as an empirical social science through systematic historical and sociological research. Austro-Marxist sociological theory, as formulated by Max Adler, who elaborated the conceptual

and theoretical foundations of Austro-Marxism, was a set of causal statements, open to empirical testing, that dealt with a specific object, "socialized humanity."¹⁸ The causal relationships in social life, Adler asserted, are not "mechanical" but mediated by consciousness. Rejecting the view of ideology as a "reflection" of economic determinants, in *Ideology as Appearance* (1930) he argued that

If Marx initially describes the economy as the basis of society, this vivid image itself should suffice to exclude the view that ideology is less real or effective than the economy. For where is there a superstructure, however airy and delicate its construction, which is not just as real as the foundation? . . . For a foundation is not constructed as an end in itself but only so that a superstructure can subsequently be erected upon it. . . . The superstructure is therefore that part of the building in which its meaning and purpose are accomplished. In the same way the social superstructure is that part of society in which historical actions take shape; but in order to become effective they have to operate on the basis and within the limits and capacities of the foundation.¹⁹

Austro-Marxist social theory was thus an attempt to depict a social process of development in which economic, political, and ideological elements were both inter-dependent and interwoven.²⁰ It also ascribed an active role in social development to ideology and to cultural values, a theoretical orientation that was to have considerable impact on Social Democratic politics in the interwar period.

Indeed, Austrian Social Democracy was distinguished by a close relationship between theory and practice. From the beginning, the Austro-Marxist theorists were committed to active engagement in Austrian party politics. The "school" itself grew out of the socialist student movement at the University of Vienna; its members remained actively involved in the practical politics of the Austrian Social Democratic party, occupying key positions in the federal, pro-

vincial, and municipal governments. The Austro-Marxists also contributed regularly not only to the theoretically and philosophically oriented *Marx-Studien* but also to the Social Democratic party's monthly journal, *Der Kampf* (founded in 1907), and daily newspaper, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. As a result, theoretical considerations often played a major part in Social Democratic party politics. At the same time, in their theoretical concerns and the subjects of their research the Austro-Marxists attended to particular historical phenomena and the analysis of specific social problems in the Habsburg Empire and later in the First Republic.

A major focus for research in the prewar period that was to have considerable bearing on Social Democratic policy in Red Vienna was the nationalities conflict in the empire. In 1899 the Social Democrats had proposed, in an attempt to maintain unity within the empire as well as the party, the transformation of the empire itself into a *Nationalitätenstaat*: a democratic federation of nation-states whose boundaries were to be defined by the territories occupied by the different language groups within the empire. Though this concept of the *Nationalitätenstaat* was idealistic, given the complex interterritoriality of the national groups within the Habsburg Empire, the idea of a political order transcending the national provided a model for future socialist organization. Also implicit in this model was an understanding of the *Nationalitätenfrage* (nationalities question) itself as a matter of cultural rather than geopolitical identity. Subsequent studies of the phenomenon of nations and nationalism in the prewar period, particularly those by Otto Bauer, developed this concept further and laid the theoretical groundwork for social and cultural policies implemented by the Social Democrats in Red Vienna. In *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (1907), Bauer, like Antonio Gramsci in the 1920s, argued that the nation is defined not by territorial boundaries but by shared cultural values. Traditionally, in societies based on pri-

vate ownership of the means of labor, only the ruling classes "constitute the nation as the totality of those in whom a similar upbringing resulting from the history of the nation, and a common language and national education, produces an affinity of character." National identity, Bauer argued, has thus been the prerogative of the ruling classes; it has not encompassed the popular masses because "the age-old community of descent no longer binds them closely enough together; and . . . they are not fully incorporated in the developing system of education."²¹ Thus recasting the nationalities conflict in the Austro-Hungarian Empire as in essence a class conflict, Bauer proposed that in a socialist society this situation would be corrected through socialist education, which would "give the whole people a share in the national culture."²² "With the uprooting of the population through social production, and the development of the nation into a homogeneous community of education, labor, and culture," he wrote, "the more circumscribed local associations will lose their vigor, while the bond which unites all members of the nation will become increasingly strong." As a result, "all those who share in national education and national cultural values, whose character is therefore shaped by the destiny of the nation which determines the content of these values, will constitute the nation." Socialist education, by providing "every individual with the cultural objects of the whole nation," would, therefore, not only "abolish particularism within the nation" but also "strengthen the principle of political nationality."²³ This conception of cultural hegemony—as the means towards political hegemony and the peaceful acquisition of state power—was the foundation on which the Austro-Marxists' political strategy in the interwar period was built.

At the time, however, in the years immediately preceding the war, the Social Democrats' affirmation of the hegemony of the state and endorsement of the multinational principle cast them as the "inadvertent party of the state."²⁴ Accused of "Burgsozialismus"

(palace socialism) by nationalist groups within the socialist movement, the Social Democratic party in 1914, like the empire itself, had begun to unravel.²⁵ The war led to further internal crises within the Social Democratic Party, primarily over the issue of cooperation with the Habsburg war effort. Here the socialists were split between the older generation of the party leadership—in particular Viktor Adler, who had committed the socialists to "civil peace" for the duration of the war—and the younger generation, who maintained an antiwar position. These included, among others, Adler's son Friedrich (who, in October 1916, assassinated the Imperial Prime Minister Count Stürkgh, was subsequently sentenced to death in May 1917, and then pardoned in November 1918 by the last Habsburg Emperor Karl only days before his abdication) and Otto Bauer, who was to emerge as the new leader of the party in October 1917, a position he retained throughout the First Republic.²⁶

Toward the end of 1917 this antiwar faction, under the leadership of Bauer, challenged the "chauvinistic and reformist" policies of the old party leaders and set the Social Democrats on a more radical course.²⁷ At the same time food and fuel shortages in Austria, following the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, led to a series of mass strikes (including the mutiny of the Habsburg Fifth Fleet at Cattaro in the winter of 1918) and increased the power of the socialists, on whom the Habsburg administrators had come to depend for control over the workers' and soldiers' councils.²⁸ As the dissolution of the supranational empire accelerated in the final months of the war, the Social Democrats assumed an increasingly critical role; with their new power, they exacted previously unattainable concessions, including the resumption of Parliament and rescission of the imperial ban on political meetings and assemblies. With the final collapse at the end of October 1918, the Social Democrats, who had earlier been cast in the role of defenders of the multinational state, emerged as the custodians of the nascent republic.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS, 1918–1922 The Republic of German-Austria was proclaimed on 12 November 1918. In the days preceding, a provisional government had been formed, comprising representatives from the three largest political parties: the Social Democrats, Christian Socialists, and German Nationalists. The Social Democrats rapidly emerged as the strongest party in the provisional council in which Karl Renner was chancellor; Viktor Adler was minister of foreign affairs (though he died the day before the new republic was officially proclaimed and was succeeded in this position by Otto Bauer); and Ferdinand Hanusch (1866–1923), who had formerly been secretary of the textile workers' union and leader of the trade unions, was minister of public welfare, a post he held until his death in 1923. Despite the party's prewar defense of the multinational state, the Social Democrats were less tainted by associations with the old regime than either of the other two major political parties. Furthermore, the socialists were the only leaders in Austria at the time who had a political concept for the future and were capable of controlling the masses—demobilized soldiers and unemployed workers—agitating for revolution in the first months of the republic.²⁸ One of the Social Democrats' first actions was to consolidate the hegemony of the party by organizing a republican army, the *Volkswehr*, to keep order within the country. Responsible only to the Social Democratic leadership, the *Volkswehr*, which drew thousands of otherwise unemployed war veterans into its ranks, was instrumental in averting a communist revolution and Bolshevik dictatorship in Austria, a fate that befell neighboring Hungary and Bavaria in early 1919.²⁹

In February 1919 the first national elections were held in the Austrian Republic. The Social Democrats won a clear though not a decisive victory. While the party secured 41 percent of the vote and 69 seats in the new National Assembly, most of its support came from the capital and surrounding industrial regions.³¹

The clerical Christian Socialists, representing conservative, agrarian interests, won most of the provincial seats. Throughout the First Republic, party loyalties remained divided along these lines, with the Social Democrats dominating in urban and industrial areas, particularly in Vienna, and the Christian Socialists maintaining a strong following in rural villages, especially in the Alpine provinces and Lower Austria. In mid-March 1919 the Social Democrats, recognizing that they would be unable to govern effectively on their own because of this split, formed a coalition government with the Christian Socialists, though they continued to hold the key positions.³²

In the subsequent months all efforts were directed toward averting total economic collapse and famine in the new republic. The dismemberment of the Habsburg Empire had disastrous economic consequences for the “residual” state of Austria, whose provinces were the poorest in natural resources and the most expensive to maintain of all parts of the old monarchy (figure 1.1). Before the war only a fraction of the coal and raw materials required for industry, and only enough food to feed one-fifth of the population, was actually produced in those provinces. During the war these resources were much depleted. With the drawing of the new national boundaries, Vienna, where both industry and population were concentrated in the new state—its 1.8 million inhabitants in 1918 represented a little less than one-third of the total population of the republic—was suddenly cut off from essential supplies of coal from Silesia and Bohemia, oil from Galicia, and food produced in Hungary, Moravia, and southern Styria. These resources were now beyond Austrian borders and were inaccessible because of high tariff barriers erected by hostile successor states. The English historian C. A. Macartney gave a vivid contemporary account of Austria's desperate plight: “The old economic structure was torn violently asunder. Whatever remained was among the poorest of all parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, and withal the



1.1 Map of Austria showing national boundaries before and after 1919.

most highly organised and the most expensive to keep up. There were expensive industries, highly developed railways, a great administrative apparatus, the middle-class population of a vast Imperial city. A splendid structure, but one not built to stand alone. It had been built up as the central point of a great Empire, dependent for its very existence on the resources of that Empire. Now these resources were cut off. Behind new, bristling barriers lay the food, the coal, the raw materials without which it could not live.¹³

The lack of coal brought industrial production to an almost complete standstill. In 1919 six of the seven blast furnaces of the Alpine Montan works in Styria, the new republic's largest industrial concern, had to be extinguished. Of the twenty-four Martin Steel fur-

naces, only three could remain in operation, with the result that iron and steel production in Austria virtually ceased, and with it a large part of the machine industry. Brick, lime, and cement works also closed down, bringing the building industry to a halt. The paper manufacturing trade was cut to 20 percent of its former capacity. Electric current was restricted and occasionally cut off altogether, so that there was often no streetcar service in Vienna. Railway service was confined chiefly to food transport, and this too was frequently interrupted. These conditions, together with the demobilization and collapse of the war industries, resulted in massive and ever-increasing unemployment in Austria that lasted well into 1919.¹⁴

Food shortages in Vienna were severe. The agricultural districts of German-Austria, whose production had in any case diminished during the war, were generally hostile toward the capital, with which of course they had no closer national, historical, or economic bonds than with any of the other provinces of the old empire. The central requisitioning system introduced during the war had only increased the antagonism between country and city, making the agrarian provinces more intent than ever on preserving whatever food they could produce for themselves. Czech, Yugoslav, and Hungarian blockades further limited supplies to Vienna, where food was rationed and certain products such as milk and butter were totally unobtainable (figure 1.2). Macartney summed up the situation: "Certainly, no nation has ever lain more helpless at its conqueror's feet than did Austria, and this situation created a curious vacuum in which its first government worked. As statesmen they could do nothing; as socialists, only so much as would not call down a stoppage of supplies. The situation was difficult, the more so as it was not understood except by the leaders."⁵⁵

During this period the Social Democrats averted economic collapse in Austria by securing loans and inflating the currency. Inflation and the depreciation of the Austrian krone in the immediate postwar years created one of the horror stories of the interwar period. As in all of the belligerent countries, the gold standard had been abandoned in Austria-Hungary early on in the conflict, and the war was largely financed by currency inflation. By 1918 the crown was worth less than half of its prewar value. But the real inflation began only after the armistice. From November 1918 until the autumn of 1922, the state operated at continuously increasing deficits. Since those deficits could not be covered by borrowing from investors, the federal government resorted to uncovered advances of notes from the national bank. The currency in circulation increased from 12,000 million at the end of 1918

to over 400,000,000 million at the end of 1922. The net depreciation, by the time the krone had stabilized in 1922, was about $\frac{1}{100}$ of 1 percent of the prewar exchange rate. Prices advanced more slowly, but by 1923 they were ranging at a level of 11,000 to 14,500 times their prewar figures.⁵⁶

The immediate effect of the currency catastrophe, however, was to drive prices down. This made it possible, in spite of the difficulties with coal and raw materials, to restart industry in the spring of 1919. Imports and exchange were also gradually facilitated by commercial agreements with Czechoslovakia and Germany, from whom most of Austria's purchases for industry had to be made.⁵⁷ As the falling currency brought cheap labor and low prices, the need to replenish stocks depleted by the war created a considerable market for finished products. This situation created a temporary boom in Austrian industry. Unemployment ceased, factories were working at capacity, exports increased, and within Austria trade prospered; there was rapid turnover of cash and goods, as no one wanted to be left with the devaluing currency. But by June 1922 the boom was over and unemployment figures shot up: in the following two months, the cost of living rose 260 percent.⁵⁸

While attending to the economic crisis, the Social Democrats also moved to defuse communist influence and the radicalism of the workers' council movement in Austria in the early months of the republic. Unlike their counterparts in Germany at the time, the Austrians did not forcibly suppress the workers' councils but neither did they grant them sovereignty. Instead, they used parliamentary means to secure progressive reforms, thereby diminishing the power of the council movement, stabilizing the political situation, and enabling the government to remain on a democratic course at a time when either a Bolshevik revolution or military intervention by the Allied powers seemed inevitable. In early 1919 extensive social legislation was enacted, improving working conditions (eight-hour

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM AND AUSTRO-MARXISM



1.2 Images of postwar Vienna from National Geographic, January 1922, 80-81. Effects of coal shortage (right top and bottom): desolated forests, hastily bringing home firewood. Left top and bottom: food lines, foraging party returning from the country.

day, higher wages, holidays with pay, subsidized rail fares, collective contracts), guaranteeing workers' rights, providing social insurance, and setting up factory councils and other organizations (*Arbeiterkammer*) to represent workers' economic interests.³⁹ A Socialization Commission, empowered to expropriate "economically necessary enterprises," was also set up in March 1919, though there was no intention of immediately abolishing capitalist ownership; in fact, the work of the commission came to an end within a few months.⁴⁰

A "THIRD WAY" From the beginning, the socialists in Austria were cast in a counterrevolutionary role in the new republic, maintaining the economic status quo

but using the threat of violent proletarian revolution to gain concessions from the conservative bourgeoisie. Yet for the Social Democrats themselves, the reforms legislated in the spring of 1919 were but the preliminary steps toward the party's larger project: the consolidation of the "political revolution" through a gradual process of "social revolution." More than a program of socialization, this was the practical application of a theory of society.

That theory (put simply) translated into a political position between reformism and orthodox Marxism.⁴¹ The Austro-Marxists were critical of German social democracy and the revisionism of Eduard Bernstein for maintaining (in Bauer's words) that "society could 'grow' peacefully into socialism, without any

need for a violent revolution." They also rejected the neo-Kantian critique of Marx current in German universities at the time, which reduced socialism "to an ethical postulate, a simple maxim for value-judgements and action within the existing social order."⁴³ The Austro-Marxists instead were committed to the revolutionary character of Marxism and to Marx's theory of the historical inevitability of social revolution.

At the same time, however, the Austro-Marxists also rejected the revolutionary violence of orthodox Marxist theory, opposing the "despotic socialism" of the new communist parties as well as the dictatorship of the proletariat established in Russia. In Austria, Otto Bauer claimed in *Die Österreichische Revolution* (1924), the establishment of such a dictatorship in the immediate postwar period "would have meant nothing less than suicide for the revolution." It would have led inevitably to a conservative counterrevolution in the agrarian provinces, to civil war, and finally to intervention by the Entente powers, who "could not have tolerated the interruption of communications by civil war in a country which provided their passage from the Adriatic to Czechoslovakia and Poland" and who were furthermore "determined not to allow the revolution to develop beyond the limits of democracy." According to Bauer, "Had the 'peace and order' which they desired been destroyed, they would have stopped the food trains and the coal trains and thus brought famine upon the whole industrial district; they would have given permission to the Czechs and the Yugoslavs to march and thus have involved us in war; they would have caused the most important railway junctions and towns to be occupied by Italian troops and thus made an end of the revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat," he concluded, "would have ended with the dictatorship of foreign rulers."⁴⁴

Rejecting both dictatorship and the use of force as means of obtaining and maintaining power, the Austro-Marxists advocated a combination of reformist

and revolutionary action: "revolution through reform." Otto Bauer described this as "sober *Realpolitik* and revolutionary enthusiasm united in one spirit." That synthesis of the "realistic sense of the workers' movement with the idealistic ardor for socialism," Bauer maintained, is "the particular intellectual position of our party, as compared with the social democratic parties of other countries." It is indeed "what may be called . . . 'Austro-Marxism!'"⁴⁵

In elaborating the concept of revolution through reform, the Austro-Marxists emphasized Marx's distinction between *political* and *social* revolution. "Political revolution," Bauer claimed in *Der Weg zum Sozialismus* (1919), "is only half the revolution. It abolishes political oppression, but allows economic exploitation to continue."⁴⁶ Max Adler reemphasized the point with an architectural metaphor in *Zur Soziologie der Revolution* (1928): "political revolution . . . leaves the pillars of the house untouched. It does not change anything in the economic foundations of the social order, and attempts simply to modify the structure by redistributing power and thus changing the circle of those who are entitled to profit from society."⁴⁷ The social revolution in contrast, "presupposes the seizure of political power by the proletariat, and the proletariat . . . can seize state power only by revolutionary means. But once this political power has been seized," Bauer claimed, "the proletariat faces an entirely new task, which can no longer be accomplished with the means appropriate to the political revolution. All that the political revolution can ever do, as Marx said, is 'to set free the elements of the future society'; but to construct the new society from these elements is a task which cannot be accomplished in street battles, or in civil war, but only through creative legislative and administrative work."⁴⁸

That constructive work was what Bauer called the "slow revolution," the evolutionary progress toward socialist society once political power had been secured. The concept itself was based on the conviction

that the revolutionary process involved seizing—not destroying—state power, and consolidating and extending reforms already introduced in the bourgeois state. Indeed, the state was to play a key role in the revolutionary process, establishing “the organizational preconditions for socialism” through social legislation and active intervention in the economy.⁴⁸ The slow revolution would be effected by a gradual ascent to power through a process of *bimeinwachsen*, or gradual growth from within.⁴⁹ This ascent was to have two facets. Politically, the party would steadily grow, leading eventually to a socialist majority in parliament; economically, industry would be gradually socialized and management systematically democratized—first in heavy industry (coal, iron, steel) and then slowly expanding into all sections of the economy. The process was expected to take generations.⁵⁰

The concept of *bimeinwachsen* also had a significant cultural component. The Social Democrats, true to the party’s origins, continued to place particular emphasis on education (*Bildung*) as the principal means of advancing the social interests of the working class and preparing the party spiritually and intellectually for power. The party’s understanding of its acculturating mission—to raise the educational level of the worker and make the benefits of high culture available to the masses—was indebted to the traditions of nineteenth-century Austrian liberalism and the classical German philosophy that informed it.⁵¹ Directed toward the development of a new “socialized humanity,” socialist *Bildung*, by giving the workers a share in high culture, would give them a share in political power. In Bauer’s words, “the social pedagogical activity of Social Democracy lays the groundwork for the power of the proletariat.”⁵² The key to power was cultural, not political, hegemony; this was a lesson that the Austro-Marxists felt they had learned from the fate of the multinational empire.

But the acculturating role ascribed to the party by Austro-Marxist theory was problematic, and it has drawn some of the harshest criticism of the program

from recent historians. As Helmut Gruber has pointed out, it left fundamental questions unanswered:

Was all of bourgeois elite culture to be rejected, or were the workers to be given their share of what was considered a national heritage? In the latter case, how were elite forms to be given a socialist interpretation in order to make them appropriate for working-class appreciation? And what was the heritage of elite culture to which the workers were entitled: the classics, or the modern and avant-garde as well? Whose canon of taste would be used to make selections, or was a consensus of taste among leaders presumed? And how could they square the circle of denouncing the worldview of the bourgeoisie while at the same time educating workers to appreciate the historical treasures of that milieu?⁵³

Because they were never fully acknowledged or directly addressed, these questions remained theoretically unresolved. As we will see, however, some resolution did occur in practice.

Politically, the process of *bimeinwachsen* and the concept of the slow revolution were both founded on a firm commitment to parliamentary democracy.⁵⁴ For while the Austro-Marxists were committed to political activity, they were also committed to the belief that a peaceful transition to socialism was both possible and desirable. Indeed, it was their commitment to democratic republicanism, coupled with a belief in the active role of ideology and cultural values in effecting social change, that led the Austrian Social Democrats to seek an alternative to both Leninism and Kautskyism—adopting a political strategy whereby the party assumed a tutelary role—that would prepare the way through education, social policy, and parliamentary politics for the working class to assume its historical role. Thus eschewing both revolution and pure parliamentarism, the Austrian Social Democrats, in the words of Otto Bauer, were committed to finding a “third way” between Bolshevism and reformism, realizing a genuinely democratic socialism through radical cultural and social change.⁵⁵

VIENNA A PROVINCE Already by the end of 1919 circumstances had changed, and the Social Democrats had begun to lose ground in the republic. The signing of the Treaty of St. Germain in October 1919 dealt socialist hegemony in Austria a severe blow, for the terms of the treaty were much harsher than anticipated. Not only were heavy financial burdens imposed, which accelerated the downward plunge of the krone as well as price and wage inflation, but Austria was also deprived of all the disputed frontier districts and most important, was absolutely precluded from political union or *Anschluss* with Germany.³⁸ At the time, union with Germany seemed to many to be the only solution to Austria's economic problems. Compared to the Austrian krone the German reichsmark at the time was remarkably stable and on the way to recovering its old value. Anschluss with the new German Republic, it was generally felt, would provide Austria with a sound currency as well as both access to the raw materials necessary for Austrian industry and an unrestricted market for the country's manufactured products.

For the Social Democrats, *anschluss* with Social Democratic Germany had been a primary objective toward which all of their policies had been directed. The new Austrian Republic was deemed, in Otto Bauer's words, "an impossible state." Neither politically nor economically viable, it was considered to be *lebensunfähig* (incapable of survival). Though it was "a possible federal state within a federation," Austria was not "a state which could persist alone, because it [had] no self-enclosed area, and because it [was] much too small to maintain its large industry."³⁹ Cultural factors were as significant as, if not more significant than, the country's political weakness and economic *Lebensunfähigkeit*, which in any case (hindsight has confirmed) was more myth than reality. Unlike the other national groups that had constituted the Habsburg Empire, there was, Bauer argued, no "Austrian nationality."⁴⁰ The national ties of German-Austrians, cultur-

ally conceived, were to Germany. More specifically, German-speaking Austrians identified themselves as Tyroleans, Styrians, Carinthians, Viennese, and so on rather than as Austrians. The new state was "a mere contrivance of military defeat, national dissolution, and Entente imperialism"; it was not, in Bauer's words, a "unitary nation [conceived] as a community of education, work, and culture."³⁹

Even before the new republic was proclaimed, the Social Democrats had declared their intention to pursue the creation of *Deutsch-Österreich*, a democratic, socialist, and republican Austrian state, soon to be united with the Social Democratic German Republic, which was established on 9 November 1918, three days before the Austrian Republic.⁴⁰ Until 1933 the Social Democrats remained convinced of the desirability of union with Germany and committed to the position that Austria was not viable as an independent state. Consequently, toward the end of 1919, once *anschluss* with Germany was no longer a possibility and the threat of a communist revolution in Austria had subsided, the power and influence of the Social Democratic party in national politics rapidly declined.

In October 1919 a coalition government was formed with much stronger Christian Socialist representation. This reflected, on the one hand, a growing conservatism in the rural provinces, where the central government's requisitions of food for the capital were deeply resented. It also marked, on the other hand, an increasing disaffection among the middle classes, who were hardest hit by the currency crisis and who had not benefited from the progressive labor legislation introduced by the Social Democrats earlier in the year. In June 1920 this second coalition was dissolved. In the parliamentary election of 17 October 1920, the Christian Socialists gained control of the National Assembly, and the Social Democrats ceased to play a central role in the power politics of the republic.⁴¹

In the meantime, however, the strength of the Social Democrats in Vienna had been growing steadily

since 1918. A significant factor in this development was the passing of a suffrage law in January 1919 that extended the franchise to women and established proportional representation of parties as well as a secret ballot. The following March, municipal voting rights in Vienna were extended to include all Austrian citizens over the age of twenty who had been residents of Vienna before the first day of the election year. The result was immediately evident in the municipal elections held on 4 May 1919. The Social Democratic party received an absolute majority of 54 percent of the vote, and 100 out of 165 seats on the city council. On 22 May 1919, the first socialist mayor of Vienna, Jacob Reumann (1853–1925), was elected by the new council. Reumann, a turner by profession, had firm working-class roots. He was also a respected politician who had been a member of the Social Democratic Party since its foundation and a councilman since 1900.⁶²

The retreat of the Social Democrats to the party's stronghold in Vienna widened the gap between the capital and the rural provinces, which soon led to a major change in the political structure of the republic. According to the constitution of November 1918, Vienna was both the country's capital and part of the province of Lower Austria. This meant that all of the municipality's ordinances were subject to ratification by the provincial legislature and that its own taxing powers were extremely limited. It also meant that the Social Democrats in Vienna had a say in matters pertaining to the predominantly Christian Socialist rural and agrarian districts of Lower Austria. City and province were equally dissatisfied with this arrangement.⁶³ In addition, the other (largely Christian Socialist) provinces in the republic did not want to see Lower Austria become the "Prussia of Austria"—that is, larger, more populous, and economically more powerful than all the other provinces. They were intent, therefore, on limiting Social Democratic hegemony to Vienna.⁶⁴

Negotiations regarding Vienna's status had begun long before confederation. As early as 1896 the Social Democrats had called for the "Reichsunmittelbarkeit von Wien," or administrative independence of the imperial capital. When the idea of an independent Vienna was revived in 1919, it was associated with the creation of a separate *Bundesland Wien*, or Province of Vienna. In the autumn of 1919, after the Treaty of St. Germain was ratified Vienna's status became a central issue in drafting the new constitution of the republic. In March 1920 two schemes for a new *Bundesland Wien* were put forward by the Social Democrats; one by Karl Renner, first president of the republic, and another by Max Ermers, head of the Vienna Siedlungsammt. Though the boundaries were differently drawn, both incorporated surrounding industrial areas including the district of Wiener Neustadt south of Vienna (figure 1.3). An alternative scheme developed by the Christian Socialist Party in Vienna involved expansion toward the north to encompass an expanded Danube harbor and canal system linked to new industrial development in the area, as well as a projected transcontinental Rhein-Main-Donau-Oder system of waterways.⁶⁵

None of these schemes was fully developed, since both parties were split over the principle of territorial expansion and the creation of a separate *Bundesland Wien*. The Christian Socialists in Vienna were opposed to socialist control of Austrian industry, which they saw as a consequence of the annexation of Wiener Neustadt in the Social Democratic schemes. The Christian Socialists' own scheme was opposed by their constituents in the rural districts of Lower Austria, who resisted the enlargement of the urban area of Vienna altogether. The Social Democrats for their part, were unable to resolve what they perceived as a conflict of objectives: by strengthening the position of the party in Vienna they were weakening it outside the capital. They saw this conflict as the unavoidable consequence of all schemes for an expanded *Bundesland*

1.3 Map showing Top: "Bundesland Wien" and Bottom: "Marxist" proposals, 1920.



Wien. In the end, unable to find a solution that would strengthen the party as a whole and not just the Viennese, the Social Democrats, whose position had in any case weakened considerably since negotiations began, agreed to provincial status for Vienna without territorial addition.⁶⁴

In October 1920 the first, and decisive, step toward legal separation was taken. On the first of the month a law was passed by which Austria became a

federal state composed of independent provinces. Within this confederation the Province of Lower Austria was subdivided into two parts: Vienna and rural Lower Austria. City and state could use their common provincial diet only for matters pertaining to both territories. The new legislation also included the proviso that a "separate state of Vienna may be formed by concurrent laws of the City Council of Vienna and the state Parliament of Lower Austria."⁶⁵ By this time the Social Democrats, no longer in a position of power in the National Assembly, had realized that they would be forced to abandon their attempts to enlarge the metropolitan area; they instead concentrated their efforts on obtaining maximum constitutional independence and legislative powers for Vienna. In an article published in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in December 1920, Robert Danneberg, president of the new Provincial Assembly of Vienna and one of the principal Social Democratic negotiators, explained the party's rationale for this strategy:

It is of the utmost importance that the Social Democratic municipal government obtain independence from the bourgeois provincial government. To increase its power by becoming a provincial government is in the interests of not only the Viennese proletariat but the entire working class of German-Austria, since Vienna is, and will remain, the center point of revolutionary development. The Social Democratic municipal and provincial government of Vienna can by its policies provide an example to comrades in the other provinces of German-Austria, where the party is in the minority. Vienna gives them all support. The destiny of the Viennese labor movement is the destiny of the movement in the whole republic.⁶⁶

The Social Democrats were able to resolve the dilemma that independent provincial status for Vienna seemed to present for the party by determining a special role for the capital.

Little more than a year later, on 29 December 1921, Vienna and Lower Austria became, by mutual agreement, separate and independent provinces of the federation (in practice this had been the case since December 1920).⁶⁹ Thus on 1 January 1922, Vienna became a state. The mayor of the city presided over the city council, which also functioned as a provincial diet, though the meetings of the diet were held separately and were presided over by its own president.⁷⁰

Provincial status after 1920 had two major consequences for Vienna, which were in turn to have a significant impact on the Social Democrats' municipal building plans. First, it restricted the physical growth of the city, since under the new constitution Vienna could not expand beyond its existing municipal boundaries without constitutional amendment. Vienna's inability throughout the 1920s and early 1930s to expand beyond boundaries set in 1905 was a factor in determining the character of the city's housing program. Second, it gave the municipality unprecedented constitutional independence, allowing it for the first time to determine and implement its own policies. Since the Social Democratic city council could now make laws that need not be ratified by the provincial assembly of Lower Austria, it could levy both city and provincial taxes. It also had access to federal funds as both a city and a province. Thus provincial status gave Vienna access to far greater financial resources than ever before.⁷¹

The Social Democrats' strength in Vienna provided the party with an attractive alternative to playing a central role in the power politics of the republic. As Robert Danneberg noted a few years later, "Capitalism cannot be abolished from the Town Hall. Yet it is within the power of great cities to perform useful instalments of socialist work in the midst of capitalist society. A socialist majority in a municipality can show what creative force resides in Socialism. Its fruitful labors not only benefit the inhabitants of the city, but raise the prestige of Socialism elsewhere."⁷² Precluded

from implementing such a program in the country as a whole, the Social Democrats decided to work toward constructing an "anticipatory socialism" in Vienna by creating a "model new society within the confines of the old."⁷³ Because theirs was the first socialist party to govern a major European capital and metropolis of almost two million inhabitants, the Social Democrats determined to make "Red Vienna" a showpiece of socialist achievement: a model of municipal socialism that would prefigure the coming socialist society.

Of course real socialism was not possible at the municipal level, though the municipality could prepare in various ways for the socialist future—by exploring new legal forms for the socialization of the economy, democratizing management in municipal concerns, identifying the most important problems that can develop in a socialist economy, creating positions of power in various branches of the economy, and so on.⁷⁴ As we will see, the municipality did move to communalize certain manufacturing concerns, particularly bakeries and breweries and some parts of the building industry.⁷⁵ But socialization and communal policy were basically limited to the sphere of reproduction; to the worker's leisure, cultural, and domestic life.

Even before this time the Social Democrats had begun to develop the outlines of a socialist municipal policy for Vienna. At the party congress in Graz in 1900, Franz Schuhmeier, the leader of the Social Democratic party in Vienna, had proposed a comprehensive program of municipal reforms for the party's consideration. Schuhmeier (1864–1913) was one of the most significant political figures in turn-of-the-century Vienna. The son of an unemployed ribbon maker, he was a self-taught intellectual, a natural politician, and a charismatic leader and speaker whose popularity with the working class rivaled that of his contemporary Karl Lueger (Vienna's Christian Socialist mayor), with the petit bourgeoisie. Elected to the city council in 1900 by the working-class district

of Ottakring, Schuhmeier turned the district into a "laboratory for socialist political education."⁷⁴ In 1889 he founded the Workers' Educational Club Apollo, where laborers could receive an elementary education, use the library, or take courses in a range of subjects from German and Czech to bookkeeping and Marxist thought. Later he similarly transformed the Ottakring *Arbeiterheim* (labor club or working men's home and district party headquarters) into what he called a "future university of the working class." Schuhmeier's conviction that the "working class should absorb the best of the past to shape the future" and his activities in this area—cut short by his assassination in 1913 by the brother of Leopold Kunschak, the Christian Socialist labor leader—established the pattern for the socialist organization of Vienna in the 1920s.⁷⁵

Schuhmeier's proposed municipal reforms, published in 1900 as "Grundsätze für das Wirken der Sozialdemokraten in der Gemeinde" ("The Principles of Social Democratic Activity for the Community"), was an elaboration of a list of demands, "Was die Sozialdemokraten von der Kommune fordern!" ("What the Social Democrats Demand of the Municipality"), which had been published in 1896 in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.⁷⁶ Schuhmeier's "Principles" called for a radical reform of the municipal welfare services, the establishment of city-run health- and child-care facilities, and a comprehensive overhaul of the public school system.⁷⁷ Schuhmeier was prescient in stipulating that a comprehensive program of reforms such as the one he proposed could be carried out only if the Vienna City Council was granted legislative and administrative independence from the Province of Lower Austria. Only then would Vienna be able to restructure its system of taxation in such a way that the city would be provided with sufficient revenues to finance the program. Schuhmeier's proposal also called for an increase of the municipal real estate holdings through large-scale acquisitions of land on which, he proposed, inexpensive housing should be built by the city itself.⁷⁸

This last proposition was neither radical nor unique to Schuhmeier. Bourgeois reformers and architects, including Otto Wagner, were proposing similar solutions to the housing problem and methods of curbing building speculation in Vienna during these years (see chapter 5).

Nevertheless, it is clear from Schuhmeier's proposal that as early as 1900 the Social Democratic leadership in Vienna regarded the city's housing problem as a part of the general problem of social legislation and its solution—the construction of new housing by the municipality—as a major component of the party's wide-ranging *Kommunalpolitik* (municipal policy). Reissued in 1912, and published two years later under the title *Was fordern die Sozialdemokraten von der Gemeinde Wien? Das sozialdemokratische Kommunalprogramm* (*What do the Social Democrats Demand for Vienna? The Social Democratic Communal Program*), Schuhmeier's proposals became the basis for the Social Democrats' subsequent municipal policy and program in the postwar period.⁷⁹

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM As soon as Vienna obtained independent provincial status, in 1920/1921 the Social Democrats began to formulate a long-term strategy of reform that built on, and in terms of social planning went far beyond the scope of, municipal activities undertaken by previous Vienna city governments. These, as we will see in the next chapter, had been exemplary in other ways, providing a precedent for the municipal sponsorship of large-scale urban projects as well as for turning such projects to the political advantage of the ruling party.

The Liberals and Christian Socialists, who administered the city from 1861 to 1918—who oversaw Vienna's transformation from preindustrial walled city to metropolitan *Weltstadt* (world city) of two million inhabitants—had created the municipal infrastructure of transportation, power, water, sanitation, green spaces, and industrial areas that made this growth pos-

sible. The Social Democrats inherited this substantial legacy, as well as a depleted municipal budget. Yet far greater than the fiscal deficit in the municipal budget left by the Christian Socialists was the social deficit in Mayor Karl Lueger's municipal program. As we will also see in the next chapter, the Christian Socialists had grossly neglected the shameful living conditions of the growing mass of Vienna's industrial workers who, unprotected by social or labor legislation, were housed in quarters so overcrowded and squalid as to be considered among the worst in Europe.

This mixed legacy—the extensive provision of technical infrastructure and the almost total absence of social legislation or planning—made it both possible and imperative for the Social Democrats to concentrate on the sphere of reproduction and to focus their program of municipal reforms on improving the living conditions of the mass of the population. To accomplish this, however, it was necessary not only to transform the city's existing housing system but also to reshape its entire social and economic infrastructure.

The primary instrument of transformation was tax reform and systematic reorganization of the city's finances (discussed in relation to the building program in chapter 4), upon which all other reforms and programs were founded. But the cornerstone of the Social Democrats' program was a broad set of municipal institutions designed to shape a new "socialized humanity" within the existing framework of capitalist society. These included not only the trade unions, workers, councils, works committees, cooperative societies, and other party organizations and institutions of communal self-government, but also an extensive and integrated network of social, cultural, and pedagogical institutions.⁸² Administration of this program required a radical overhaul of the municipal government.

Administrative Reorganization The efficient and democratic reform of the city administration was designed to close the gap between the upper levels of

government (the elected city councillors) and the administrative departments (the *Magistrat*) responsible for municipal operations. It was also intended to redistribute among the elected councillors in the *Gemeinderat* (city council) some of the executive powers and administrative duties of the mayor.⁸³

In the new organization the *Magistrat*, or administrative branch of the city government, was partitioned into seven divisions (*Verwaltungsgruppen*), within which the fifty-four *Magistrats Abteilungen*, or administrative departments, were distributed. At the head of each division was an alderman, elected by the city council from the majority party, who functioned as chief executive officer (*Amtsführender Stadtrat*) of the division. Each head of division was also permanent chairman of an executive committee (*Gemeinderats Ausschuss*) composed of city councillors, proportionally chosen from both parties, who were responsible for deliberating matters of business within the division before those matters were presented to the city council for final decision. The division heads (*Stadträte*, who were all Social Democrats) together with the mayor and vice-mayors constituted the city senate, or *Stadtsenat der Stadt Wien*. Generally, all major matters of business or policy pertaining to the municipality were discussed first in the relevant executive committee(s), after which they were sent to the *Stadtsenat* and from there to the *Gemeinderat* for final approval. Once a project or policy had been approved by the city council, it was passed on to the responsible division and department(s), who were charged with either developing it further or implementing it. After the relevant department had completed this work, the matter of business or policy was reviewed by the executive committees, senate, and city council for final confirmation of satisfactory completion. This procedure was intended to effect a closer connection between those branches of the municipal government responsible for decision making (the city council) and those charged with executing the decisions (the *Magistrat*). It also as-

sured the majority party complete control over the operational functions of the city administration.

After little more than a year in city hall, the Social Democrats' new administrative structure was in place; it was officially decreed by constitutional amendment on 31 May 1920.⁸⁴ The fifty-four *Magistrats Abteilungen* were grouped into seven administrative divisions: Personnel (*Personalangelegenheiten und Verwaltungsreform*), Finance (*Finanzwesen*), Public Health and Welfare (*Wahlfabriksrichtungen, Jugendfürsorge und Gesundheitswesen*), Social Policy and Housing (*Sozialpolitik und Wohnungswesen*), Public Works and Technical Infrastructure (*Technische Angelegenheiten*), Food and Stores (*Ernährungs- und Wirtschaftsangelegenheiten*), and General Administration (*Allgemeine Verwaltungsangelegenheiten*), which gathered together areas that did not fall into any of other divisions. An eighth division, Urban Enterprises (*Städtische Unternehmungen*), was concerned with the management of city-owned and city-run public utilities and business enterprises, including water, gas, electricity, public baths, cemeteries, building materials, street-car service, a brewery and a bakery, funeral services, and an advertising agency; it was not part of the *Magistrat*.⁸⁵

Public Health and Welfare A major component of the new municipal program was the Department of Welfare and Public Health under the direction of Dr. Julius Tandler (1869–1936), a prominent physician and anatomist (and one of a very few chaired professors in the medical faculty at Vienna University who were Jewish) who had been undersecretary of state for public health in the republic's first coalition government in 1919. Tandler's program differed fundamentally from earlier approaches to social welfare in Vienna.⁸⁶ Rather than targeting individuals or groups considered to be particularly needy, deserving, or threatening to the existing social order, it addressed the entire community. Instead of providing only for

the absolutely essential needs of a limited number of people (the aged, orphaned, indigent, and insane, for example), the new welfare programs were conceived as supplements to the social and labor legislation introduced by the Social Democrats—a means, in fact, of extending the aims of this legislation to those not directly protected by it, by providing health and welfare services as a right of citizenship to all members of society.⁸⁷

The gravest problem facing health and welfare officials at the time, Tandler maintained, was the high rate of infant and child mortality in Vienna, which had not decreased after the war but instead had increased 100 percent. In addition, tuberculosis was so widespread (particularly in working-class neighborhoods) that it became known during this time as the “Viennese disease.”⁸⁸ Politically, the only viable course of action was to launch an aggressive attack on the problem by eradicating its causes. Those same conditions of working-class life in Vienna—overcrowding and its attendant physical, social, and psychological miseries—that were responsible for the high mortality rates had also made it materially impossible for the majority of working-class men and women to marry and establish households.⁸⁹ The attack on unhealthy physical and social conditions was linked therefore to the need to create “optimal conditions for the rearing of children” by fostering “proper” proletarian family life. For the purposes of both its “population policies and welfare measures,” the municipality decreed the nuclear family the “basic social unit.”⁹⁰ Though founded on pragmatism, this construction was also based on a nineteenth-century model, proposed by middle-class reformers as a means of stabilizing the urban industrial workforce. It also represented a rejection of Marxist canon, according to which the dissolution of the family under capitalism would be followed by communal forms of social organization.⁹¹

Tandler summarized the ideas underlying this policy: “the health of the people as a whole is depen-

dent on the health of each individual as determined both by his constitution and by his environment. Therefore, the first step must be to improve the heredity of each person. Next, the environment must be improved to the extent that it affects favorably the growing generation from both the physical and mental standpoints. Such effort must include not only the prevention of disease, but the eradication of conditions that might lead to other physical handicaps. Any rational, all-embracing policy will, therefore, need to be governed chiefly by the concept of preventive medicine.⁹⁸ For such a program to succeed, the family as the basic social unit "must be preserved insofar as it is possible to preserve it."⁹⁹ To this end an extensive network of social services was created and widely distributed throughout the city to provide "cradle-to-grave" care, counseling, and instruction in all aspects of public health and welfare. Future oriented in its objectives, the program placed special emphasis on the care of children and youth. Child care began before birth with prenatal and maternity clinics (*Mutterberatungsstellen*) that administered blood tests, provided counseling, and supplied all new mothers with a free layette (figure 1.4). Child welfare centers ran well-baby, dental, and tuberculosis clinics; provided school medical and dental examinations; and arranged for foster care where necessary (figure 1.5).

The Welfare Department was also responsible for early childhood education. To care for the children of working mothers, the city provided day-care facilities throughout working-class districts, as well as summer camps and programs for after-school care. The municipality also opened 120 new municipal kindergartens, whose methods of instruction were based on Froebel and Montessori principles of child development. All children enrolled in the municipal kindergartens were given three free, or nearly free, meals a day. Warm lunches were also provided for older children attending municipal schools.⁹⁹

Adult welfare services provided marriage counseling, as well as legal advice to unmarried expectant mothers.⁹⁸ The Welfare Department also assisted hospitals with training programs, founded a kindergarten-training institute in 1924, built public bathing and swimming facilities throughout the city (including the palatial Amalienbad in the proletarian district of Favoriten, decorated throughout with colored tiles and equipped with tubs, showers, and swimming pools as well as Turkish steam baths, other medicinal baths with doctors in attendance, hairdressing salons, shampoo cubicals, resting rooms, etc.), reorganized the municipal burial and cemetery services, and built the first crematorium in Vienna.⁹⁹

The achievements of Tandler's programs were considerable. The change in mortality figures alone is striking: the death rate dropped 25 percent, and child mortality dropped 50 percent from prewar levels. The incidence of tuberculosis, particularly among children, was also considerably reduced.⁹⁸ Yet the comprehensive cradle-to-grave program was both eyed with suspicion and resisted by those whose lives it was intended to improve. Recent studies, such as Doris Beyer's analysis of social Darwinism in Tandler's population politics and Reinhard Sieder's examination of family life in Red Vienna, based on interviews conducted in the 1980s with men and women who were recipients of the Social Democrats' welfare, have shown that resistance to Tandler's program had a great deal to do with how it was implemented by welfare and health-care workers and other enforcement agencies.⁹⁹ But the antagonism went beyond the methods used: the Social Democrats' emphasis on the "proper" or "orderly" nuclear family as the normative model for the new socialist society was at variance with the "half open" and extended families of traditional proletarian culture. Enforcement of the new standards, concerning orderliness as well as moral probity, led to sometimes violent conflicts between workers and welfare

1.4 "No Viennese child shall be born on newspaper"; showing Joyette distributed to all newborns. Socialist propaganda from *Der Kuckuck*, 27 March 1932, 3.

Kein Wiener Kind darf auf Zeitungspapier geboren werden



Anzahl der Abonnenten
 1.272.608
 110.000
 318.000
 318.000
 53.000
53.000
Staubungs-
paßer,
gespendet

officers. Other social values emphasized by the welfare policies, including the importance placed on motherhood as the chief function of women and the implied sanction on working mothers, were seen as proscriptive, authoritarian, and normative.⁹⁸

One of the most controversial new welfare institutions was the foster care system. Children in families that, in the eyes of welfare officials, could not provide "proper" conditions for child rearing (because of illness, homelessness, extreme poverty, alcoholism, etc.) were forcibly removed to *Kinderübernahmestellen*, or foster care centers. While these centers were often beautifully appointed (descriptions of them proliferate throughout the official literature on the program; one was located in Schloss Wilhelminenberg, a former Habsburg palace), the trauma of such separation, and the social stigma attached to it, was often devastating

to proletarian families.⁹⁹ Sieder's subjects (the objects of Tandler's population policies) complained of the coercive, authoritarian methods employed by welfare officials and made clear that they often felt as if their private lives were under surveillance.¹⁰⁰ Yet these conditions were not new to proletarian life: Austrian society had always been hierarchical, authoritarian, and proscriptive. Furthermore, as others have also pointed out, there was no tradition of individuality or even democratic practice in Austrian society that might have informed welfare workers' methods of dealing with what were considered to be cases of deviance.¹⁰¹

But as Helmut Gruber emphasizes, tradition does not fully account for either the authoritarian methods used to implement the Social Democrats' welfare policies or the social controls they seemed to impose. Fundamental to the Austro-Marxists' welfare policies was the notion that the physical and social health of the working class could be improved only by changing proletarian habits of behavior through direct intervention in the daily lives of workers by specialists and professionally trained experts.¹⁰² In other words, inherent in these policies was an objectification of the worker, who was conceived as "unformed" and "malleable": the passive object of expert care and counsel. Such relationships of subject and object, as Michel Foucault revealed, are endemic to social welfare and particularly to medical discursive practices, and are a subject to which we will return.¹⁰³

Education and Culture The Social Democrats (following Max Adler) made a clear distinction between public and socialist education. While it was the task of public schools to educate and train workers' children to succeed in existing society, the task of socialist education was to prepare the proletariat itself for revolution and the future socialist society.¹⁰⁴ The municipality's educational programs were bifurcated along these lines—and heavily weighted in favor of the latter.



1.5 Dental clinic in the Kinderoberschule Laa-Karlsplatz (former care center), photo 1925.

The public education program under Otto Glöckl, councillor for education, followed a prospectus of reforms that Glöckl himself in the early 1900s had helped prepare (along with Karl Seitz, mayor of Vienna from 1924 to 1934, who like Glöckl had been a schoolteacher before the war). Directed toward dismantling the conservative, hierarchical, and authoritarian public school system established under the monarchy, its purpose was to restructure public education in Vienna along egalitarian lines. In this massive overhaul of the public school system, the old hierar-

chical class divisions (*Einheitschule*) and corporal punishment were abolished, tracking was postponed to give working-class students increased access to higher education, school administration was democratized, parents' associations were established, and a new emphasis was placed on experimentation, the promotion of social mobility, and the inculcation of democratic values.¹⁶⁵ To further equalize opportunity within the system, students were given free books and educational materials, and libraries were established in public schools. Democratization extended to higher

1.6 "Who will lend me books?" Map of Vienna showing location of new libraries. Poster produced by Zentralstelle für das Bildungswesen der SDAP, 1929.



education as well. New trade schools were opened, and for the first time women were admitted to the faculties of law, engineering, and agronomy.¹⁰⁶

To supplement these programs more than forty cultural organizations were founded, and libraries, bookstores, and *Bildungskommissionen* (educational commissions) were set up in all Vienna districts (figure 1.6). The Social Democratic Art Office (*Sozialdemok-*

rische Kunststelle) opened theaters and distributed reduced-price tickets to the State Opera and Burgtheater (the former imperial theater) to the mass of workers; it organized exhibitions, public lectures, film screenings, and courses of instruction, as well as trips to foreign countries.¹⁰⁷ The party also published several daily newspapers and weekly magazines directed toward workers; founded *Musikvereine* (music socie-



ties), freethinkers' leagues, a temperance league, and a number of athletic and sporting clubs; and organized athletic competitions (including a workers' olympics), mass festivals, ceremonies, and other forms of public spectacle (figure 1.7).¹⁰⁸ As Helmut Gruber points out, these participatory cultural events were among the most popular and successful components of the Social Democrats' cultural program; combining physical exercise with relaxation, they offered workers the opportunity to excel and provided an easy form of collective association. Furthermore, the enormous public spectacles of uniformed athletes and gymnasts marching in formation or exercising in unison seemed to provide tangible evidence of working-class power, discipline, and control.¹⁰⁹

It was through these organizations and events, designed to encompass every aspect of a worker's life and to draw men and women of all ages and professions into a wide network of communal activities, that the Social Democrats set about to transform the traditional *Völkultur* (popular or folk culture) of the Viennese working class into a new *Arbeiterkultur* (socialized worker culture) and the worker himself into a "new socialized individual."¹¹⁰ They also represented a serious attempt on the part of the Social Democrats to raise the educational level of the worker and to make the benefits of culture available to the mass of the population. Through them the *neuer Mensch*, integrated into the new socialist society, could at last lay claim to the "national" culture.

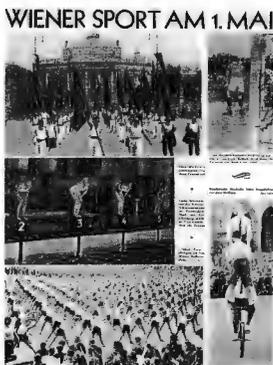
Yet as historians of working-class culture in Red Vienna have noted—in particular Gruber, whose monograph on working-class culture in Red Vienna is an essential text on the subject—there were inherent contradictions in the Social Democrats' program between the democratic aims and the authoritarian methods used to achieve them, between the goal of empowerment through education and programs that cast the worker as the passive recipient of welfare and consumer of party-approved culture. The workers

themselves were rarely consulted or allowed to participate as subjects in the shaping of policy.¹¹¹ Red Vienna's cultural programs reflected the party leadership's ambiguous stance (already noted in relation to Austro-Marxist theory) toward bourgeois elite culture, which was held to be both a right of citizenship and a necessary part of socialist political education. The directors of the Social Democratic cultural programs—Joseph Luitipold Stern, David Joseph Bach, and Richard Wagner—condemned bourgeois values but at the same time labored to make available to the proletariat the products of that culture. Underlying these practices was the unauthorized notion that artistic quality was in itself progressive, that great works of art were, within the terms of their own practices, advanced, even revolutionary.¹¹² As Richard Wagner himself noted, Austrian Social Democracy had developed no cultural theory or policy comparable to its political theory and policy.¹¹³

Oral histories conducted recently have shown that there was considerable grassroots resentment of the perceived paternalism and dismissive attitude on the part of the Social Democratic leadership toward traditional working-class culture, as well as toward the new forms of the dominant mass culture such as radio and film.¹¹⁴ Of course, the Austro-Marxists were not alone among socialist leaders in evincing little direct knowledge of working-class cultural life. Certainly the Weimar Social Democratic leadership was equally (if not more) out of touch with authentic proletarian culture, social habits, and psychological needs.¹¹⁵ Incomprehension of and resistance to new forms of popular culture on the part of party leaders reflected both a class and a generational divide.

Though socialist counterculture in Vienna failed to lure the proletariat away from popular forms of traditional commercial culture or the new mass culture, the party organizations and activities did promote class solidarity, and they contributed substantially to strengthening the Social Democrats' power base in

1.7 "Viennese sport on the 1st of May." From *Der Kuckuck*, 11 May 1930, 5.



Vienna. The broad institutional network of Red Vienna, with its comprehensive social services and enormous range of intellectual and physical activities, conferred new political, social, and economic status on the worker. But it was the municipal building program that gave Vienna's workers political control over the space of the city itself. Distributed throughout Vienna, the new socialist *Gemeindebauten* opened a discursive space between themselves and the historical city, between the old and new orders, a space in which workers for the first time were subjects of their own environment.

Building Program The municipal building program was launched in 1923 in conjunction with an emer-

gency scheme for the alleviation of unemployment, whereby generous contracts were awarded to private builders and carpenters.¹¹⁴ The building proceeded with record speed: By the end of the year, 2,256 dwellings had been built in fifteen apartment blocks or *Gemeindebauten* and three suburban cottage settlements or *Siedlungen*; only 1,000 had been projected. In addition, unemployment in the construction industries and building trades in Vienna had dropped from 12,453 at the end of February to 3,826 by the middle of June.¹¹⁵ Encouraged by the unanticipated success of the 1923 building program, the city council began in the summer of that year to formulate long-range plans for developing a housing program to be carried out over an extended period of time. By the early fall of 1923 these plans were complete, and the city council was ready to initiate its first five-year building program.

On 21 September 1923, a few weeks before general parliamentary elections were to take place, the Social Democrats announced the municipality's plans to build 25,000 housing units over five years, beginning in January 1924. Like the earlier program, this plan was linked to efforts to curb unemployment in Vienna; it was intended to provide jobs for thousands of construction workers, craftsmen, sculptors, and architects, since, it was announced, the new housing was to contribute significantly to the beautification of the city.¹¹⁶ The estimated budget for the building program was 400 billion crowns per year (the equivalent of approximately \$5,700,000 in 1923), which was to be paid for out of the *Wohnbausteuer* (housing construction tax) and other tax revenues without recourse to new taxes. The housing itself was to be built *à fonds perdu*, with the city forgoing any return on the invested capital; the investment was to be written off entirely as a non-recoverable cost to the municipality (see chapter 4, below).¹¹⁷

Given the timing of its announcement, the Social Democrats' five-year program was at first dismissed as

little more than an election ploy, a campaign promise that would (and could) not be realized once the elections were over. This proved false. Construction of the new housing began almost immediately. By the end of 1924, a year of serious economic crisis in Austria during which the stock exchange collapsed and industry was crippled by 380 successive strikes involving over 265,000 workers, the municipality nevertheless managed to complete construction of 2,478 dwellings. In 1925 building at the projected rate began, and a further 6,387 units were completed in that year. In 1926 the construction figures rose to 9,034, so that by the end of that year a total of 20,849 dwellings had been built since the inception of the five-year program; a further 7,000 were under construction. In December 1926, therefore, the city decided to add another 5,000 dwellings to its program for 1927. By the end of that year all but 2,378 of the projected 30,000 units had been completed, and 6,000 more were under construction.¹²⁰

In May 1927 the Social Democrats announced their second five-year program. Scheduled to begin in 1928, it involved the construction of an additional 30,000 dwellings. This accelerated schedule, unlike the first, was not maintained. Political tension, the failure of the Bank of Austria in 1928, and the worldwide economic depression during these years crippled the program. Nevertheless, between September 1923, when the building program began, and the end of 1933, a total of 58,667 dwellings had been built by the city. By the end of 1934, when buildings begun before the Austro-fascist coup of February 1934 had been completed, this number increased to 61,175.¹²¹

Thus the total number of new dwellings built by the municipality of Red Vienna, including those constructed between 1919 and 1923, was 64,125. In addition to this new construction, the city had provided a further 2,145 dwellings in renovated or requisitioned old buildings. By the end of the Social Democrats' tenure in city hall, the municipality owned and admin-

istered 66,270 of the 613,436 total living quarters recorded in the census taken in the capital in 1934. In their nearly fifteen years of governing Vienna from May 1919 to February 1934, the Social Democrats had increased the housing resources in the city by 11 percent. By 1934, somewhere between one-tenth and one-eighth of the total population of Vienna was housed in municipal dwellings built almost entirely out of the city's annual income.¹²²

Many of the municipality's communal facilities—the clinics, counseling centers, libraries, playgrounds, kindergartens, youth centers, gymnasiums, day-care facilities, laundries, carpentry shops, theaters, cinemas, and post offices, as well as the city-run cafes, cooperative stores, and other communal facilities and occasionally also the offices of various municipal departments—were located in the new housing blocks. Incorporating workers' dwellings with the party's new social and cultural organizations, the *Gemeindebauten* thus became the frame and focus for intense socialist activity. Though only one of several institutions designed to reshape the social and economic infrastructure of the city along socialist lines, the housing, as the locus for so many of the municipality's communal organizations and facilities, was the nexus of Red Vienna's institutions and the spatial embodiment of its communitarian and pedagogic ideals.

THE SECOND STRATEGY: POWER OR ILLUSION

Politically, the institutionalism of Red Vienna signaled the Social Democrats' abandonment of their earlier postwar strategy, framed when the party had been optimistic about the its future in the republic. This strategy, based as we have seen on the concept of the "slow revolution," had been predicated on the achievement of political revolution, "the seizure of political power by the proletariat."¹²³ By 1920 that power had eroded. After the collapse of the federal coalition, when the Social Democrats were once again no longer a political force outside Vienna, the party reverted to prewar

notions of hegemony and in particular to the Austro-Marxist concept of a gradual ascent to power through a process of *hineinwachsen*, the slow growth toward socialism from within capitalist society. As Anson Rabinbach has pointed out, this was not so much an admission of defeat as an acknowledgment of postwar political realities: no class could exercise hegemony without at least tacit participation of the opposing class.¹²⁴ The preparatory strategy of *hineinwachsen* displaced the political revolution, which the Austro-Marxists had insisted (in 1919 to 1920) was the necessary precondition for social revolution, to the future. Equally unable to carry out any effective socialization of production, the Social Democratic city administrators focused on the sphere of reproduction—on transforming the living conditions and leisure time of the workers and using the present to prepare the way through education, social policy, and parliamentary politics for the eventual seizure of power by the proletariat.¹²⁵

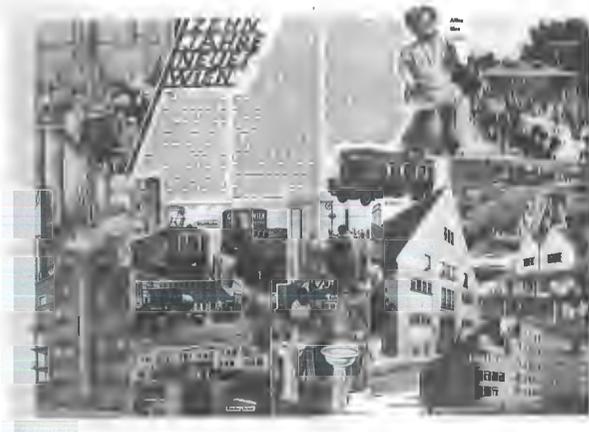
As political historians have pointed out, this strategy led to a political impasse that resulted ultimately in the defeat of Red Vienna itself.¹²⁶ Rather than politics providing a protected environment for culture, Helmut Gruber observed, culture became a substitute for politics. In other words, the strength of Red Vienna's institutions created an illusion of political power that it did not in fact have.¹²⁷ Critics from within the socialist camp, including the political economist and philosopher Otto Neurath, who contributed conceptually though not administratively to the Social Democrats' spatial politics in Vienna, warned against confusing cultural with political power and putting too much value on the outward forms of cultural production. Neurath rejected the Austro-Marxist position, formulated by Max Adler, that only socialist man can create socialist society; he claimed instead that political revolution was a necessary prerequisite for social revolution, that only socialist society could create socialist man.¹²⁸ But, as Neurath himself acknowl-

edged, there was another dimension to politics and power in Red Vienna.

It is true that in 1934, Social Democratic Vienna was unable to withstand the forces of reaction that would soon overpower much of democratic Europe. But within Red Vienna itself, power was not an illusion. It was evident and tangibly manifest to every Viennese worker, who recognized in the massive institutional infrastructure and 400 new buildings erected throughout Vienna the instrumentality of political power and his or her own control—as enfranchised citizens of a democratic society—over its deployment (figure 1.8). Nor was the power manifest in Red Vienna's new buildings merely symbolic. Indeed, the buildings themselves were testimony to the political control that the urban poor of Vienna had achieved over the shape and use of space in their city.

To Charles Gulick, writing just after World War II, the significance of that power was clear: "Probably more than anything else, the city houses . . . made the Vienna worker realize that he was not a propertyless stranger in a society that was not his. . . . In the days when a brutal dictatorship ordered and commanded, when liberty and peace were trodden under foot, the stone witnesses of a ten-year building policy reminded the men and women of Vienna of the peaceful forces of democracy which created through the people and for the people."¹²⁹ Forty years later, viewing the structures from the perspective of the corroded social fabric of American cities, Peter Marcuse recognized the renewed relevance of this dimension of the Viennese housing program; "It was what the city's housing policy *said* to the people of Vienna about their own lives, their roles in society, the respect to which they were entitled, the importance of their welfare, and their ultimate control over the conditions of their lives. . . . Housing was not seen as shelter alone, but rather as part of an overall reconstruction of life around goals of human dignity and public responsibility."¹³⁰

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM AND AUSTRO-MARKXISM



1.8 "Ten years of new Vienna." From *Der Kuckuck*, 19 May 1929, 8-9.



2

THE HISTORICAL CITY: PATTERNS OF GROWTH AND URBAN LIFE





THE CITY GOVERNMENT OF VIENNA REGARDS THE BUILDING OF HOMES AS THE TASK OF THE WHOLE COMMUNITY, JUST AS IT DOES THE ERECTION OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND HOSPITALS. THE PRESENT VIENNA CITY COUNCIL, IN AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY, IS OF THE OPINION THAT THE UNWHOLESOME HOUSING CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE POPULATION OF VIENNA SUFFERS IN THE PRESENT DAY ARE DUE TO THE FACT THAT THE PROVISION OF HOUSING DOWN TO 1918 WAS LEFT TO PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. A GOOD ROOMY, WELL-LIGHTED DWELLING IS A MAJOR CULTURAL FACTOR IN THE LIFE OF EVERY PEOPLE.—Anton Weber, *Das Neue Wien* (1926)

From the wide range of institutions and activities organized by the Social Democrats in Vienna, it is clear that the Austro-Marxists understood culture in its broadest civilizing sense, as encompassing almost all aspects of everyday life.¹ It was this broad concept of culture that led the party to put special emphasis on housing and, since nothing affects the quality of a worker's life more directly and completely than his or her living conditions, to regard the provision of housing as the primary duty, and the core component, of the party's *Sozialpolitik* or reformatory social policies in Vienna. But, as Anton Weber noted in 1926, it was not enough for the Social Democrats to provide new living accommodation; the party had also to develop a new *Wohnkultur*, to establish a new cultural standard of living in Vienna. This commitment to shaping a new form of socialized proletarian life led the Social Democrats to regard the housing program as the centerpiece of the party's reformatory municipal policy in Red Vienna.

But, as I have mentioned, the decision to give priority to housing was not just a matter of ideology. It was an issue of the utmost political significance and urgency. When the Social Democrats came to power

in Vienna in May 1919, they inherited an acute housing shortage in the city. This shortage was due in part to wartime immigration, to the lack of new and the deterioration of old building during the war, and to a 50 to 90 percent increase in marriages and new households formed after the war.² But though these factors contributed to the shortage, they did not create it. A long history of official neglect of the living conditions of Vienna's industrial workers had led to gross inequities in the housing system, to violent hostility between tenants and landlords, and to a deeply felt class hatred between the proletarian and house-owning classes in the city. It was absolutely imperative therefore that the Social Democrats—if they hoped to survive politically—address the "housing problem" in Vienna and attempt to remedy it by promoting housing both as a product and as an instrument of their political program. To comprehend the Social Democrats' solution to the housing problem, it is necessary to understand not only the precise nature of the problem but also the historical conditions—Vienna's rapid and late industrialization and the patterns of urban and economic growth it set in motion—that created it.



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2.1 Inner city walls, Rotterdambeest, photo ca. 1858.

2.2 Demolition of inner city walls, Rotterdambeest, photo 1858.



2.3 Expansion and regulation of the linear city since 1857. (Kortz, *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, 1 (1955), plate VI)

THE LIBERAL LEGACY In the 1860s and 1870s, during the period known in Austria as the *Gründerzeit*, or period of industrial expansion, the Liberal city council under Mayor Kajetan Felder began to develop the technical infrastructure of Vienna by regulating the Danube and providing the city with its first high-quality drinking-water conduit, as well as building the central market, the first city hospital, public bathing facilities, 150 elementary and secondary schools (*Volks- und Mittelschulen*), and a central cemetery.³ On the whole, however, the municipal improvements carried out during this period were either part of or were in some way related to the monumental development of the Ringstrasse.⁴

In 1858 the fortifications that had encircled the inner city of Vienna since the thirteenth century were torn down by imperial decree, and the moats and ditches in the 570-meter-wide glacis surrounding them were filled in (figures 2.1 and 2.2).⁵ In their place were built two parallel ring roads known collectively as the Ringstrasse zone. The first, the Ringstrasse itself, was a wide, tree-lined boulevard, laid out to follow the pentagonal outline of the old ramparts around the inner core of the old city. In 1865 this was completed, and in the course of the next two decades along it were built the institutions and monuments of the Liberal era: Parliament, city hall, museums of art and natural history, the opera, Court Theater, the university, and a school and museum of applied art. Between these public buildings were sited speculatively built palatial apartment blocks—as monumental in scale as the public buildings—that housed the haute bourgeoisie. Around this representational ring and running parallel to it was the outer ring road, the Lastenstrasse, a more utilitarian (or service) traffic artery.⁶

The Ringstrasse development was administered by an imperial commission, not by the municipality. However, the Liberal city council did have a hand in determining (and paying for) major components of it, including the new *Rathaus* (city hall).⁷ The council also



provided a number of new parks: the Stadtpark and Kinderpark along the Wien River on the southeastern rim of the Ring, as well as the Rathauspark in front of the city hall (figure 2.3). At this time also the council enlarged the Volksgarten next to the *Hofburg* (imperial palace) and laid out gardens in the new public squares along the Ringstrasse, including the Maximilianplatz in front of the Votivkirche and the Maria-Theresienplatz between the two new museums facing the *Hofburg*. Over the next two decades, the city gradually provided additional infrastructure—widening the main axes of the inner city and building squares, parks, public utilities, and ninety new streets—in connection with the development of the Ringstrasse and adjoining inner city and suburbs.⁸

The municipal improvements of the Liberal city council, the party of big business and the ascendant middle classes, were centered around the Ringstrasse and surrounding districts because, as Carl Schorske has shown, that is where their interests lay. But it is important to note that this area also demarcated the



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extent of the council's jurisdiction at the time. While the inner city and thirty-four surrounding inner suburbs (or *Vorstädte*) had been incorporated into Vienna in 1850, becoming districts I through IX, the outer suburbs (or *Vororte*) were not incorporated into greater Vienna until 1890. Before that time they were separated from the city proper by the rampart and fosse of the outer city wall or defense line, the so-called *Linienwall*, and were also all separately administered (figure 2.4).⁹ As a result, throughout most of the nineteenth century, during a period of rapid industrial development and urban expansion, there was no administrative coordination between the city and its suburbs. The Liberal city council was reluctant to shoulder the fiscal burden of providing urban infrastructure, police, and poor relief for these rapidly proletarianizing outlying districts; in addition, both the council and the court were wary (following the bourgeois revolution of 1848) of the revolutionary potential of these districts.¹⁰ Indeed, when the inner suburbs were incorporated in 1850, the fortifications around the inner city were reinforced; new military blockhouses, barracks, and an arsenal were built in the vicinity of the walls to protect the inner city and ensure its control over the new districts.¹¹ This administrative and physical separation of center and periphery, which persisted until the 1890s, had significant consequences for the urban development of Vienna.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, patterns of settlement in Vienna were much like those in other industrializing cities in Europe. Over the course of the eighteenth century Vienna had grown steadily as a manufacturing and distribution center for textiles (particularly silk), furniture, leather, paper, and luxury goods. As Vienna's export trade increased toward the end of the century, textile manufacturers in the inner suburbs in particular began to expand their operations and to employ sweatshop labor. This brought a new wave of migration into Vienna of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. As in other capital cities that were

centers of manufacture and of national as well as international distribution—like London, Paris, and Berlin—the new immigrants who came to work in Vienna's silk and other textile workshops first settled around the inner city. By the 1850s the city center itself was evolving into the capital's central business quarter, where banks, insurance companies, and large commercial premises were gradually replacing the residences and workshops of independent artisans and tradesmen along the main thoroughfares: Kärntnerstrasse, Rotenturmstrasse, Graben, Wollzeile, and Freyung around St. Stephen's Cathedral in the core of the (still) walled inner city. Behind these thoroughfares settled a new immigrant population: unskilled workers for the most part, who found irregular employment in service jobs in the inner city itself. Meanwhile, the "old" middle classes—prosperous tradesmen and independent artisans pushed out of the inner city by rising land values and rents—had moved to the less congested suburbs or *Vorstädte* outside the glacis and inner city wall.¹²

These patterns of settlement were common to many industrializing cities in Europe in the early nineteenth century. The results—the development of overcrowded slums separated from, but spatially contiguous with, bourgeois centers of business and commerce—were vividly described by Friedrich Engels in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845).¹³ In Vienna, however, the urban consequences of these early patterns of migration were mitigated, largely because the mass of urban migration occurred later in the century and took place on the periphery rather than in the center of the city. The difference was due in part to an imperial decree issued by Francis II early in the century, which prohibited industries from locating inside the city walls. Following in the wake of the French Revolution, this regressive legislation was designed to counter the demographic shifts triggered by the Industrial Revolution and to hold back the mob from the gates of the city.¹⁴ It succeeded in forcing Vi-

2.4 Map of Vienna, 1867 (1:7920), showing inner and outer city walls.



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enna's industries and industrial workers to settle in the outer districts of the city. However, the mass of urban migration and industrial development did not occur until the period between 1840 and 1870.¹⁵

In the meantime, in the early decades of the nineteenth century the inner suburbs situated just outside the city center evolved into Vienna's manufacturing districts. Until the eighteenth century this area had been only sparsely and impermanently settled. Between 1529, when the Ottoman armies of Suleiman the Magnificent first laid siege to Vienna, and 1683, when the last Turkish siege commanded by Kara Mustafa was finally broken, the *Vorstädte* had been routinely razed by the defenders of the city to leave the approaching Turkish armies without cover outside the city walls. Therefore, it was not until the very end of the seventeenth century, after the Habsburg and Ottoman emperors had signed the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 and the threat of further Turkish raids was over, that the inner suburbs began to be more permanently settled.¹⁶

By that time Vienna had become a densely populated, vertical city with tall five- or six-story buildings packed tightly in between narrow, winding streets and high city walls. The largest influx of population had occurred when the Habsburg court moved from Wiener Neustadt to Vienna in 1533, bringing with it not only the imperial household but also an extensive retinue of court personnel and bureaucrats, all of whom needed to be accommodated within the confines of the walled city. In order to house courtiers and government officials, a system of quartering known as *Hofquartierwesen* was introduced, according to which all space contained within the walls of the city of Vienna was registered so that it could be allocated by the court to its personnel.¹⁷ The system of quartering (which continued until 1781) had two significant consequences. First, by the middle of the sixteenth century three-fourths of Vienna's population were tenants. In other words, the majority of Viennese during the six-

teenth and seventeenth centuries were living in rented quarters. This included a large part of the aristocracy, whose principal residences were located in their home provinces, often far from the capital. In fact two-thirds of the nobility and all court personnel in Vienna lived in rented apartments.¹⁸ Second, the system of *Hofquartierwesen* gave Vienna's inhabitants little incentive to build in the city, since space would immediately be appropriated by the court. This was particularly the case in the early years, when landlords were given no remuneration; later, court-assigned tenants paid rent. But in the meantime many property owners had let their houses deteriorate, partly in order to circumvent the *Hofquartierwesen*.¹⁹

The final rout of Kara Mustafa in 1683 was followed by a building boom both inside and outside the old city walls. Inside the walls a new kind of baroque burgher house and inner-city palace began to take shape in the early eighteenth century. The old gable-fronted medieval burgher houses along the narrow streets of the inner city were gradually replaced by *Hofhäuser*, or courtyard houses. Unlike the medieval houses, the new *Hof*-houses had wide frontages with the roof ridge parallel, instead of perpendicular, to the street (figure 2.5). Two or three stories above the ground floor, they were six or seven bays wide and usually had a central entrance. The entrance was a broad rounded archway, big enough for a coach to pass through, which led into the distinctive feature of the *Hofhaus*: its large open central courtyard or *Hof* (figure 2.6). In the side and back wings of the *Hof* were the stables, workshops, and living quarters for employees and apprentices.²⁰

The new city palaces, many of which were designed by the Italian-trained master architects of Vienna's late baroque, Johann Lukas von Hildebrandt and Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, were concentrated in the area around the *Hofburg*. Like the burgher houses described above, the town palaces were also courtyard buildings, designed on the Italian

2.5 Left: Hofhaus street facade, Bäckereiass, 15 (I), photo 1997.

2.6 Hofhaus courtyard, Bäckereiass, 7 (I), photo 1997.



model to enclose long open courtyards that extended far back into the interior of Vienna's deep inner-city blocks. Their one viable street facade was usually intensely sculptural and plastic, decorated with deeply undercut moldings and figural sculpture. Ranged along the narrow streets of the inner city, the animated facades of these buildings—in which the reflective surfaces of the windows were flush with the exterior surface of the wall—fracture and refract the intense Viennese light that rakes across them (figure 2.7).²¹

The *Vorstädte*, the small villages just outside the city walls, were the scene of equally intense building activity. During this period many of the nobility, whose town residences were clustered around the imperial *Hofburg* and along the adjacent *Herrengasse* in the inner city, built summer palaces and gardens in the

area between the fortified inner city and the outer defense line (*Linienwall*), which was built in 1704 to protect these estates from the new threat of Hungarian rebellion.²² Between the gardens and summer palaces of the aristocracy, the *Vorstädte* urbanized along traffic arteries dating from the Middle Ages that radiated out from the city's eleven gates to connect the capital to its provinces (figure 2.8). To the north, the *Taborsstrasse* and *Praterstrasse* leading to Bohemia and Moravia became the core of development in Leopoldstadt, Vienna's second district. To the southeast, the *Landstrasser Hauptstrasse* and *Remnweg*, the main routes to Hungary, became the central spine of urban development in what was to become the third district of *Landstrasse*. The *Mariahilferstrasse*, *Lerchenfelderstrasse*, and *Josefstädterstrasse* leading west



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toward the alpine provinces of Upper Austria, as well as to German Bavaria and Swabia, became the central commercial thoroughfares of Vienna's sixth, seventh, and eighth districts. The northwest axes of the Währingerstrasse and Alerstrasse, leading into the Vienna Woods, became the central spines of the ninth district. Favoriten, due south of the city, grew up around the Favoritenstrasse, Luxenburgerstrasse, and Wiedner Hauptstrasse, the principal trade routes connecting Vienna to Venice and the Habsburg Adriatic port of Trieste. Expanding out from these spines, as the large landowning religious orders began to parcel and sell off their property inside the Linienwall, prosperous merchants, independent craftsmen, and artisans built residences and workshops; they gradually transformed the agricultural villages and coach stops along these

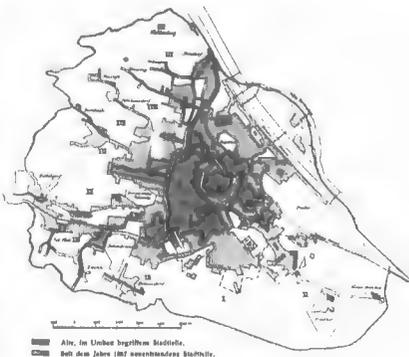


Abb. 31. Die Verfallsentwicklung Wiens seit 1857

routes into bourgeois centers of residence, trade, and manufacture.²³

The Linienwall itself was modernized and reinforced, and its earthworks replaced by masonry walls, at the time of the Napoleonic Wars.²⁴ Until 1848 urban development inside and outside the Linienwall was almost entirely left up to the ground landlords in these districts. The principal landowners here were the Augustine and Benedictine orders of Klosterneuburg and Schotten. Entitled to levy taxes on property built on their land, they were also responsible for providing the necessary urban infrastructure at their own expense. Typically, a ground landlord would lay out and build the streets and sewers on a site slated for development (usually adjacent to an already developed area) and connect them to the preexisting streets and

2.7 Left: View of Seltmannstrasse (I), photo ca. 1898.

2.8 Map showing new building (light grey area) in Vienna between 1857 and 1905. [Kortz, *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, I (1905), Fig. 21].

sewers. The individual city blocks would then be subdivided into lots and sold individually to artisans, or in clusters to small builders. After 1848 landowners lost the right to levy taxes, but they were also no longer obligated to provide urban infrastructure at their own expense.³¹

BIEDERMEIER URBANISM, 1815–1848 Generally, development according to this system was small in scale and usually comprised only a limited number of city blocks at a time. The urban forms produced were also modest in scale and scope. Often the development would be centered around an equal-sided or rectangular square or *Platz*, which would be quartered by cross streets that intersected at its center, leaving the four corners as open park space framed by buildings. The result was a tightly interwoven fabric of street, square, park, and building mass—a fabric that was to be pulled apart into its constituent parts by late-nineteenth-century urban development. (Still-extant examples of Biedermeier squares include the Albertplatz and Bennoplatz in district VIII; see map, figure 2.4, section C-6)³²

The houses constructed on these small parcels of land between roughly the Congress of Vienna in 1815 to the bourgeois revolution in 1848, a time known as the Biedermeier period, were likewise modest, small in scale and compass. This was a period characterized by repressive bureaucratic rule (instituted by the German-born Austrian minister Clemens Prince von Metternich) as well as economic collapse and massive unemployment brought on by the Napoleonic Wars and state bankruptcy in 1811.³³ These circumstances limited the scope of public life, diminished possibilities for effective political action, and fostered a frame of mind described in German as “die innere Emigration” (internal emigration), a retreat from public political life to the private domestic world of the family. Biedermeier, the term used to designate the ascendent middle-class culture and values of this period in Aus-

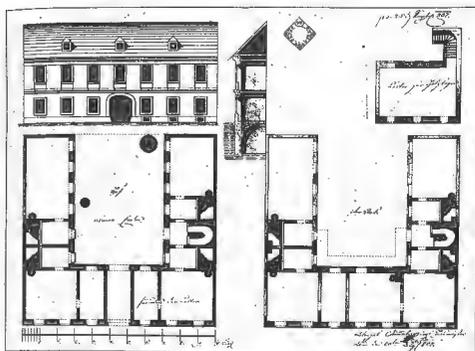
tria (and southern Germany), has generally also been viewed as the embodiment of cohesive preindustrial *gesellschaft* society.³⁴ Biedermeier architecture has correspondingly been understood to follow directly from the needs and values of the ascendent middle-class subject, to be focused on the private life of family, small-scale manufacture, and domestic enterprise.³⁵

In Vienna, however, the Biedermeier period also marked the beginning of big-city urbanism.³⁶ The houses built in the *Vorstädte* in the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s were the first examples (inside the Linienvall) of urban design and of buildings conceived as an ensemble, in relation to each other and particularly to the public spaces of streets and squares around them. These ensembles were also the first architectural production in Vienna to be regulated by a legal building code (see below).

Typologically, the houses themselves derived (as did the somewhat earlier inner-city *Hofhaus*) from the traditional rural farm or vintners’ houses of Vienna’s outlying wine-producing districts. Like these, they were organized around large open courtyards, were two or three stories high, and had wide street frontages, with anywhere from two to six bays on either side of a central entrance leading into the enclosed courtyard (figure 2.9). Internally, Biedermeier houses were combined dwellings and workplaces. In the main street-fronting block there were at ground level a large workshop and a showroom. Above this, facing onto the street, were the living quarters of the owner and his family. Employees and apprentices were generally housed alongside the workshops in the side wings above the stables. The water supply and outhouses were located at the back of the courtyard, while the inner courtyard facades generally opened out onto balconies.³⁷

The most distinctive aspect of the Biedermeier house was its public face: the front facade and its relationship to the street, both of which were strictly regulated by the building code (figure 2.10). The first legal

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2.9 Top: Biedermeier house; elevation, plan, section, dated 23 August 1807; signed Maximal Himmels, bürgerlicher Baumeister.

2.10 Biedermeier house, Bannplatz, 2 (VIII), photo 1907.

codification of building regulations took place in 1829.¹¹ According to this code, buildings in the *Vorstädte* were permitted to have no more than four stories above ground; ceiling heights were set at 2.7–3.05 meters. This restricted the height of the building to just under 15 meters, a height directly related to the width of the street, which was permitted to be no less than 9.5 meters wide. Therefore, both the organization and proportions of the Biedermeier facade, as well as its relation to the spaces and buildings around it, were precisely determined and legally controlled.

Biedermeier buildings were distinctive not only for the proportional relationships of their facades but also for the vernacular classicism of their ornamentation. This generally took the form of inexpensive stucco relief work, which was concentrated around windows and doors (figure 2.11). Derived in part from



2.11 Biedermeier houses in district XIII, photo 1982.

pattern books and in part from the austere neoclassicism favored by the Emperor Joseph II, Biedermeier decoration was identified with the work of the court's French-trained official architects, Isidor Canevale and Karl von Moreau.³³ It was characterized by a restrained use of pedimented door and window frames, projecting bays, oriel and Palladian windows, and a classicizing neobaroque form of stucco relief strapwork, named after the emperor and known locally as *Josefinischer Plattenstil*.³⁴

It is both interesting and significant (because it has a bearing on the Social Democrats' architectural program a century later) that the design of Biedermeier facades was regulated by a commission for beautifying the city, the *Stadtverschönerungs-Kommission*, presided over by the court engineer. This commission was responsible for approving all architectural designs and often designed the facades of buildings itself, which the clients for these buildings were then obligated to build. The commission's mandate was not only to make certain that builders adhered to the building code but also (as Adolf Loos noted in 1911, in reference to his controversial building on the Michaelerplatz) to preclude ostentation and maintain a social hierarchy of architectural embellishment, by ensuring that bourgeois houses, in relation to those of the aristocracy, were simple, straightforward, and modest.³⁵ In other words, as one recent critic has observed, "the impetus for turning Vienna into a 'bourgeois' society came from above."³⁶ The practice had still another consequence: the symmetries and hierarchies of Biedermeier street facades were often unrelated to the organization and spatial hierarchies within the house. This was noted by Renate Wagner-Rieger as one of the identifying characteristics of Biedermeier architecture. It reflects the essentially urban character of this architecture, its conception as wall in relation to street and streetscape, and in terms of the city and public space, rather than the private space of the domestic interior.³⁷



There was also another Biedermeier urban building typology: the five- or six-story purpose-built apartment block. Apartment blocks were built in the inner city as well as in the suburbs, and they were usually grouped around one or more interconnected courtyards.³⁸ Many were built by the great landowning monastic orders as revenue-generating enterprises. One of the largest and most splendid of these was the Schottenhof built in 1831–1834 in the heart of the inner city in the Freyung (see building footprint, figure 2.4, sections G-5 and 6). Designed by Josef Kornhäusel, Vienna's preeminent Biedermeier architect, it was five and six stories high and built around several courtyards, the two largest of which were planted with gardens and furnished with fountains and benches. The Schottenhof itself had a main entrance on the street (figure 2.12), but most of the apartments were accessed from stairwells located in the courtyards.³⁹ In the suburbs the buildings, and the apartments they contained, were more modest. Though built around courtyards, these structures were generally small, as were the apartments (which were so-called *Mittel-, Klein-,* and *Kleinstwohnungen*—middle, small, and smallest dwellings of three, two, or one room per unit); and the buildings were entered from the street, not the courtyard.⁴⁰





2.12 Schottenhof, Josef
Kornhäusel architect,
1831–1834, photo 1940.

INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION Though much of the area within the Linienwall remained semirural, with large tracts of farmland, market gardens, and vineyards persisting well into the nineteenth century, the western suburbs—in particular, Gumpendorf and Neubau (later, districts VI and VII)—evolved into manufacturing quarters in the early decades of the nineteenth century (see map, figure 2.4, lower left quadrant). They were situated along the Wien River, which provided the necessary water for Vienna's principal trades: manufacture of silk and other textiles, furniture, clothing, leather, paper, and other luxury goods. Skilled artisans lived among the workshops and small factories of these *Vorstadt* businesses.

As they expanded to reach international markets, the *Vorstadt* industries increasingly employed sweatshop labor. These unskilled and semiskilled workers employed in the workshops of Gumpendorf and Neubau generally did not live in the inner suburbs where they worked. Instead, they settled in the *Vororte* (outer suburbs) beyond the Linienwall, such as Fünfhaus, Sechshaus, Gaudenzdorf and Meidling in the Wien River valley, which became the predominantly working-class districts of Meidling (XII), Penzing (XIV), Fünfhaus (XV), Ottakring (XVI), and Hernals (XVII). Though it no longer had a defensive purpose, the Linienwall throughout the nineteenth century still had a fiscal function as a toll barrier; a tax was levied

on all food, as well as on heating and building materials (coal, wood, etc.), entering the city.⁴¹ The cost of living therefore was considerably lower in the outlying *Vororte*.

It was here also that heavy industry located in the 1840s following the opening of Vienna's first major railway lines. The *Nordbahn* or northern line, which linked Vienna to the coal mines of Morava-Ostrava (now in the Czech Republic), was completed in 1838. Construction of the southern line or *Südbahn* began in Vienna three years later and in 1857 had reached Trieste. In 1859 the two lines were connected, linking the steel mines of Styria and the coal mines and industrial regions of Bohemia and Moravia to each other and to the monarchy's principal Adriatic port. In the meantime, the *Ostbahn* running between Vienna and Budapest had opened in 1856. Four years later the *Westbahn* from Vienna to Linz, and connecting Austria to Switzerland and the rest of western Europe, was completed; it opened in 1860. By its links to the northern, southern, and eastern railways, this line connected the coal-producing regions in the north to the steel-producing regions and shipping ports in the south, as well as to the agricultural plains of Hungary in the east.⁴²

Yet Vienna, the hub of this transportation network that linked together the extremities of the Habsburg Empire, was itself untouched by them. Because of the (militarily ineffective) ramparts and fosse of the outer defense line (the Linienwall), which included a 190-meter cleared zone outside and a 22.75 meter cleared zone inside this wall that separated the inner from the outer suburbs, the major railway lines serving Vienna terminated outside its boundary. One result was that Vienna had no central railway station. Other consequences for the urban development of Vienna followed from it.

Construction of the railways brought heavy industry to Vienna. In the 1840s these industries were directly tied to the railways and to producing materials

and equipment for the railway construction itself. The first large metal-producing and machine-building factories in Vienna were sited alongside the new southern and northern railway lines, adjacent to their main terminals just outside the Linienwall. Subsequently, as industrial production and the demand for heavy machinery expanded, new engineering and electrical industries also located on the outskirts of the city. Though not directly involved with producing railway equipment, they too clustered along the railway lines, not only to be near transportation for raw materials, coal, and finished products, but also because large tracts of inexpensive building land were available alongside the railway lands.⁴³

The construction of the railways and development of heavy industry created new patterns of settlement in Vienna. In the period from about 1840 to 1870, industrial production shifted from the Wien River to a new axis, created by the north and south railway lines, that skirted along the outer edge of the Linienwall. In the 1840s and 1850s Vienna's heavy industries settled along this axis in outlying districts that subsequently became Vienna's industrial districts—Brigittenau (XX) and Floridsdorf (XXI) straddling the *Nordbahn* and the Danube; Favoriten (X) and Simmering (XI) along the *Süd- and Ostbahn* lines; and parts of the inner districts of Leopoldstadt (II) and Landstrasse (III) through which, after 1859, the *Verbindungsbahn* (connecting line) ran, joining the northern and southern lines. In the meantime, the textile industry had mechanized and moved out of Vienna to less expensive locations in northern Bohemia, which had been made easily accessible by the new railway lines. In its place the clothing industry, which also experienced tremendous growth during this period, relocated to the Wien River valley, an area (since the late 1850s) also served by the *Westbahn*.⁴⁴

This period of developing industry and economic expansion in Vienna coincided with the passing of a bill in 1848 (the *Grundentlastung*) that freed peasants



from forced labor on country estates, as well as from the “robot” or feudal dues and other obligations to ground landlords.⁴⁵ An effort to contain the revolutionary fervor of that year by preventing its spread to the countryside, the *Grundentlastung*, which gave every individual the right to move freely within the Habsburg Empire, resulted in a flood of migration into Vienna from rural areas.

In the 1850s this newly arrived population, for the most part unskilled and semiskilled workers, found employment in railway construction and related industries, as well as in the rapidly expanding clothing industry. Subsequently, the development of the Ringstrasse and the building activity it generated—some five hundred new public and private buildings and ninety streets and squares in the Ringstrasse zone and surrounding suburbs—created a boom period of growth in the building trades and related industries that draw heavily on semiskilled and unskilled labor.⁴⁶ Indeed, between 1867 and 1873 it appeared to contemporary observers as if the entire city had become an enormous construction site. Parliament, city hall, and a number of other Ringstrasse buildings were all under construction. In the inner suburbs the small one- and two-story houses, which had been built along main thoroughfares and trading streets in the eighteenth century, were rapidly being replaced by taller urban structures. Several of the large estates with extensive parkland, also built in the eighteenth century, were parceled out, sold in lots, and speculatively developed at this time (see map, figure 2.4, sections H-9 and I-9).⁴⁷

The municipality also launched its large-scale infrastructural building projects in the 1870s, including the construction of the first Kaiser Franz-Josef *Hochquellenwasserleitung* (the city’s new 100 km long drinking-water conduit from the Schneeberg, completed in 1873) and the regulation of the Danube. Between 1870 and 1875 a new riverbed was dug, the

lower course of the Danube Canal was straightened, and a ship caisson installed at its entrance. In the process 230 hectares of building land had been won, making possible industrial development of the north bank of the Danube in the new municipal district of Donaustadt.⁴⁸

The ill-fated International Exposition of 1873, which opened eight days before the stock market crash, also involved a tremendous amount of new construction. On the fairgrounds themselves, which were located in the Prater, the former royal hunting preserve in Leopoldstadt between the Danube Canal and River, over two hundred exhibition buildings were built. In the surrounding district new streets, squares, and streetcar lines, as well as three new bridges over the Danube Canal, were built. The fair also stimulated private speculative building. Of the forty-four private land speculation companies (*Terraingesellschaften*) operating in Vienna during this period, half were founded in the year of the exposition. Several large hotels (the first in Vienna) were constructed to accommodate the anticipated 20 million visitors to the city over the six months of the fair’s duration. Numerous cafés, restaurants, and smaller guesthouses were also built in the immediate vicinity of the Prater. However, because of the stock market crash in May, an outbreak of cholera in July, unusually rainy weather throughout the summer months, and outrageously inflated hotel prices, attendance fell far short of expectation. Only 7.25 million people visited the fair before it closed in November 1873.⁴⁹

Vienna’s urban population had also increased dramatically between 1850 and 1870. At midcentury 431,000 people lived in the inner city and suburbs, and 67,000 in the urbanized areas of the outer suburbs. By around 1870, 64,000 people lived in the inner city, 544,000 in the inner suburbs, and 221,000 in the outer suburbs.⁵⁰ In twenty years, therefore, the population of the outer suburbs had more than tripled. Yet the

building boom during these years had almost no impact on the production of inexpensive housing in Vienna's outlying districts. The tax exemptions granted by both city and state for new building did not apply in the *Vororten*, which were in any case still not a part of Vienna.³¹ High interest rates (brought on by the heightened business activity and a shortage of capital in the city) made it unprofitable for investors to put their money into housing construction in neighborhoods where the demand was mostly from workers with low earnings. The new immigrant population, therefore, who came to work in Vienna's machine-building factories, electrical plants, and sweatshops during this period, crowded into existing buildings in the districts where these businesses were located.

HOUSING CONDITIONS The buildings the immigrant workers occupied in these outer districts were basically of two types. The first, and most common, were adaptations of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Biedermeier period artisans' houses, known as *Pawlatschen* houses because of their distinctive open galleries or balconies, called *Pawlatschen* in Czech (many of the new industrial workers in Vienna came from the Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia). The *Pawlatschen* houses were U-shaped in plan, usually two or three stories high, and set on deep lots (see map, figure 2.4, section D-9) with narrow frontages. As we saw earlier, this was a type of house generally thought it to have derived from medieval vintners' houses built on the outskirts of the old city.³² Its distinctive feature was the central courtyard (figure 2.13), from which all the rooms in the house could be reached, either from the courtyard or open galleries (*Pawlatschen*) on the upper levels. Since they were originally built as combined dwellings/workplaces, the *Pawlatschen* houses were quite large, with at least six rooms on each floor. The rooms themselves were usually undifferentiated as to function, though the larger rooms, provided with hearths and tiled stoves, tended

to be used as kitchens and living rooms.³³ To accommodate those aspects of production that took place outdoors, the courtyards in the *Pawlatschen* houses were large, originally with gardens at the back that abutted those of the houses behind and to either side—creating a narrow strip of greenery down the middle of the city block (see map, figure 2.4, section D-9).

With the breakdown of preindustrial patterns of production, many *Pawlatschen* houses were subdivided. Often the owner kept an apartment in the street-fronting block and rented the remaining rooms as individual family units. By the end of the nineteenth century many of these houses had degenerated into overcrowded slums. In the middle of the nineteenth century, variants of the traditional artisan's house were "purpose-built" to accommodate worker families. Usually three rather than two stories high, they retained the U-shaped plan but transformed the open gallery into an enclosed corridor. Toilets and water supply were brought into the house itself and usually located along the corridor.³⁴ The apartments, consisting of a kitchen and one room, and sometimes an additional small *Kabinnett*, were ranged along this spine.³⁵ A distinctive feature of these buildings was their layout, characterized as the *Gangküchenplan* (corridor-kitchen plan), in which the kitchen opened directly onto the enclosed corridor.

Single workers without families often lived in shelters or hostels known as *Fremdenherbergen* or *Massenherbergen*. These were adaptations of older apartment blocks that had been abandoned by their original middle-class tenants and converted into lodging houses when the districts in which they were located began to industrialize and proletarianize. The *Herbergen* were remarkable primarily for their density of occupancy—from basement to roof (including attic), with usually two tenants occupying each bed—and the resulting squalor of the living conditions within them. At the height of the building boom (1867–1873), when



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rents throughout the city increased by 40 percent, stables, warehouses, wood and coal sheds, greenhouses—in fact, any form of even the most primitive shelter—were converted into this kind of “lodging house.”²⁶

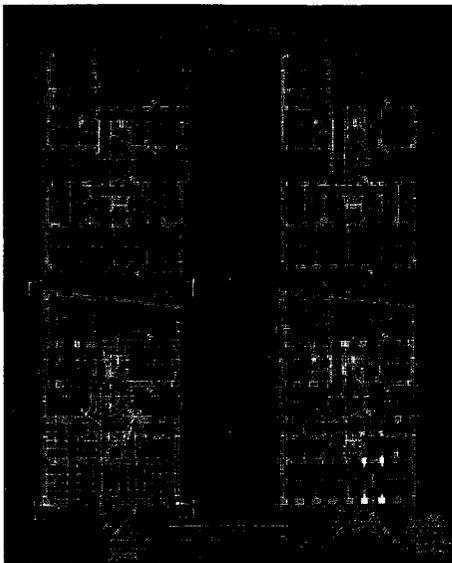
Between 1869 and 1890, Vienna’s population figures escalated even more dramatically than they had in the previous two decades. The Ringstrasse development increased the population of the inner city by 3,000 (to a total of 67,000). In the inner suburbs the population grew by 200,000 to a total of 743,000; the number of people living in the outer suburbs nearly tripled again, from approximately 220,000 to 600,000.²⁷ By this time a second, new type of purpose-

built working-class tenement began to appear in the outer suburbs to accommodate the most recent influx of industrial workers. The new tenements differed only in plan from the apartment blocks being built in middle-class districts at the time. Rather than being U-shaped, they were generally I-T- or H-shaped (figure 2.14). This made it possible to increase the number of apartments in a building by grouping them around two small courtyards rather than around a single central courtyard as in the *Privatstettenhaus*.

The interior arrangements of the new tenements were more or less standard. The buildings were usually five or six stories high, with a single staircase (a considerable economy in the building costs) that gave ac-



2.13 *Privatstettenhaus*, Ottobringstrasse 201 (XIV), photo ca. 1900.



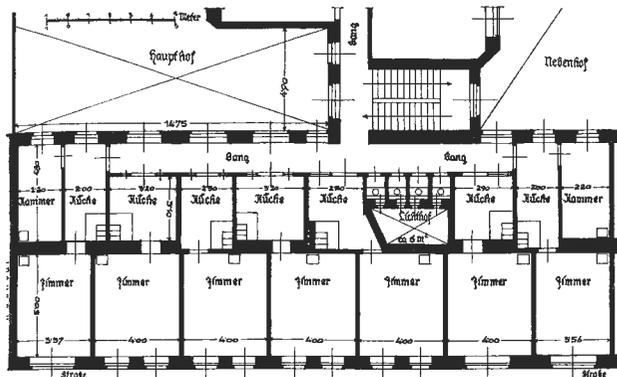
2.14 *Bassenhäuser, Klosterneuburgstrasse III*, plans dated 31 January 1897, signed by Franz Klement, Südbauverein.

cess to long interior corridors, off which were located the apartments. The individual apartments, which generally consisted of a kitchen and one room, were entered via the kitchen. In the corridor were also the toilets and one water spigot on each floor. Because of these last features—the corridor and water basin—the new tenements were known as *Gangküchenhäuser* (corridor-kitchen houses) or *Bassenhäuser* (water ba-

sin houses).¹⁸ The one-room-and-kitchen dwelling became the norm for worker families from the 1890s on, constituting 90 percent of the existing housing stock in working-class districts. The dimensions of these apartments—in which an entire family lived, in many cases, together with one or two subtenants—were tiny, averaging 30 square meters (figure 2.15).¹⁹ The kitchens giving onto the corridors had neither direct light nor air, while the courtyards, which were often less than three meters across, were little more than narrow airless shafts (figure 2.16).

Rather than protecting tenants from such living conditions, the existing building codes encouraged them. New codes that went into effect in 1859 were intended to set parameters for the otherwise unregulated new building in the inner suburbs, which was not subject to the 1829 regulations. According to the *Bauordnung* (building code) of 1859 all new streets had to be no less than 15.17 meters wide and as straight as possible. Building heights were restricted to 24.65 meters, with each story no less than three meters high (which generally permitted five stories plus an attic above the ground floor and often also a mezzanine—in other words, seven or eight floor levels); and “smaller dwellings consisting of one room and kitchen or even a single room with a provisional hearth” were acceptable.²⁰ These provisions regarding streets and buildings naturally gave form to both the characteristic *Blockstratum* (gridiron) street plan and typical *Baublock* (building block) of proletarian districts in Vienna’s industrial suburbs. There were almost no prescriptions regarding building density, sanitation, or ventilation.⁴¹

In 1868 the codes became even more liberal, when the already very general provision that room and courtyard sizes should be “adequate” was removed. Thus there were no regulations regarding the size of rooms or courtyards.⁴² These codes remained in effect until the 1880s, when the municipality, under pressure from the architectural profession as well as health-care



2.15 Tenement plan, ca. 1900. (Das Neue Wien (1926), 2-265).

officials, finally moved to regulate the unrestrained development it had encouraged. According to the building code of 1883, new buildings could cover no more than 85 percent of a given lot, the top floor of a building could be no more than 20 meters above the level of the pavement, and streets on which buildings were set back behind "fore-gardens" (known as *Vorgartens-trassen*) could be reduced in width to 10 meters. Otherwise the prescriptions remained more or less the same as before. The building code of 1883 remained on the books until 1930.⁴⁷

The living conditions in such buildings were described in a famous study by Eugen von Philippovich, an economist, social reformer, and founding member of the Austrian Fabian Society. Philippovich's investigation into "Wiener Wohnungsverhältnisse" (Viennese housing conditions), published in 1894, was a

"personal inquiry" carried out independently, without sponsorship or funding. Citing some of the worst examples of worker housing in Vienna, Philippovich described families who were crowded into dark cellar rooms, their walls streaming with water, or who were packed into tiny one-room apartments that had no running water, heat, or natural or artificial light and were compelled to use outdoor privies shared by 120 people. Philippovich's evocation (fired with middle-class moral outrage) of the misery and degradation of life lived within such places was frequently quoted in the publications of Red Vienna:

The dwelling is only a cover against the grimness of the weather, only a bedstead for the night which provides—in the narrow space, lacking air, cleanliness, and quiet, into which the people are pressed—rest only to a completely ex-

hausted body. The life of this class of the population moves uneasily between this bedstead and work and worries. There is complete lack of everything that we are accustomed to regard as the basis of a healthy middle-class life: the independent existence of the family, the special attention to the fundamental needs of everyday life, to the sick and to those particularly needing care, protection of modesty by separation of the sexes, concealment of the parents' sexual life from the children, and educative attention of the parents for their children in the hours of rest and relaxation. These dwellings offer no comfort and no relaxation; they have no attraction for those who come home tired after work. Whoever was born in these places or sank into them must degenerate and wither, bodily and mentally, or grow brutal.⁴⁵

2.16 Tenement shaft,
Sauerstrasse (II), photo ca.
1928.



(Indeed, it was in such a place that Adolf Hitler lived in Vienna before World War I, and of which he wrote in *Mein Kampf*.)⁴⁶ The examples cited by Philippovich were among the worst he encountered, but as Renate Banik-Schweitzer has pointed out, they were not far from the norm:

It frequently happened that 6–8 persons lived in one room and a kitchen. Children often had no bed of their own but had to share one with brothers or sisters. The youngest child normally slept in the parents' bed. Meals were cooked on a hearth built of bricks and fired with coal, which was normally the only heater for the whole dwelling. The ingredients for the meals had to be fresh because there was no storage. Once a week the family bathed in a movable tub in the kitchen. Water had to be heated on the hearth and was used by all family members one after another beginning with father. . . . The dwellings were so small that they forced the inhabitants to develop special techniques that secured them the necessary recreation. After work many men went to pubs with their friends before they went home[.] . . . children . . . stayed at home as little as they could unless they had to help their parents in domestic production, which was quite common. If possible they tried to play with other children from the neighborhood in the streets and on empty areas not far from home. Normally they were left to themselves and elder brothers and sisters were expected to care for the younger ones.⁴⁶

It is significant (in the light of later developments) that the true character of the living spaces within the buildings—confined, fetid, dank—was not visible from the street. In general, the street facades of the tenements built in the latter part of the nineteenth century—in terms of massing, proportions, and ornamentation—were indistinguishable from the middle-class apartment blocks built at the same time in other parts of the city (figure 2.17). The speculative builders of both Vienna's middle-class and working-class apartments made much use of prefabricated poured-cement

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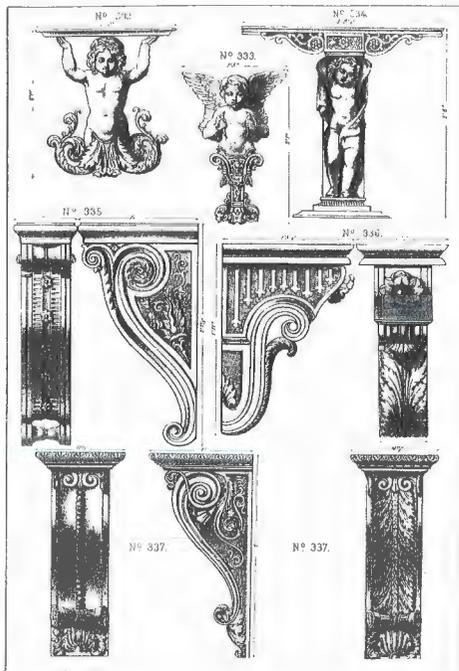
(*Guss-Märkte*) ornaments (figure 2.18) produced by the Wienerberger Brick Factory and Construction Company (*Ziegelfabrik und Baugesellschaft*)—which, incidentally, was one of Vienna's major industries and housed its own seasonal labor in hutments on its own land that were even more primitive than the tenements.⁶⁷ The deception involved in this combination of exterior propriety, even modishness, with interior squalor and human degradation (characterized locally as "ausßen hui, innen pfui": outside wow! inside phew!) was due in part to antiquated government regulations regarding the design of street facades, in effect since the early nineteenth century, which called

for a certain degree of elaboration and allowed the practice to persist.⁶⁸

On one level, therefore, the grand facades of the Viennese tenements, like the sham palaces of Vienna's bourgeois apartment blocks on the Ringstrasse, vilified by Adolf Loos, were but another example of what Loos called "Potemkin City" or facade architecture in Vienna.⁶⁹ But in the case of the tenements, the deception served not only to disguise the true character of the dwellings within but also to marginalize, by hiding from view, an entire social class. This added to the geographical marginalization of the Viennese working class, already noted. Though the majority of worker



2.17 Tenement facade, Hobergasse (XV), photo 1997.



tenements, and therefore also the mass of industrial workers in Vienna, were located outside the city's outer walls, much of Vienna's industry (which was predominantly light forms of manufacture) was situated inside the walls. Though they worked in the city, the mass of Viennese workers did not live in it, and until 1890 they had no status as residents, or rights to space (public or private) within it.

Nevertheless, for a number of reasons neither the new proletarian districts nor the older working-class quarters of Vienna degenerated into slumlands, as had many such areas in other European cities that also experienced rapid growth and industrial development in the nineteenth century. In large measure this can be explained by the chronology of Vienna's development: industrialization and the major influx of population that followed upon it occurred after the inner city had modernized. Consequently the middle- and upper-classes never moved out of, and the proletariat never moved into, the city center. But the most significant factor in this development, of course, was the protracted survival of the old city walls. Once the fortifications had been cleared and the glacis around them released for development in the late 1850s, the center could expand to fill its new functions without the large-scale demolitions and displacements occasioned by mid-nineteenth-century urban projects and improvement schemes in London, Paris, Hamburg, and other European cities. Furthermore, in Vienna major thoroughfares leading out from the center already existed (the old trade routes) and were adequate, so that no demolition was necessary to carve out new traffic arteries. The construction of the new railway lines in the 1850s and 1860s, as we saw, also involved almost no land clearance, since neither lines nor stations penetrated the inner districts but instead ran through sparsely settled areas outside the Linienwall.¹⁰ Unlike other European capitals, therefore, the urban expansion triggered by industrial development in Vienna in the nineteenth century created neither slums nor the

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large-scale displacements associated with their clearance and with the construction of new boulevards and civic and commercial buildings in the city center.

Instead, urbanization in Vienna during this period took place largely on the periphery; in the semi-rural districts outside the municipal boundary, where Vienna's industries and industrial workers had settled in the third quarter of the century (figure 2.19). By the 1890s many of these outlying areas, which had been rural villages only a few decades earlier, had industrialized and urbanized, even though they were almost totally lacking in urban infrastructure. Indeed, in many areas local authorities responsible for providing streets, sewers, and water were unable to keep up with the rapid pace of tenement construction during these years. As a result, tracts of worker housing were built in areas that had neither paved streets nor sewers.²¹ Julius Rodenberg, a Berlin writer who visited Vienna at the time of the International Exposition, published his impressions of such an area in 1875 in his memoir, *Wiener Sommertage*: "Defense lines, wall and most, . . . wide, desolate squares sparsely grown over with greenery, high and low lands between which by day it is hardly pleasant to wander, and at night is not without danger for body and soul. . . . Outer suburb, an in-between thing, between a factory city and a village. . . . unpaved streets . . . noisy population . . . dust . . . building upon building, an inn or at least a tavern with long steamy, smoky public rooms, all filled with caressing people."²²

THE INCORPORATION OF GREATER VIENNA By the 1880s the lack of administrative coordination between the *Vororte* and the city, and among the forty-three individual suburban villages themselves, had become a serious obstacle to Vienna's further urbanization and modernization. It was responsible not only for the unpaved streets, absence of proper sewers, and lack of gas and water supply to the new worker districts but also for the complete absence of public

transportation or even an integrated network of traffic arteries.²³

Construction of the Gürtelstrasse (ring or belt road) along the outer edge of the Linienwall, for example, was first approved by the Emperor Franz-Josef in 1861. The project had then to be considered and approved by the Ministry of the Interior, the governor of the province of Lower Austria, and the city council of Vienna, as well as by the town councils of each of the twenty-one or so *Vororte* through which the new boulevard was to run. After considerable alteration it was finally approved twenty-two years later, in 1883.²⁴

In December 1889, after years of effort on the part of the Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architektenverein (Austrian Association of Engineers and Architects) and other professional organizations to convince municipal authorities of the need to coordinate development in the city and surrounding areas, the Vienna City Council resolved to expand the boundary of the municipality to include the forty-three *Vororte* outside the Linienwall. A year later imperial assent was granted, and a law incorporating the outer suburbs into the newly designated metropolitan area of Greater Vienna was passed. The new metropolitan status of Vienna was proclaimed by the gover-

2.18 Opposite: Sheet from catalogues of poured-cement facade ornaments, from Thonwaren-Fabrik von Alabi Milsbach, Innsbruck am Wattenberg, 1858.

2.19 Mussdorfer Licht, showing Linienwall (right), fence, toll house, and main street district of Alseggrund (IX), photo ca. 1900.



nor of Lower Austria in December 1891, and the law went into effect on 1 January 1892. With the incorporation of the outlying suburbs the urban area of Vienna more than tripled, expanding from 55 to 178 square kilometers. The addition of the 599,000 inhabitants of the *Vororte*, which became districts XI–XLX (district X, Favoriten, had been created in 1874, and district XX, Brigittenau, had been incorporated along with the other *Vorstädte* in 1850), increased the urban population from around 800,000 to 1,400,000.⁷³

Incorporation permitted the municipality for the first time to address its increasingly acute circulation and sanitation problems and to devise a comprehensive plan for the further development of the metropolis. To this end a new *Generalsadplan* (general city plan) was drawn up at a scale of 1:2880, and an international open competition was announced for a *Generalregulierungsplan* (general development plan) that would encompass the entire new metropolitan area and incorporate a range of infrastructural systems, including a metropolitan railway.⁷⁴ The program for the competition was adopted by the city council on 6 May 1892 and published in the journal of the Austrian Association of Engineers and Architects later that month. The competition itself was announced on 27 October 1892, and competitors were given a year in which to prepare their submissions, which were due on 2 November 1893.⁷⁵

The brief for the *Generalregulierungsplan* put particular emphasis on circulation and sanitation. Plans were to include provision for mass transportation, modernization of the street system, and controlled expansion according to a new zoning plan (itself the result of an amendment to the building code in December 1890 that received final approval only in March 1893, halfway through the year during which the planning schemes were being developed). The new zoning plan, in line with current German planning theory, was based on the principle of three-dimensional zoning according to use, which regulated build-

ing heights and called for the separation of residential from industrial zones, dwelling from factory.⁷⁶ Designating areas for industrial use (in the outer southeastern districts), high-density mixed residential and commercial use (in the center and inner districts), high-density residential use (in the inner districts), and lower-density terraced and detached houses (in the northwestern outer districts at the edge of the Vienna Woods), the plan met with little opposition since it more or less reinforced existing patterns.⁷⁷

Within the designated residential zones, building up to four or five stories above ground level was permitted in the center and inner districts, three stories in the area just outside these districts, and no more than two stories in the western, predominantly middle-class outer districts on the fringe of the Wienerwald (Vienna Woods). The traditional industrial areas—the southern, southeastern, and northeastern districts—kept their designation as industrial zones. Significantly, they also remained functionally mixed in character and included dwelling houses “with proportionally large gardens or courts” (presumably for workers), interspersed among the factories and “large public workshops.”⁷⁸

Driven by the city council’s preoccupation with problems of traffic and hygiene, the two winning schemes—by the German planning theorist Josef Stübben (1845–1936) and by Otto Wagner (1841–1918)—emphasized communication, transportation, and technical infrastructure.⁸¹ Neither scheme was adopted. Rather, a new *Regulierungsbureau* (development office) was created in the city building office (*Stadtbauamt*) in 1894, which was mandated to draw on the winning schemes in preparing its own workable plan for a metropolis that was expected to double in size by 1950.⁸²

The resulting *Regulierungsplan* was designed to regulate and control speculative building in the outer suburbs, but not to curb it. The *Vororte* were divided up to create as much building land as possible by ex-



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2.20 Expansion plan of Fürst-
haus-Rudolfshain-Hiering,
1895, showing new grid of
blocks, streets, and squares.
(General-Stadt-Plan, VII-4,
1895).

tending a regular grid of streets and blocks across un-built land without much regard for topography. But the new plans also incorporated new planning ideas: *öffentliche Plätze*, public squares or open spaces designated for some future public use (park, playground, sports, schools, hospitals, markets, etc.), were liberally interspersed among the *Baublöcke* (city blocks designated for building) (figure 2.20). In rural hilly terrain, topographical plans were made in which streets followed the contours of the land. Streets were differentiated and planned according to their intended use: main thoroughfare, commercial, residential. The last, for example, were to be relatively short in order to avoid becoming wind tunnels and were to have trees planted at intervals along them—or at least were to provide views of nearby greenery.⁸¹

In general, the new *Regulierungsplan* of the 1890s is a curious mix of *Gründerzeit* and fin de siècle planning concepts in which an essentially *Gründerzeit* gridiron (*Rasterblock*) plan, driven by the speculative building market, is tempered by concepts of *Stadtbild Gestaltung* (shaping of the cityscape) derived ultimately from Camillo Sitte. Of course Sitte, whose treatise on the subject, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (*City Planning According to Artistic Principles*), had appeared in 1889, was a vociferous critic of the municipality's plans for modernizing the inner city in the 1890s.⁸² Though his ideas regarding the importance of planning in three dimensions, of conceptualizing and visualizing the city in a three-dimensional *Verbauungsplan* (building-fabric plan), and of composing urban space according to visual principles were officially rejected (even ridiculed) by city planning authorities, they nevertheless seem to have permeated city building practices. Certainly Sitte's ideas (many of which were also espoused by Josef Stübben) are reflected in comments by Heinrich Goldemund (an official in the *Stadtbauamt* and its director from 1913 to 1920) in reference to the principles followed in the *Regulierungsplan*: attention to natural to-

pography and to providing prospects of hills and woods, use of old pathways and patterns of circulation, and the careful distribution and siting of public buildings in terms shaping the cityscape (*die Gestaltung des Stadtbilds*).⁸³

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST PROGRAM OF MUNICIPAL REFORM In the second half of the 1890s and early 1900s, other parts of the *Generalregulierungsplan* competition brief were implemented by the Christian Socialist administration of Karl Lueger (1844–1910), which succeeded the Liberals in city hall in 1895.⁸⁴ Champion of the “little people,” the “ten Gulden men” or small taxpayers of the third electorate, Lueger—the charismatic mayor of Vienna from 1897 to 1910, who founded the powerful Catholic, anticapitalist, antisocialist, and anti-Semitic Christian Socialist Party that dominated Austrian politics until World War II—supported the interests of this group against those of both big business and the industrial proletariat. Lower-middle-class shopkeepers and artisans, Lueger's constituents, felt disadvantaged by the capitalist expansion of the Liberal era and the *laissez-faire* (pro-big business) economic and planning policies of the previous administration.⁸⁵ The majority also lived in parts of the city that had been neglected by the Liberals and that in many cases still lacked basic urban infrastructure.

The priority in the Christian Socialist Party's program of municipal reforms, therefore, was to provide and communalize technical infrastructure. Under Lueger's administration, all parts of the city were provided with gas, electricity, drinking water, a new sewage system, electrified streetcar lines, and municipal railway service. All of these utilities were communalized, paid for, and henceforth run by the city.⁸⁶

Otto Wagner, the Vienna *Stadtbahn*, and Other Parts of the *Generalregulierungsplan* The greatest technical achievement of the “Lueger era” was the



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construction of the *Stadtbahn* or metropolitan railway. Built between 1894 and 1908, it was designed by Otto Wagner, in whose master class at the Academy of Fine Arts many of the architects who were later to design the *Gemeindebauten* of Red Vienna were trained. Wagner, who was appointed professor at the Academy in the year he began work on the *Stadtbahn*, had included a group of rendered perspectives in his *Generalregulierungsplan* competition entry that showed how the new metropolitan railway could be architecturally integrated into the existing fabric of the city (figure 2.21). Apparently these drawings (as well as the planning ideas manifest in his winning entry) were so convincing to city building authorities that Wagner was awarded the commission to design the stations and other structures for the metropolitan railway.⁹⁹

The *Stadtbahn* was a major work of engineering (figure 2.22).¹⁰⁰ One branch ran through the hilly ter-

rain alongside the *Gürtelstrasse*, on the site of the old *Linienwall*. The two other branches ran along the banks of the Wien River and the Danube Canal, necessitating the regulation of these two waterways. By means of a lock and weir at Nussdorf, the risk of flooding on the canal was eliminated and its use as a harbor made possible. The Wien River was subject to even worse flooding than was the Danube Canal. Because of the impermeable rock (known as "flysch") through which it flowed, in wet weather the river would suddenly transform into a rushing torrent, causing flash floods along its course through the inner-city districts III–VI. During the nineteenth century, the Wien River had become an open sewer into which poured not only household waste but also effluent from the factories and workshops located along its banks. To eliminate the health hazard this presented, the Wien was treated, canalized, and arched



2.21 Perspective, Kaiserin Elisabeth-Platz, by Otto Wagner, 1892.

over for much of its course through the built-up inner districts.

Thus the planning of the *Stadtbahn* required the integration of the new railway with the Gürtelstrasse and the uneven terrain along its length, as well as the regulation of the two inner-city waterways (figure 2.23). Its construction involved embankments, weirs, locks, sluice gates, viaducts, tunnels, bridges, and thirty-six municipal railway stations. Wagner's design, with which we will be concerned in more detail later, is remarkable both as a feat of engineering and as a piece of urban design. Each element—station, viaduct, bridge, embankment, tunnel—was carefully studied and adjusted to the topography and architecture of its site. At the same time, through the consistent use of a common vocabulary of forms, each structure also establishes itself as part of a larger architectural program, conceived in relation to, and at the scale of, the entire city (see figures 7.31–33).

The *Stadtbahn* itself for the first time linked the outlying districts of Vienna to each other. (A radial streetcar system, begun in 1865, linked the outer dis-

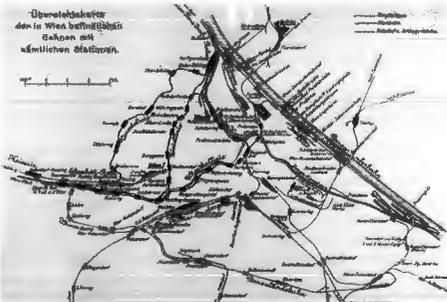
tricts to the inner city.) The *Stadtbahn* therefore made all parts of the metropolitan area equally accessible.⁹⁴ In so doing, it placed those parts in a new relationship with each other and with the city as a whole, radically changing the character, internal rhythms, and underlying structure of Vienna—without, however, substantially altering its outward appearance. This aspect of the *Stadtbahn* (a project on which a number of Wagner's students worked in the 1890s and early 1900s) had considerable significance for the Social Democrats' building program in the 1920s.

Other parts of the *Generalregulierungsplan* of 1893 were also completed when Lueger was in office. Street connections within the inner city were improved, and the principal radial streets outside the Ringstrasse itself were extended toward the Gürtelstrasse. A new boulevard, the Wienzeile, extending from the Stadtpark to the Palace of Schönbrunn, was laid out (again according to plans by Wagner) along the course of the arched-over Wien River. Finally, the central cemetery (*Zentralfriedhof*) was expanded and made newly accessible by rail, and several parks, including a public beach on the Danube, were opened.⁹⁵

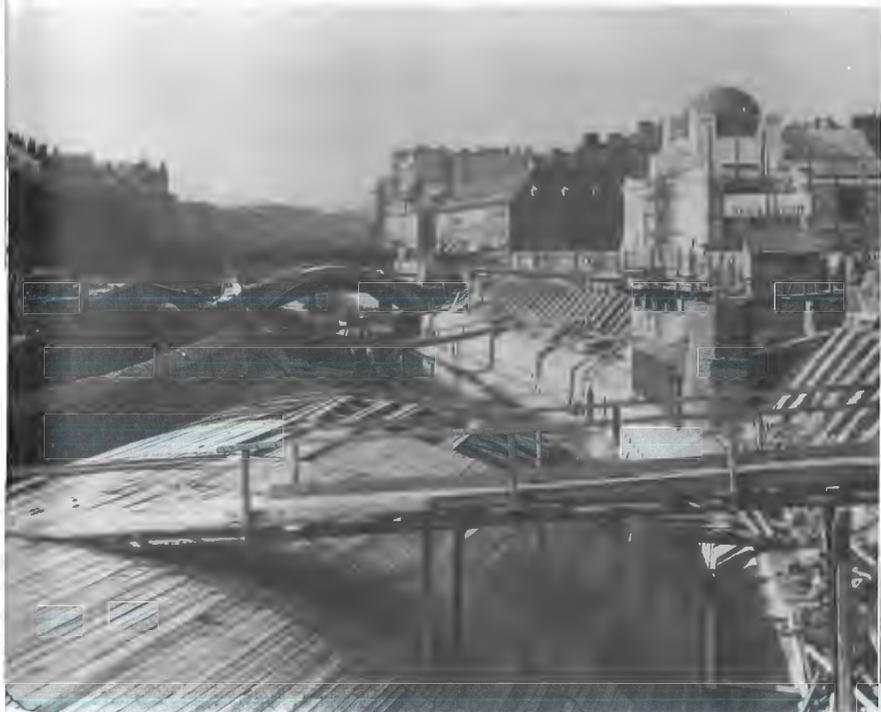
The last piece of large-scale planning in the Lueger era was the designation of a conservation area in 1904, known as the *Wald- und Wiesengürtel* (belt of woods and meadows) (see figure 1.1). This was a ring of (mostly state-owned) forest and meadowland that had been incorporated into Greater Vienna in 1890. It included the Wienerwald northwest of the city (through which a new 40 km long scenic road, the Höhenstrasse, first proposed by Stubbien in his competition design in 1894, was built in 1934), the Lobau and Prater forests southeast of the city, and the Wienerberg due south, as well as a number of large garden complexes that penetrated deep into the newly incorporated outer districts.⁹⁶ Together the new green belt and gardens comprised 4,400 hectares of protected forest, pasture, and parkland.

2.22 Plan of *Stadtbahn* lines and stations, ca. 1900, showing relation to state railway lines, Danube Canal, and Wien River (Korne, Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts, I (1905), plate XI).

2.23 Opposite: Construction of *Stadtbahn* and Wien River Canal in front of Josef Oberlick's Secessionist building, photo 1898.



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The *Wald- und Wiesengürtel* was a foresighted piece of planning. It was originally conceived by Eugen Fassbender (in his second prize-winning competition scheme for the *Generalregulierungsplan*) as a *Völkering* (people's ring), an "air reservoir" within the city, which it was predicted would soon grow far beyond it to encompass four million inhabitants by 1950.⁹⁶ This, of course, did not happen, and the immediate effect of the *Wald- und Wiesengürtel* was to constrict the outward expansion of the urban area of Vienna in all directions except northeast across the Danube. That restriction had two consequences. The first was the inflation of real estate prices within the constricted areas.⁹⁷ The second was the incorporation of Floridsdorf on the north bank of the Danube into the metropolitan area and the creation of district XXI, which brought the total area of Greater Vienna up to 273 square kilometers. Floridsdorf, it was anticipated, would accommodate one million inhabitants, a commercial center, industry, and a shipping port.⁹⁸ As we will see, the district became the site for major development in Red Vienna in the 1920s.

The Political Position of the Landlord Under Lueger's stewardship the Christian Socialists had sponsored the creation of a number of public institutions designed to serve the social and economic interests of Vienna's small businessmen and independent tradesmen, but not the city's industrial workers. The most prominent of these institutions was the *Postsparkasse* (postal savings bank), a financial institution for small depositors whose combined savings (so the Christian Socialists argued) would offset the power of the big banks.⁹⁹ The Postsparkasse building (see figures 7.25–7.27), designed by Otto Wagner, occupied a conspicuous site near the Stubenring, the last segment of the Ringstrasse completed in the 1890s and early 1900s. During this period the Christian Socialists also founded and placed under municipal control a life insurance company and a pension fund, as well as a number of hospitals, old-age homes, and orphanages.⁹⁹

The fiscal policies of the Christian Socialist administration did little to benefit the urban proletariat, which in 1910 comprised 56 percent of the population of Greater Vienna.⁹⁹ In 1892 a law exempted owners of tenements in the outer districts from real estate taxation for a period of thirty years. Ostensibly intended to encourage the construction of inexpensive housing, this law triggered a decade of widespread speculation.¹⁰⁰ Tenements, which became known at this time as "rental barracks," became the property of small investors who exploited the legal building prescriptions to build on every inch of space allowed by law.¹⁰¹

As a result, the proletarian living conditions in Vienna, described by Philippovich and others in the 1890s, persisted well into World War I. According to the housing census of 1917, the number of *Kleinstwohnungen* or smallest dwellings (one-room-and-kitchen apartments, the largest of which also had a small *Kabernetz*) was 405,991, or 73 percent of the 554,525 living quarters in Vienna. In the seven predominantly proletarian districts, such small apartments constituted over 90 percent of the existing housing stock. A subsequent census taken in 1919 showed that these quarters lacked even the most basic facilities. Over 15 percent had no kitchen, 39 percent had no storage space in the cellar or elsewhere, almost 77 percent had neither electricity nor gas, and over 90 percent were without toilets or water faucets.¹⁰²

These *Kleinstwohnungen* were not only small and ill equipped but also expensive, absorbing about one-quarter of the average worker's salary.¹⁰³ As a result, many working-class families (somewhere around 20 percent of those living in *Kleinstwohnungen* before the war) were compelled to take in subtenants, lodgers, and "Bettgeher" or bed-tenants, who rented time in a bed but were otherwise entitled to no further use of the apartments space or facilities. In the years just before World War I there were between 60,000 and 70,000 bed-tenants in Vienna, who occupied a bed that was often shared with a family member. Such conditions of overcrowding, in quarters that were already



insufficient in size, not only precluded any possibility of private conjugal or family life but also created breeding grounds for disease—physical as well as psychological.¹⁶⁴

The supply of rental properties was also grossly inadequate. Instead of the 3 to 4 percent vacancy rate considered necessary to satisfy demand in most large cities, in Vienna in 1914 only 1.39 percent of the existing housing stock was vacant. In the case of small apartments (the only type of accommodation the average worker could afford), the rate of vacancies was even lower: between 0.89 and 0.39 percent.¹⁶⁵ There were therefore thousands of homeless in the city who lived in makeshift shacks, under bridges, on boats, and in caves dug into railway embankments.

Because of the housing shortage in pre-World War I Vienna, the landlord enjoyed a quasi-monopolistic position in the housing market. The shortage of living quarters in the city forced tenants to hold onto apartments, even those that were inadequate to their needs. They were also at a great disadvantage in bargaining with the landlord. Most leases in worker tenements were for no longer than one month. Landlords had the right to arbitrarily increase rents and to evict at short notice. Tenants, in contrast, had almost no rights—not even to a key to the apartment—and there were no institutions to which they could appeal for protection.¹⁶⁶ This made it particularly difficult for new immigrants and for so-called undesirable tenants (with large families) to find accommodation, and once they occupied an apartment they lived under constant threat of eviction and forced relocation.¹⁶⁷ Instances of the eviction of large (*kinderreiche*) families were legion, and the consequences, as reported in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in 1911, were often dire.

On August 15 the landlord Georg Pawlas gave the art metalworker J. Patzak . . . notice to quit his dwelling because he had six children. On September 1st Patzak was to move out but he could not find another dwelling in time because of his

many children. The following day Patzak was evacuated, his furniture was brought to a storage depot after it had been left for hours on the street and was soaked with rain. He went with his children to the police station where he stayed overnight. Two following nights he stayed in the asylum and workhouse where he was given only 20 crowns to rent a dwelling. Naturally he—with his six children—did not find a suitable one. It was not before four children . . . were given to municipal asylums that he found a kitchen for himself and the remaining two children.¹⁶⁸

It is important to remember that the inhabitants of these *Kleinstwohnungen* in Vienna, including the subtenants and lodgers, were not the lowest class of society—the absolutely poor and unemployed—but rather the salaried and rent-paying working class, who were the mainstay of Vienna's expanding industries.¹⁶⁹ But since inexpensive labor was not only available but plentiful in Vienna, their substandard living conditions were of little concern to employers.

An even more significant factor militating against the working-class tenant was the crucial role played by the house-owning landlord in supporting Vienna's economy. Despite the rapid and intensive industrialization of Austrian manufacture in the mid-nineteenth century, Vienna never really became an industrial city on the scale of other national capitals like Berlin. Except for the large electrical and engineering plants, most of Vienna's industries were much the same as they had been earlier in the century; light industries producing clothing, textiles, furniture, paper, leather goods, and graphic materials in small factories and workshops. Statistics of the period show that in 1902 about 80 percent of all manufacturing concerns in Vienna were workshops employing between one and five people. Of the 56,104 industrial establishments in the city at the time, only 85 had over 300 employees, and of these only 8 factories employed more than 1,000 workers (as compared to Berlin at the same time, where there were 20). By 1913 there were 16 of these

larger concerns, but more than half (in particular, the metal-producing industries) were closed down a few years later by the shortage of coal after the war. To look at it another way, in 1914, 70 percent of all wage earners were industrial workers; one-fifth were employed in heavy industry, and four-fifths worked in workshops.¹¹⁰

Because of the dominance of small trades in Vienna, municipal revenues from corporation and income taxes were relatively small. The political power of the landowning aristocracy kept city and state from raising taxes on land. The one substantial source of revenues to be tapped was the rental income of the landlord. Since 92 percent of all residential buildings in Vienna in 1910 were multiple-story, multiple-family rental apartment houses, this amounted to a considerable sum.¹¹¹ Beginning in 1820, the so-called *Hauszins- und Gebäudesteuer* (rent and building taxes) were levied on the annual rental income of the landlord. These taxes, which amounted to more than 40 percent of the landlord's gross rental income, were the main source of revenue for both city and state.¹¹²

The high rent taxes in Vienna (more than twice those of Berlin at the time) had two significant consequences for the housing system in Vienna. First, they led to increased building density. Second, they made large-scale investment in land speculation unprofitable. Most of the rental property in Vienna, as a result, was owned by individuals or groups of individuals rather than by large corporations. According to statistics gathered in 1910, 70 percent of all Viennese residential buildings were owned by a single individual, 20 percent by groups of individuals, and the remaining 10 percent by companies, cooperative societies, religious institutions, and the central, provincial, and municipal governments.¹¹³ Most of Vienna's house owners owned only one building, in which they usually also lived. For these small landlords (a large proportion of whom were women, usually widowed or single), the building and rentable space within it was

their principal, and often only, source of income.¹¹⁴ Since the livelihood of Vienna's landlords depended on the amount of rent they could collect, they were naturally opposed to any measures such as rent control or tenants' protection that might reduce their income.

As a group, Vienna's small landlords accounted for a large part of the Christian Socialist Party membership. Between 1873 and 1900 they also comprised 58 percent of the city council.¹¹⁵ There were essentially two ways in which the interests of the landlord could best be served: by lowering mortgage interest rates and by lowering taxes. The municipality could do neither directly. It could not influence mortgage rates, was unable to reduce state taxes, and was uninterested in reducing its own tax on rental income (though between 1873 and 1914 all attempts to raise taxes were defeated), which in the period between 1862 and 1890 provided 66 percent of the city's revenues.¹¹⁶ The municipality could, however, make sure that nothing interfered with the landlord's ability to control the rental housing market. Therefore, throughout the prewar period the Christian Socialist party (in power in Vienna until 1918) staunchly supported the interests of the landlord against those of the tenant, resolutely refusing to intervene in the housing market and opposing any legislative reforms—including planning measures, new building regulations, rent control, and expropriation laws—that would compromise the position of the landlord.¹¹⁷

During much of that period (until 1900), the Social Democratic party, which alone defended the interests of working-class tenants, was unrepresented in the city council. The inequity of this situation led to a deeply felt class hatred between proletarian and petit bourgeois house-owning classes, who were known as "rent vultures" and "house tyrants" by their tenants.¹¹⁸

PREWAR HOUSING REFORMS Until the last years of World War I there was virtually no municipal or state intervention in the housing market. Nor were



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any significant attempts made to ameliorate the living conditions of the growing working population in Vienna. Instead, sporadic efforts were made by philanthropic organizations and some of the larger industrial corporations to provide housing.

An example of the former is housing built by the Verein für Arbeiterhäuser (Association for Workers' Housing), founded in 1884 by the philanthropist Dr. Maximilian Steiner. With financing from the City Expansion Fund (Stadterweiterungsfonds), which oversaw the development of the Ringstrasse zone, the Verein built eighteen terraced houses with gardens in Favoriten (X), to be sold on a hire-purchase system. An effort, like so many of its kind, to de-proletarianize the industrial workers and prevent the lower middle classes from joining their ranks, in this case by making them house owners, it failed because the cost of the houses was far beyond the means of the average worker.¹¹⁹

The most innovative and influential late-nineteenth-century philanthropic effort at housing reform, the Kaiser Franz-Josef I-Jubiläums-Stiftung, followed shortly after the publication of Eugen von Philippovich's famous study of 1894. Though Philippovich's study itself did little to actually change working-class housing conditions in Vienna, the public outrage that it evoked directed criticism toward the inactivity of the municipal legislature and the inhumane building codes of 1883.¹²⁰ Gaining even more attention was Philippovich's warning that neglect of the living conditions and welfare of the mass of Vienna's workers posed a serious threat to social order.

If everything is allowed to stay as it is, if we put our hands in our laps, then the ghastly devastating effects of our housing conditions on life, health, and the mental development of the population will continue. Time and again diseases will break out and carry their destructive germs far beyond the precincts of the poor classes; sick people will become a burden to the communities; the dead bodies of those who had to die

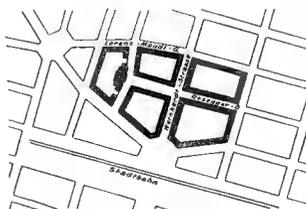
before their time will raise their mute complaint and will provoke in the hearts of the living deeper hatred against the owning classes and our order of society than the most eloquent agitator ever could produce; the moral feelings of the people will be extinguished and choked by the rougher instincts of animal life. Not only humanness, compassion with the suffering of our fellow men, but also sober reflection and enlightened *raison d'état* make it imperative to intervene and organize in a sensible way the basic condition of all orderly physical and psychical life—the dwelling of the people.¹²¹

The solution, Philippovich and others suggested, was to foster proper family life through housing.¹²² It was to this end that the Jubiläums-Stiftung (Jubilee Charitable Trust), a foundation of industrialists and philanthropists, sponsored a competition in 1896 for model workers' housing to be built on the occasion of the Emperor's Jubilee in 1898. The competition was won by the architectural partnership of Theodor Bach and Leopold Simony. The first eleven blocks of the so-called Jubilee Houses were built in the same year with credits from the City Expansion Fund. By 1901, the remaining seventeen blocks projected in the original scheme were completed.

Bach and Simony's design (figures 2.24 and 2.25), which followed the competition brief, departed from convention in the planning and layout of both the individual apartments and complex as a whole. Two blocks were for single tenants, the rest for families. The twenty-six blocks of family dwellings housed 1,700 people in 392 apartments. The blocks themselves were five stories high and enclosed large courtyards. All of the dwellings, which were generally larger than the standard *Kleinstwohnung*, were provided with their own toilets, though in half of them the toilet was located outside the apartment itself. The most significant departure from conventional practice was the stack organization of the apartments within the housing blocks, which made it possible for all rooms, in-

2.24 Top: Kaiser Franz-Josef I "Jubilee Houses," Labmayrhof (XVI), Theodor Bach and Leopold Simeony architects, 1898. Site plan 1:8000 showing built and projected blocks (left); first-floor plan 1:600 (right). [Kerts, *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, II (1904): 452].

2.25 Jubilee Houses, Labmayrhof, first completed segment, ca. 1899. [Kerts, *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, II (1904): 451].



■ Projektiert.
 ■ Ausgeführt.



cluding the kitchens, to have direct light and air. Extensive facilities, including steam-powered laundries, showers and baths, a public library, lecture hall, plots for vegetable gardens, play areas for children, and the services of a "house doctor" who held daily consultation hours, were provided. Tenants were forbidden to sublet or take in lodgers or *Bettgeber*, which made it difficult for most workers to afford the rent. Indeed, the majority of tenants in the buildings were skilled blue-collar and white-collar workers.¹²²

The Jubilee Houses—and especially Otto Thienemann's more frequently published second prize-

winning design of monumentally proportioned apartment blocks arranged around a very large courtyard within which were located a number of smaller structures containing the communal recreational and service facilities—are often cited as the formal prototype for Red Vienna's *Gemeindebauwesen* (a point to which we will return).¹²⁴ Their immediate effect on the contemporary housing situation in Vienna, however, was negligible.

In the early 1900s attempts were made to take housing out of the market by institutions such as the State Railways, the Workers' Accident Insurance



Company of Lower Austria (Niederösterreichische Arbeiter-Unfallversicherungsanstalt), and the city of Vienna itself, which used pension and social security funds to finance construction of housing for its employees. But these funds did not provide enough capital for any large-scale building.¹²⁵

The first reforms to the housing system in Vienna pushed through the city council before World War I came as the result of violence. In 1911 simultaneous increases in rent (of 20 percent) and food prices led to a "rent strike" and widespread rioting.¹²⁶ The city responded to this sudden show of revolutionary spirit by making some relatively insignificant amendments to the building code and providing funds to set up a limited liability company to build 250 emergency dwellings for homeless families. Two years later a small-housing bureau was created, but neither it nor the housing committee set up by the council in the same year did anything substantial to alter the existing organization of the housing market.¹²⁷ Only after the outbreak of war did the unchecked power of the landlord began to diminish.

WARTIME MEASURES The immediate effect of war was to ease pressure in the housing market in Vienna. Despite an increase in marriages at the outbreak, few new households were established during the war. Indeed, many were disbanded when men were conscripted into the army and women moved back to their parents' homes. In addition, new construction in Vienna did not decrease radically until 1915, though the demolition of old buildings stopped more or less immediately in 1914.¹²⁸

This situation soon changed. Vienna was the center of mobilization and the imperial war effort. Attracted by the high wages to be earned in the war industries, a vast labor force was soon drawn to the capital from all parts of the monarchy. Moreover, in the early months of the war, Vienna was inundated by two further waves of immigration from the eastern

and southern provinces, following the Russian invasion of Galicia in autumn 1914 and the Italian declaration of war in 1915. The availability of housing rapidly became a problem. Lack of labor, materials, and mortgage credits brought building activity in Vienna to a standstill. Older buildings, though no longer demolished, were also not repaired and soon became uninhabitable. Other quarters, particularly in the inner districts, were appropriated and converted into offices for military and official business use. This in turn created a new demand for larger apartments for displaced middle-class tenants, a demand that encouraged landlords to evict working-class renters from small apartments in order to knock them together into single large flats.¹²⁹ By 1917, therefore, the shortage of housing in Vienna (measured in terms of vacancies) was already worse than it had been before the war.

At the same time, wartime inflation, which had already caused a significant rise in prices by 1915, induced landlords to raise rents repeatedly and to throw out tenants who could not meet their payments (and then to convert the small apartments into larger middle-class accommodations). This form of wartime profiteering was allowed to persist well into the third year of the war.¹³⁰ By the end of 1916, however, it became clear to state and city authorities that the political tension and general unrest caused by the combination of rising prices, scarcity of food and supplies, and especially forced evictions—suffered by families of soldiers who were fighting in the imperial armies—could easily erupt into open conflict and seriously affect the Austrian war effort. In 1917 and 1918, therefore, the central government finally took legal action to curb these practices. Strict limitations were imposed on the landlord's rights to raise rents and to give notice.¹³¹ These restrictions had the side effect of exacerbating the already acute housing shortage in the city. Since there were no longer forced evictions, the number of vacancies declined dramatically in 1917 and 1918. There was also almost no turnover in the

housing market, since the shortage of vacancies inclined tenants to hold onto apartments that had become either too small or too big for their needs. Thus matters became worse.

“WILD” SETTLEMENT OF PUBLIC LAND Both the housing and food crises in Vienna intensified in the third year of the war. By this time patriotic enthusiasm for the Habsburg military effort had waned. The original objective of the conflict, as far as Austria-Hungary was concerned, had been met in 1915 with the defeat of Serbia. Engaged in a war with no apparent national purpose, Vienna could neither contain conflict within the empire nor feed its two million inhabitants.

In the capital, a combination of Hungarian embargoes and poor local harvests had led to food shortages as early as 1915. At the end of May 1915, bread and flour were being rationed; white flour was unobtainable. By 1916 milk, coffee, sugar, fats, potatoes, clothing, footwear, and tobacco were rationed. Undernourishment, especially among children, was widespread. The food situation worsened as relations between Vienna and its principal food suppliers, Hungary and the Czech provinces, deteriorated in 1917. In May 1917 there were strikes in Vienna’s munitions factories as workers protested the lack of effective measures to increase the food supply. Six months later, bread and flour rations were reduced.¹¹² Finally, in early 1918 larger consignments of food made it to Vienna from Hungary. But by April these arrangements had broken down and the capital lacked not only bread but also gas, electricity, public transportation, and fuel. In October 1918, as the empire collapsed, the starving population of Vienna also began to freeze.

In increasing numbers during the last two years of the war, groups of hungry Viennese, urban dwellers otherwise unconnected to the land, began to plant vegetable gardens and to grow their own food in the belt of forests and meadows on the periphery of the city (the *Wald- und Wiesengürtel*), as well as on military

parade grounds and in inner-city parks. Officially the municipality turned a blind eye to this illegal appropriation of public land and, as conditions worsened, even began to lend its support to the self-help effort. In 1916 the city council issued a legal summons for the cultivation of vegetables in “war gardens” or *Kriegsgemüsegärten*; and in the dry summer months the allotments were supplied with water from municipal fire trucks.¹¹³ As the war dragged on and rationing reduced food supplies to starvation levels, the number of allotment gardens in Vienna increased dramatically. In 1915 there were 3,000 allotment gardeners registered in the city; by 1918, 18,500. And by 1919 there were officially between 40,000 and 50,000 allotments in Vienna, though the number of unregistered subsistence gardeners was considerably higher, estimated at around 150,000.¹¹⁴

Soon the allotment gardens, particularly those located on the periphery of Vienna, began to transform into shantytowns (figure 2.26). First sheds for tools were converted into primitive shelters for small animals—goats, pigs, and other livestock raised for food. Then toward the end of the war, as fuel and electricity became unavailable and public transportation ceased in the city, the gardeners themselves began to live on their allotments. Gradually sheds and stalls were expanded and converted into living space, families moved in, and the allotments became colonies of urban settlers squatting on public land. Hans Kampffmeyer, who later became director of Vienna’s settlement office, described this development: “Since in most of the cases the allotment gardeners had to travel long distances from their homes to their gardens, it occurred to many of them to establish lodges, so that it would at least be possible to live in the gardens during the summer. Then the housing shortage forced many to stay in these huts through the winter as well. Whole shantytowns developed in this way.”¹¹⁵ Though conditions in the shantytowns, which generally had neither electricity nor proper plumbing, were



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primitive, they were hardly worse than in the city, where residents not only went without light and heat for much of the time but also without food in the last months of the war.

The end of the hostilities did little to alleviate either the food or housing crisis in the city. Throughout the war economists and municipal officials had assumed that Vienna's wartime housing shortage was temporary, caused by the concentration of war industries in the capital and by the flood of refugees from the beleaguered border provinces who had settled in Vienna in the early months of the war. Once the war was over, they reasoned, there would be a reverse migration from the city, and the housing shortage would naturally disappear.¹⁵ This did not happen.

The Austrian defeat and subsequent dissolution of the Habsburg Empire completely altered the expected migration pattern and led to unforeseen population shifts. Large numbers of Czech laborers left Vienna for the factories of Moravia and Bohemia, but most of those who left had lived in Vienna (without their families) as subtenants or bed-tenants. Those with families in Vienna tended to leave them behind until they had reestablished themselves in their homelands. The Czech emigration from Vienna thus lowered the density of occupation, particularly in small apartments, but it did not significantly increase the housing supply in the city. At the same time, a reverse migration of Austrian civil servants, expelled from the Succession States, created a new demand for housing. The 50 to 90 percent increase in marriages and number of new households formed immediately after the war further intensified the need.¹⁷

Though the population of Vienna dropped from 2,199,000 in 1914 to 1,841,326 in 1920 (an attrition caused by war casualties, emigration, and the devastating influenza epidemic of 1918, which claimed the lives of Viktor Adler, Otto Wagner, Gustav Klimt, Egon Schiele, and thousands more), the number of families living in the city increased by over 40,000



2.26. Makeshift houses in "wild" settlements, ca. 1922. From *National Geographic*, January 1923, 85.



during the same period.¹⁸ By 1919, therefore, the housing shortage was no longer measured in terms of vacancies, since these had dwindled to almost nothing, but rather in terms of the numbers of absolutely homeless. Gradually, many of the homeless also moved to the periphery of the city and built makeshift shelters on public land. Again the statistics are telling. In 1919 there were around 14,000 squatter-households on city-owned land; by 1921 there were over 30,000.¹⁹

In general the "wild" settlers were bound by neither ideology nor class. From all strata of society, they included out-of-work laborers, war veterans, new im-

migrants, government officials, intellectuals, and office workers—all those who had been forced into self-help by desperate circumstances and the failure of organized government to provide for its citizens.¹⁴⁰ Many wild settlers, for example, were former civil servants. Their plight was described by Lieutenant William Otho Potwin Morgan, an American officer appointed to the Peace Commission in Vienna after the armistice:

Before the war it was said that 83% of the Viennese depended on the government for employment and these were the large "middle-class." One morning they woke up and there was no government. These people had nowhere to turn. They knew no trade. They were as unable to stand starvation as city clerks anywhere. Their children were correspondingly weak as compared to the peasants. The strongest went to day labor and the weakest died, and their children as a whole suffered most. Needless to say, this once solid middle-class is disappearing with this generation. A small band of them formed a settlement. The government assigned them a rocky and wooded hillside. This they cleared borrowing a few dollars from the Mission for dynamite to use on the stumps. . . . [N]o one would believe what they were able to do in a few weeks. . . . seventy-five percent of these city men have developed heart trouble. What they have sacrificed to succeed in building this settlement can only be known to those who have seen them, and then individual cases of families add to the long list of Vienna's privation and suffering.¹⁴¹

Morgan, who had served in a machine gun battalion of the U.S. First Infantry Division (which had one of the highest casualty rates of all U.S. divisions), was profoundly affected by the hardship and suffering of the Viennese settlers, but he was also moved by their resourcefulness. In notes for an article intended for *The New Republic*, (but, it seems, never published) Morgan described two settlements founded by war invalids: "In early spring of 1920, a body of 1,500 ex-

soldiers, 60% disabled, petitioned [the] Austrian gov. for land; were refused, and then marched to [the] emperor's hunting park, appropriated thirty acres, cleared the trees and built about twenty double houses from the stones of the park's high wall. At the entrance to the royal preserve now stands a simple stone slab erected by these soldiers naming their new city the 'City of Peace.'¹⁴²

The individual houses built by the settlers varied widely in size, accommodation, and architectural elaboration, according to the skills and material resources of each settler-builder. Generally, however, the settlers showed the same disregard for the city's building codes as they had for its legal prescriptions regarding land use. "Among them are many solidly built houses, though most are wooden shacks thrown together with all kinds of imaginable cheap materials," Kampffmeyer wrote.¹⁴³ The guiding principle in all, however, was to occupy as little of the 100–300 square meter area of the allotment as possible in order to maximize the food-producing (and often revenue-producing) potential of the plot.¹⁴⁴ One such allotment was described in the *National Geographic* by an American journalist:

On the edge of the city the traveler will come upon curious little patches of gardens, each with a makeshift fence and a wooden building that looks like a child's playhouse. Women and children are weeding and carrying water. They do not waste ground by having paths, but step carefully between the plants. Blocks of scarlet poppies, raised for their delicious seeds, dot the hillside. . . . [T]here is no end to these garden homes. They surround the city like a ragged girdle, and are the result of the housing famine that has driven thousands of families to live here in huts, even in cold weather, where they do at the city's food supply by raising vegetables about the front door.¹⁴⁵

Though neither the allotment garden nor the cottage settlement were new to Vienna, their synthesis in



the "wild" *Siedlungen* was both novel and particular to Vienna at the time. Cottage settlements had been built before the war by the cooperative building societies that had access to the welfare housing fund. The allotment garden, an import from Germany where it was known as the *Schrebergarten* after the Leipzig orthopedist Daniel Gottlieb Moritz Schreber (1808–1861), who was credited (albeit falsely) with its introduction in his home city around 1860, first appeared in Vienna in 1903/1904. Introduced in connection with the turn-of-the-century *Lebensreform* and *Bodenreform* movements (generally conservative, antiurban, nationalist, back-to-nature, and back-to-the-land movements), allotment gardening was originally promoted for recreational rather than productive purposes; as a respite from the "steinernen Stadt" (the city of stone).¹⁴⁶ *Wohnlauben* or garden pavilions, used for storing tools, produce, and garden furniture, as well as for temporary shelter and even part-time living in the summer, were standard features of *Schreber-* or *Kleingarten* allotments in both Germany and Austria. So too was the *Schutzhaus*, a central pavilion that was a gathering place and a cross between "a miniature delicatessen stand and an open-air beer hall," where food and drink were dispensed.¹⁴⁷

The transformation of the allotment into a primarily productive working garden was a wartime development. Its preminent postwar proponent was the German landscape architect Leberecht Migge (1881–1935), whose ideas regarding productive gardening were published in 1918, under the title *Jedermann Selbstversorger* (*Everyone Self-sufficient*; their influence in Vienna is considered in the next chapter). Migge's concern was for the countryside, which he believed needed to be protected from "colonization" by the city. Productive gardening, whereby "every family must be self-sufficient on its own land by cultivating its own vegetables, fruit, and animal produce," would militate against the alienation of urban life; more important, such gardening would transform the city into

an autonomous entity so that it would neither encroach upon nor exploit the adjoining countryside.¹⁴⁸

The wild settlement and cultivation of Vienna's greenbelt during and immediately following World War I had little to do with the conservative *Bodenreform* (back-to-the-land) ideas that informed the German *Schrebergarten* movement.¹⁴⁹ Rather, it was a direct consequence of Vienna's inability to provide nourishment and shelter for its urban population during and immediately after the war. The garden-cottage form of housing associated with these settlements was promoted in immediate postwar Vienna as an alternative not to traditional forms of urban housing but to the socioeconomic organization of the city itself. The "wild" settlement movement represented a rejection of organized government, of the institutional and sociopolitical structure of the big city, but not necessarily an embrace of either the antiurban ideology of *Bodenreform* or the anarcho-socialist call for the dissolution of the city.¹⁵⁰ Instead, as Peter Marcuse recognized, it was "the simple and logical product of dire necessity."¹⁵¹

In the end, the lesson learned in Vienna from both World War I and the long history of official neglect that preceded it was that improvement of the living conditions of the mass of urban poor in Vienna, was a matter not of techniques, or even of housing reform, but rather of politics; that it was necessary to gain control over, and transform, the social and economic structure of the city. As we will see in the next chapter, that process which began with the spontaneous wild settlement of public land soon evolved into a highly organized cooperative settlement movement in Vienna that was a significant (though often neglected) precursor and countermodel to the Social Democrats' later program of municipal building.



3

“WOHNEN LERNEN”: LEARNING TO LIVE, 1919–1923



The wild settlement movement in Vienna was a direct consequence of the political and economic collapse that preceded Austria-Hungary's military defeat in World War I. Beginning in 1915, as the prospect of an early peace had faded and it became clear that neither the imperial bureaucracy nor the city administration was capable of providing shelter or enough food to sustain the two million inhabitants of the capital, private citizens took it upon themselves to find their own solution to the housing and food crisis. Squatting on public land, they built makeshift shelters and planted subsistence gardens on the outskirts of the city. By 1918 more than 100,000 people were living in shelters they had built themselves and from produce they were growing in vegetable gardens planted on public land. By this time 6.5 million square meters had been turned into arable land and were being cultivated by 14,000 families. According to the allotment gardeners' newspaper, *Gartenfreund*, the produce grown in 1918 amounted to 1,200 railway cars of vegetables and provided nourishment for 160,000 people.¹ Described by Peter Marcuse as "probably the most widespread example of physical self-help in housing in the twentieth century in an industrialized nation," the wild settlements were also an index of the catastrophic conditions in Vienna as it emerged from World War I bankrupt, diminished, its population on the brink of starvation.²

In the period between 1919 and 1923, the wild *Siedlungen* began to stabilize into more permanent communities, and the settlers began to organize themselves politically and economically into cooperative associations that took it upon themselves to grow their own food, produce their own building materials, and construct and manage their own housing. In Vienna and Austria as a whole this was a period of continued economic instability, of uncontrollable inflation and currency devaluation. It was also a time of political uncertainty, when the Social Democrats' status in the federal government, as well as Vienna's status and future dimensions as city and state hung in the balance. Until Austria's monetary and constitutional crises were finally resolved in 1922, it was impossible for the municipality of Vienna to formulate a coherent housing program, much less to begin building on any significant scale. The immediate postwar years were therefore a period of indecision and doubt on the part of city and state authorities, whose sporadic and piecemeal interventions contrasted sharply with the vigorous antigovernment activity of the settlers and cooperative associations.

The cooperative settlement movement itself took an entirely different direction from the *Siedlungen* and garden suburb developments in Germany. It was shaped by architects and intellectuals—including

Adolf Loos, Josef Frank, Margarete Lihotzky, Franz Schuster, Gustav Scheu, Max Ermers, and Otto Neurath—who were sympathetic to garden city ideas but who also strongly supported the Social Democrats' social and economic policy for Vienna. As a result, the settlements they produced were very different from the ownership-oriented suburban *Siedlungen* built in Central Europe before the war. Radically independent of bourgeois structures, the Viennese settlements were antipicturesque, urban, and inextricably bound to the cultivation of food.³

MUNICIPAL EMERGENCY MEASURES On 3 December 1918, when the provisional Vienna City Council assembled for the first time since the end of the war, the Social Democratic Party declared that along with increasing food supplies and reforming the electoral, education, and youth welfare systems in the city, alleviating the housing crisis was an immediate priority of the new council.⁴ But for the time being, the Austrian currency crisis made it impossible for either city or state to do any sort of building.⁵ The municipality was able to provide only a small amount of provisional shelter in Vienna; some 2,000 dwellings in renovated military barracks and other existing buildings.⁶ The city's most effective measures during this period were aimed at the forced redistribution of the



existing living space in Vienna. The first intervention of this kind was the requisition of "underutilized" space in private dwellings with more than three rooms, with the "surplus" assigned to the homeless.⁷ Though a substantial amount of living space was reallocated through requisitioning, the Social Democrats never regarded this as more than an emergency measure to relieve a crisis. Furthermore, redistribution did not significantly increase supply, and the demand for housing in Vienna was continuing to rise. Between 1922 and 1924 the number of registered home seekers increased from 42,642 to 68,175.⁸

GUSTAV SCHEU AND THE WILD SETTLEMENT MOVEMENT The most urgent task facing the new municipal administration was regulation of the wild settlements. In particular, officials were concerned that settlement of the Vienna's protected green spaces would transform the city's prized *Wald- und Wiesengürtel* (belt of forest and meadows) into a "belt of timber sheds and gypsy villages" if measures were not taken to regulate and control the movement.⁹

In May 1919 Jacob Reumann appointed his friend and fellow Social Democratic city councillor Gustav Scheu (1875-1935) as advisor on housing matters (*Berater in Fragen der Wohnungswesen*). Scheu was to play a major role in early housing policy. A lawyer by profession, he had impeccable socialist credentials and was both knowledgeable about and active in housing reform. His father, Josef Scheu, had been a founding member of the Austrian Social Democratic Party.¹⁰ His uncle, Andreas Scheu, had been closely involved with the Scottish Social Democratic Party and in 1883 had joined William Morris, in voting for a public housing policy in Britain.¹¹ Before the war Scheu and his wife, the writer Helene Scheu-Reisz, had become acquainted with Ebenezer Howard and other leading figures in the garden city movement in England and Germany, and they had embraced its philosophy. Scheu himself was a founding member of the Zentral-

stelle für Wohnungsreform in Österreich, and during the war he had been one of the authors of rent control legislation in Austria.

Gustav Scheu's own ideas regarding a Social Democratic housing program for Vienna were first published in a programmatic essay, "Zur Wohnungsreform" ("On Housing Reform"), which appeared in *Der Sozialdemokrat* in April 1919, a few weeks before the first postwar municipal elections in Vienna.¹² Scheu proposed that the city not participate directly in the production of housing but instead promote housing by attending to the related traffic and transportation problems: providing rapid transit service between center and periphery and supplying areas to be developed for new housing construction with streets, sewage, water, gas, electricity, and other necessary urban infrastructure. Regarding building type, Scheu proposed low-rise single-family row houses with gardens in peripheral areas, where building land was plentiful and cheap. But since the municipality already owned a significant amount of inner-city land, Scheu proposed that building should begin within the city, where urban apartment blocks should be favored, because of the high land values and urban character of these districts (and because the municipality could proceed rapidly since it already owned the land).¹³ On the one hand, Scheu's proposal reflects the fact that circulation and public transportation were still major problems in Vienna.¹⁴ On the other hand, it also seems clear that Scheu, like other members of the Zentralstelle für Wohnungsreform, favored the decentralization of housing and the development of outlying areas where extensive tracts of land were available and not burdened with high city taxes.

In many ways Scheu's proposal differed little from prewar proposals for the planned expansion of Vienna put forward by the bourgeois *Zentralstelle* and Christian Socialist city administration.¹⁵ These were to a large extent informed by the ideas of Adolf Damaschke, founder of the conservative Bund Deutscher

Bodenreformer (Union of German Land Reformers) in 1898.¹⁶ Opposed to speculative urban land development in metropolitan building zones, the *Bund* maintained that such zones should be put to collective use. Yet Damaschke and the *Bodenreformer* never proposed the abolition of private ownership but advocated instead the wide distribution of landed property, reasoning that if people who lived in large cities could own property within the city, they would feel "rooted" in its soil. Wide distribution of urban land was seen as a means not only of combating urban alienation but of resolving class conflict. In other words, while rejecting land speculation, the *Bodenreformer* proposed no radical change to the existing social structure. Like other conservative turn-of-the-century reform groups, including the *Heimatschutz* (preservation of the homeland) movement, which was dedicated to preserving the unadulterated national culture of the German (or Austrian) countryside, the ideology of *Bodenreform* was essentially anti-big city, anti-rental apartment house living, and pro-home ownership, favoring indigenous forms of construction and architecture. Though less nationalistic and racialist than the *Heimatschutz* back-to-the-land movement, it was equally conservative politically and economically.¹⁷

Where Scheu's program differed radically from the proposals of the *Bodenreform* groups was in the techniques he proposed: expropriation of available building land in the city for municipal uses, acquisition of interests in the large insurance institutions for investment in communal housing construction, management of construction through an efficiently organized municipal building office that would coordinate the building operations of cooperative building societies, supervision of the production and distribution of building materials, and, finally, establishment of a system of tenant self-government for the administration of the new housing. The role of the *Gemeinde* (municipality) was to provide funds, land, public transportation, and urban infrastructure. All the rest, including

the design and construction of the buildings themselves, would be carried out by cooperative building societies.¹⁸ Scheu's program also departed from the methods proposed by the Social Democrats before the war (see chapter 1), when they had favored the direct participation of the municipality in the construction of housing, rather than limiting the involvement of the municipality to "town planning questions" (*städtebauliche Fragen*).

Scheu's housing reform proposals are significant. Published in an official organ of the Viennese Social Democratic party, by a city council member, on the eve of a municipal election, they can be assumed to represent if not the official position of the party itself, then one that it evidently endorsed; Scheu's proposals were also the first indication since 1914 of the methods the Social Democrats intended to employ to combat the housing problem in Vienna. What led to this change of policy? Certainly the state of the city's finances in 1919 made it difficult to contemplate the organization of large-scale building operations. But the shift was also ideological, and Scheu and the Social Democratic leadership, particularly the new mayor Jacob Reumann, were clearly influenced by English garden city ideas of cooperative ownership and management.¹⁹

In 1919 Scheu also participated in organizing an Austrian branch of the Garden City Association, known as the German-Austrian Garden City Association (*Deutschösterreichische Gartenstadtgessellschaft*); it was founded on 4 May 1919, the day the Social Democratic Party came to power in Vienna. Unlike its German counterpart, the Austrian association was committed to Howard's original cooperative conception of the garden city: common ownership of land, exclusion of private property, production based on cooperative rather than competitive, capitalist principles.²⁰ The German *Gartenstadtgessellschaft*, founded in 1902 (by among others Hans Kampffmeyer, who later became director of the Settlement Office in Vi-



enna), had by 1919 moved away from the more radical tenets of Howard's program and become decidedly revisionist. Committed to using the means and techniques of capitalism—"to stand on the shoulders of the capitalist economy . . . in order to advance beyond, and thus overcome, the problems brought about by capitalism"—it was progressive only in the sense that it did not promote a return to a precapitalist economy.²¹ The Austrian association, in contrast—and the Viennese branch in particular—attracted socialists as well as progressive architects and intellectuals, including Adolf Loos and the journalist and art historian Max Ermers.²² Throughout the 1920s, the Scheu residence in the Vienna suburb of Hietzing (XIII), which was a gathering place for left-leaning intellectuals and artists (including among others Eugenie Schwarzwald, philanthropist and feminist educator, and the writer Robert Musil, author of *The Man without Qualities*), also functioned as the intellectual and spiritual center of the Austrian garden city movement, whose adherents regularly assembled there. The house itself, designed for Scheu and his wife by Adolf Loos in 1912, was, significantly, the first of Loos's stepped terrace houses, a type he was later to develop for multiple-unit worker housing in Vienna.²³

The Social Democratic leadership may also have been inspired by the example of Amsterdam, where a relationship between Social Democratic municipal authority and cooperative building societies (much like that proposed by Scheu) had resulted in the exemplary development of Amsterdam South.²⁴ Whatever the reason, Social Democrats' housing policy took a new direction after Scheu's appointment as housing advisor.

GENERSIEDLUNGSPLAN COMPETITION Scheu's first task was to develop an extension plan for Vienna, which the city administration assumed would soon become a province independent of Lower Austria and thereafter expand dramatically in size.²⁵ The extension

plan was to prepare for this eventuality and to address Vienna's housing problem, which, Scheu maintained, would remain "insoluble if considered separately from the social conditions that had created it"—that is, if it were considered as a planning rather than as a social and political problem.²⁶

Instead of appointing an architect (as the Amsterdam council had appointed H. P. Berlage in 1900) to draw up a plan, Scheu decided to hold a limited competition for the development of a *Generalsiedlungsplan* (general settlement plan) that could be used as a model for future development of the city.²⁷ Scheu's aspirations for the competition, announced in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in February 1920, were to develop a unified plan for the construction of "flourishing garden cities . . . in and around Vienna." "With regard to the present competition," Scheu noted, "the question is not metropolis or town (*Grossstadt oder Kleinstadt*); rather we start from the position that Vienna will continue to exist as a metropolis, but one that can also develop in a healthy manner."²⁸ By the end of February 1920, six architects had been invited: five Viennese—Alfred Keller, Robert Oerley, Adolf Loos, and the partners Siegfried Theiss and Hans Jaksch—and one German, Heinrich Tessenow. The criteria for selection (never fully articulated) would seem to have been a combination of professional stature and previous *Siedlung* work. With the exception of Adolf Loos, all of the invited architects were either officers of professional associations, high-placed city officials, or university professors. (Loos had founded his own *Bauschule*, or school of architecture, in 1912.)²⁹

Tessenow, of course, had the greatest renown as a theoretician and the most distinguished record of achievement in *Siedlung* planning and small house design. His collaboration (beginning in 1909) with Hermann Muthesius and Richard Riemerschmid at Hellerau, the garden city outside Dresden, had gained him an international reputation, as well as a chair at the Kunstgewerbeschule (School of Applied Arts) in

Vienna, a position he held from 1913 to 1919, when he returned to Dresden.¹⁰ Tessenow had written his two most important books on house design and the city while teaching in Vienna: *Hausbau und dergleichen* (*House Building and Such Things*, 1916), his personal design credo and a primer of principles for the design of "small houses," and *Handwerk und Kleinstadt* (*Handicraft and the Small City*, 1919). The latter, written in the last year of the war, was a discourse on (among other things) the proper scale of urban life; Tessenow suggested that the middle-sized town (*KleinStadt*) of 20,000 to 60,000 inhabitants (unlike the *Grosstadt* or *Dorf*, metropolis or village) allowed for the integration of the intellectual and physical dimensions of work and life.

According to the competition brief, each architect was asked to develop plans for a model *Siedlung* of 1,000 cottages; this entailed a site plan showing the entire *Siedlung* and designs for individual houses, including proposals for exterior treatment, materials, and interior furnishing. The proposals were to reflect a knowledge not only of local housing and building techniques, but also of developments in foreign countries. The choice of site, site plan, housing typology, and size of attached garden were left entirely to the architects, as were the "aesthetic" character and interior organization of the houses themselves. The guiding principle in all was economy; to be as inexpensive as possible.¹¹

In the meantime, a new Division of Social Policy and Housing (Verwaltungsgruppe für Sozialpolitik und Wohnungswesen), under Gustav Scheu as *amtsführender Stadtrat* (alderman), was created in April 1920 to expedite the projected plans. Max Ermers—journalist, art historian, head of the new town-planning section of the Institute of Art History at Vienna University, and close friend of Scheu and Loos—was appointed advisor for settlement housing (*Referent für Siedlungswesen*), a newly created position with a special mandate to organize a Settlement Office (*Siedlungsamt*).

But within a few weeks a series of events brought the city's planning activities to a standstill, and Ermers's objective to build 41,000 cottages was never realized.¹² In early June 1920 the Social Democrats were forced out of the federal coalition government. This greatly weakened the party's position in the negotiations regarding Vienna's expansion. By 10 June the negotiations had reached an impasse and the Social Democrats' chief negotiator, Karl Renner, resigned. Shortly thereafter, Gustav Scheu, no doubt discouraged by this sequence of events, stepped down as *Stadtrat für Wohnungswesen* in order to resume his legal practice. (According to the city's newly ratified constitution, a *Stadtrat* was a political appointee and as such was not permitted to also practice law as well. Scheu did, however, remain on the city council until 1923.)

Scheu's resignation in June 1920 scuttled the city's settlement plans. The *Generalsiedlungsplan* competition did not take place; and neither the *Siedlungsplan* itself nor Vienna's expansion plan was developed any further.¹³ Scheu was replaced by Julius Grünwald, a son-in-law of Jacob Reumann, who accomplished little before the position was abolished and the department itself restructured in September 1922.¹⁴

SETTLERS' DEMONSTRATIONS The absence of strong leadership in the housing authority after Scheu had departed, combined with uncertainty about where Vienna's municipal boundaries would eventually be drawn, resulted in a stalemate. The housing authority's prolonged inaction led to two massive demonstrations in Vienna. The first, on 26 September 1920, involved fifty thousand settlers and allotment gardeners carrying placards inscribed with their demands: that the city provide land, either through expropriation or by leasing city-owned property at reduced rates to the settlers, and immediately change the building code to legalize the wild *Siedlungen*. They assembled in front of the *Rathaus*, chanting "Give us land, wood, and stone, and we will make bread out of it!"¹⁵ The settler's demands were not met. Only weeks



later, on 20 October 1920, Lower Austria officially split apart. Expansion of the metropolitan area was no longer possible, but Vienna did not yet have the full legislative powers of a state or *Bundesland* (which it acquired only on 1 January 1922). On 3 April 1921, the settlers once again took to the streets. A second demonstration was held in front of city hall, larger and better organized than the first. No longer a motley assembly of otherwise unaffiliated squatters and allotment gardeners, the demonstrators this time represented a politically organized union of cooperative settlement associations.¹⁶

By 1921 the settlement movement itself was no longer "wild." Many of the original squatters and subsistence gardeners had decamped when conditions in Vienna began to improve in spring 1919. The remaining settlements stabilized into more permanent communities with their own systems of cooperative self-government. After 1919, the majority of settlers were better-paid skilled workers, who had skills useful to the community and were active in the labor movement, the Social Democratic party, and the trade unions.¹⁷ They brought not only political engagement to the settlement movement but also methods of labor organization that radically changed it from a spontaneous self-help effort into a union whose purposes went far beyond the production and management of settlement housing.¹⁸ In 1921 one of the leaders of the cooperative movement declared, "To work for the *Siedlung* is to work for Socialism. We Marxist and labor union-trained proletarians . . . today are the standard-bearers of the settlement movement."¹⁹

THE COOPERATIVE SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATIONS

Initially the settlement associations had been rather loosely conceived cooperative self-help societies, whose structure was determined by a shortage of cash and the need to economize on building costs. As an alternative to paying a deposit or making some other cash investment (as was customary in cooperatives elsewhere in Europe), settlers could contribute their



3.1 Images of settlers building houses on the outskirts of Vienna. From *Neuland of Geographic*, January 1923, 84.

own labor (figure 3.1). A minimum of 10 to 15 percent of the total estimated building costs were provided by the direct labor of the settlers themselves. On average, each settler worked 1,600 hours, in this way covering up to 80 percent of the labor costs and 30 percent of the total building costs. The remaining financing was provided by government loans.²⁰ The division and organization of the labor was determined by the skills of the settlers themselves. The required participation in construction naturally privileged settlers with professional training in the building trades, and they had preferred status within the societies. Artistic skills were also recognized, and painters and craftsmen contributed murals and ornamental stucco work as forms of payment.

Many of the settlers, however, had neither special skills nor training. Unskilled labor, which included mixing cement, building formwork, quarrying stone, and other aspects of site preparation, was carried out by men and women, with heavy and light work apportioned according to individual strength rather than sex. Working hours were flexible. The unemployed could contribute their time during normal work hours. Those who were employed generally contributed four hours at the end of a regular eight-hour workday (legislated in 1919), and eight hours a day on the weekends.⁴³

Work on the site was described by an American observer writing for the *National Geographic*: "thousands of women and children are working continually in several settlements on the outskirts of Vienna, earning their future homes. They make bricks, dig foundations, sift sand, and mix mortar. On Saturday and Sunday the men arrive and work from dawn til dark." In one of the first settlements built by war invalids in the imperial hunting grounds of Schönbrunn Palace, "the park walls were pulled down for material with which to build the first houses. The bricks, each stamped with the double eagle of the Habsburgs, will now help to shelter the human wrecks that fought in vain to preserve the great empire."⁴⁴

Lieutenant Morgan described work at a different settlement known as Siedlung Hirschstetten, which was founded by war invalids;

The work of building is slow and laborious. . . . They first built a road, then began the digging of foundations, according to splendid blueprint plans. The bricks were hauled in wheelbarrows from the fortress, some cement was purchased and mortar made with nearby sand. The screening of the sand and mixing of the mortar is done by the women who are able to contribute more hours than the men. They may be seen on any day and all day building roads, shovelling in the foundations, carrying bricks and helping in almost every phase of the work. Nothing stops these settlers. Many ex-

soldiers with both legs gone would ask for sympathy and richly deserve it, but there is none to be given in Austria. These soldiers work under all conditions, and to see a man with two wooden legs carrying an armful of bricks up an improvised ladder is but one example of the many. Tuberculosis is their worst enemy and provided they do not overwork, as they too often do, the open air labor generally improves them.⁴⁵

The labor contributed by the settlers went into the construction of their own houses and also of the institutional buildings in which facilities serving the entire community were housed. These included child-care centers, meeting halls, schools, churches, theaters, and concert halls. The houses themselves were cooperatively built and collectively owned with the title retained by the settlement society. Settlers could bequeath houses to family members, but could only sell to the association.⁴⁶ Lieutenant Morgan described the case of "One old man [who] was building roads and had contributed 1,100 hours, he was not a skilled laborer except with a shovel, being a boiler-room fireman for several years. Upon completion of 1,500 hours he would own a house in behalf of his son who had had a severe wound in his face and was unable to work."⁴⁷

Before 1921 all the work was done by the settlers themselves. Soon, however, it became necessary to contract work out to skilled labor. Morgan noted the cause:

Among the settlers there [are] a goodly number of machinists and carpenters but in addition labor must be hired to hasten the bricklaying and certain other skilled work such as tiling the roofs. The difficulties encountered can not be described and scarcely visualized. When the government loans money to the settlers it must be converted into a commodity or material the same day so that the falling value of money will not shrink the loan. The settlers save from their wages a few cents a week and when they use these cents to buy a shovel



at the end of the week, they find that the value of the cent has depreciated and they cannot buy the shovel. This works more severely when larger sums of money are handled.⁴⁶

One consequence was an important alliance between the settlements and the trade unions. At first, the unions had been hostile toward the self-help movement, seeing it as not only a violation of the (hard-fought) eight-hour day but also as a threat to the unions themselves, depriving their members of work. Critical of the settlers' workmanship, union leaders also objected to the "property fanaticism" of the settlement movement and the settlers' use of their "leisure" time for acquiring "private property" rather than engaging in political activity.⁴⁷ Soon, however, members of the construction unions contracted with the settlement cooperatives for carpentry and other skilled work; they formed their own "workers' building cooperatives," one of the largest of which, founded in 1921, was named Grundstein (foundation stone). In 1921 some 2,200 workers were employed in such cooperatives, and from that time on the settlement movement had the full support of the unions.⁴⁸ This development had interesting consequences, as Morgan noted:

It cannot be emphasized too much that a most interesting point of view among the working men is developing. They are workers for eight hours and "capitalists" the rest of the time. The speed with which they work is astonishing. The labor which they hire is hurried from morning to night because for instance the wages of bricklayers went up 70 percent on July 7, 1922, and up 40 percent on July 14th. The settlers must pay for this with their own savings from the previous week's pay before their wages also go up, or from government money loaned previously before the further depreciation of currency. Wages are based on the government cost of living issued weekly and automatically rise as the money drops in value. These settlers however are learning economics as no other group in the world are learning it.

There is no theory mixed up with them in any form whatever.⁴⁹

The socioeconomic theory that did underlie the organization of the cooperative settlement associations, certainly from 1921 on, derived from the economic reform ideas of English guild socialism, according to which the settlers were to be both the producers and consumers of their own housing, social institutions, and food. In this Otto Neurath (1882–1945)—economist, philosopher of mathematics, member of the Vienna Circle, and socialist who had served in the Bavarian revolutionary government in 1919 and embraced the settlers' cause as a project of socialization from below—played a key role, as he did in so many other aspects of Red Vienna's municipal program.⁵⁰ In 1921 Neurath, who was then secretary of the Forschungsinstitut für Gemeinwirtschaft (Research Institute for Socialization), helped found the Siedlungs- Wohnungs- und Baugilde Österreichs (Settlement, Housing, and Construction Guild of Austria).⁵¹ Organized along guild socialist lines of self-government, the *Baugilde* brought together the Austrian Tenants Union, Union of Settlement and Allotment Associations, and Central Union of Construction Workers.⁵² An organization of 400,000 people, the *Baugilde* coordinated the building and maintenance activities of the cooperative building associations. It established a centralized organization for purchasing building materials, furniture, and insurance; a number of building and agricultural bureaus, which provided settlers with technical advice on design, construction, and interior decoration, as well as on farming and animal husbandry; a bank; and a settlement museum.⁵³

Neurath was also instrumental in founding the Austrian Union of Settlements and Allotment Gardens (Österreichischer Verband für Siedlungs- und Kleingartenwesen, or ÖVSK) in September 1921, and he was its first general secretary. The ÖVSK, a branch

organization of the *Baugilde*, was the central organization of the settlement associations and had its own building office (see further below). The ÖVSK also had educational programs for settlers, which included lectures and courses on a variety of subjects related to settlement housing design and theory taught by Otto Neurath, Max Ermers, Adolf Loos, Margarete Lihotzky, Josef Frank, Hans Kampffmeyer, and others.³⁴ After his term as city councillor ended in 1923, Gustav Scheu ran the ÖVSK's legal protection agency (*Rechtsschutzstelle*) until 1934. In 1922 the ÖVSK had around 50,000 members belonging to 230 different associations.³⁵

In 1921 a non profit building enterprise—the Public Utility Settlement and Building Material Corporation (Gemeinwirtschaftlichen Siedlungs- und Baustoffanstalt), known as the GESIBA—was founded. Owned jointly by the municipality and the cooperative settlement associations, the GESIBA bought building materials centrally at prices under municipal control and carried out the construction of the settlement housing. The GESIBA also organized five immensely popular Allotment Garden and Settlement Housing Exhibitions, which took place annually from 1921 on the Rathausplatz in front of city hall; they showcased full-scale model houses, with interiors designed and furnished by architects in the ÖVSK *Baubüro* and city-run Siedlungsamt (see below).³⁶

**“GROSSE ARCHITECTEN FÜR KLEINE HÄUSER,”
BIG ARCHITECTS FOR LITTLE HOUSES: ADOLF
LOOS AND THE SIEDLUNGSAMT, 1921–1923** By

1921 the settlement movement had garnered the support of the mayor and a number of Social Democratic politicians, as well as the left-leaning architects, journalists, and intellectuals—Adolf Loos, Margarete Lihotzky, Max Ermers, and Otto Neurath—who attended the second large settlers' demonstration in front of city hall on 3 April 1921 and helped to publicize its cause.

Loos and Lihotzky had attended the first demonstration in 1920, at which Loos saluted the crowd, “Hut ab vor den Siedlern!” (hats off to the settlers!), and called for a new “*Siedlung*-oriented” development plan for Vienna.³⁷ According to Lihotzky, Loos was “the only architect who understood the idea of the settlement movement.”³⁸ In fact Loos had been enlisted into the settlement movement by Scheu and Ermers earlier in 1920; he worked for several months as an unsalaried advisor to the housing department, locating and examining potential building sites, preparing site and house plans as well as working drawings for the cooperatives, and making himself available to settlers, who streamed into the Siedlungsamt offices (temporarily located in the former town palace of Prince Eugen on the Ringstrasse) in search of design and planning advice.³⁹

On the day the second demonstration took place, Loos published an article in *Die Neue Presse* titled “Der Tag der Siedler” (“The Day of the Settlers”). It presented the settlers' cause in terms of the national economy: “The allotment garden saves not only the people but the state. It will be the task of the state to best exploit the industrious labor to which a part of the city's inhabitants will voluntarily subject itself, for the general good. The work of the allotment gardeners produces food, which would otherwise have to be imported. The allotment gardeners of Vienna in 1920 have produced one billion crowns worth of food.”⁴⁰ For that reason alone, Loos asserted, it was imperative that the municipality grant land to all workers who wanted to grow food in their leisure time. But to do so, he argued, the proletarian gardener had to live close to his garden. The combination of house and working garden would not only allow the worker to make productive use of his leisure time but would transform the home itself from a place of retreat into a center of production. The working-class family could thereby become the autonomous subject of this domestic economy. As the locus of food production and con-



sumption, the working-garden house would stabilize the proletarian family, gathering its members around the dining table and reversing the trend among Viennese workers toward taking their meals outside the home (according to Loos, 80 percent of Viennese working-class did families did not regularly eat together). Thus, Loos claimed, by granting the worker land, the municipality was also granting him his table.

This second settlers' demonstration produced immediate results. On 15 April 1921, twelve days after the cooperative associations had marched on city hall, a law (long supported by the Social Democrats) was finally passed in the National Assembly to create a Federal Housing and Settlement Fund (Bundes Wohn- und Siedlungsfonds) that would provide the settlement associations with building subsidies. The Siedlungsamt, which was charged with allocating land, distributing building credits to the cooperatives, providing assistance with design and building control, and generally handling matters of settlers' welfare, was created on 24 May 1921 to deal specifically with settlement housing.⁴¹

Max Ermers, who had become increasingly frustrated by the bureaucracy in city hall, resigned as *Referent für Siedlungswesen* and was succeeded by one of the founding members of the German Garden City Movement, Hans Kampffmeyer (1876-1932).⁴² Kampffmeyer had been associated with the Forschungsanstalt für Gemeinwirtschaft, where he met Neurath and worked with him to develop the *Baugilde* structure.⁴³ He was best known in Vienna, however, for his "Friedenstadt" (city of peace) proposal of 1918, in which he suggested that a fitting memorial to Germany's war dead would be the construction of a settlement and model garden city for war veterans to be named "Friedenstadt." Kampffmeyer was first invited to Vienna in 1920 to help with the planning of an Austrian settlement of this kind on the grounds of Schönbrunn Palace.⁴⁴

The architectural direction of the Siedlungsamt, however, was entrusted to Adolf Loos, who was its

chief architect from May 1921 until June 1924. During that period Loos played a significant part in determining the architectural and ideological character of Vienna's *Siedlungen*. As the Siedlungsamt's architectural authority, he established design and planning guidelines and vetted all the schemes produced and approved by the Settlement Office.⁴⁵

Settlement Zoning Plan Loos's first undertaking as chief architect was to draw up an Allotment Garden and Settlement Zoning Plan for Vienna (Kleingarten und Siedlungszone im Generalregulierungsplan für Wien), designating certain areas for settlement and allotment purposes. According to this plan (figure 3.2), approved by the city council on 15 July 1921, 1,215 hectares (3000+ acres) of city-owned land were allocated for settlement housing, and another 770 hectares (approximately 1,900 acres) for allotment gardens. Three principal suburban areas—northeast, southeast, and west of the city center—were zoned for one- and two-story (above ground) buildings and protected from the encroachment of taller high-density construction.⁴⁶ The streetcar lines were extended, and those which had not already been converted were electrified.⁴⁷ New houses in the settlement zones were exempt from certain taxes, and the city (like the federal government) provided funds in the form of loans through the short-lived *Wohnungs- und Siedlungsfonds* (Housing and Settlement Fund).⁴⁸ The settlements in each of these areas were grouped together administratively into *Großgenossenschaften*, or greater cooperative associations, comprising local groups (*Ortsgruppen*).

"**Wohnen Lernen!**" One of the most urgent tasks of the Siedlungsamt, according to Loos, was to establish design and construction guidelines for the settlement housing. Much of the early settlement housing was judged to be unsightly as well as unsafe. The houses constructed during and after the war had been built without regard for the existing building codes and

with standard materials (*Erstbauweisen*).⁶⁹ Along with quality control in construction, it was felt that planning and design also needed to be brought under the purview of the municipality.

In Hans Kampffmeyer's view, the problem was unfamiliarity with the principles of planning settlements. Those principles were founded on a conception of the *Siedlung* as an architectonic unity—an urban ensemble of streets, squares, gardens, and buildings, not an assemblage of individually conceived houses. *Siedlung* design for Kampffmeyer was a matter of *Platzbildung* (place making) according to the principles of Camillo Sitte's *Behauungsplan* (volumetric plan).⁷⁰

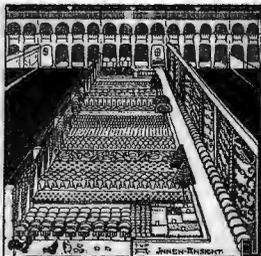
For Loos, the problem was cultural, and therefore a question of typology rather than of urban plan.⁷¹ "To become settlers," Loos wrote in 1921, "we have to learn to live" as settlers. "What should a settlement house look like? . . . We must start with the garden. The garden is primary; the house secondary. The garden will naturally be the modern garden. It should be small, 200 square meters at the most. The smaller the garden, . . . the more rationally it will be laid out, and the more productive it will be."⁷²

Of primary significance, Loos determined, are the waste disposal/collecton facilities and work spaces—the *Abort* (toilet), tool and animal sheds, work space, and washroom—all of which were to be located in, or oriented toward, the garden. The *Abort* in particular (which was to be a latrine, not a water closet) was to be removed from the living space of the house and located in the garden, where its contents could be converted into fertilizer.⁷³ Within the house, day and night activities were to be spatially separated. Daytime activities were allocated to the ground floor in the large living room/kitchen (*Wohnküche*), in the work spaces, and in the garden. The upper floor with bedrooms and clothes closets was exclusively for sleeping and was not to be used during the day.

With regard to site planning and orientation, Loos's recommendations were at variance with both Kampffmeyer's Sitte-esque principles of urban composition and the German prescriptions for siting row-block construction (*Zeilenbau*), which were later adopted by the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM)—that it be aligned with the cardinal points and oriented east-west.⁷⁴ Since for Loos the garden, not the interior space of the house, was of primary significance, the streets rather than the houses were to be oriented east-west, so that the long, narrow vegetable gardens, following the recommendation of allotment-garden experts—in particular, Leberecht Migge—would be aligned with the cardinal points and would have sun all day.⁷⁵ Migge lectured in Vienna in 1922 and 1923 at the invitation of the Siedlungsamt and ÖVSK; even before that time his ideas had been embraced by settlers as well as by municipal officials.⁷⁶ As they assimilated Migge's ideas regarding the *Nutzgarten* (productive garden), they accepted one of the principal tenets of his garden theory: that the *Nutzgarten* (figure 3.3) was an urban garden form. Whether or not the city is harmful, Migge wrote in 1919, "the reality is that it exists, and [it] must therefore be made suitable for habitation."⁷⁷ Particularly for the working classes, who were especially vulnerable to fluctuations in the economy, the *Nutzgarten* provided the means for reducing the family's financial burden, increasing its living space, and broadening its sphere of social regeneration.⁷⁸

Loos's settlement houses were all row houses in which the *Wohnküche*, the principal living/work space of the house, and as many bedrooms as possible faced south. If located on the north side of the street, the houses were relatively narrow with work rooms facing north onto the garden and the *Wohnküche* facing south toward the street. If located on the south side of the street, the houses were wider since both *Wohnküche* and workrooms faced south onto the garden.⁷⁹

3.3 Nutzgarten (productive garden). From Labersacht Mäggin, *Industriemens Selbstversorger* (1919): 36.



The same principles were followed in the *Siedlung* house designs prepared by others working under Loos's direction in the Siedlungsamt as well. In 1921 and 1922 the Siedlungsamt, in collaboration with the *Baubüro* of the ÖVSK set standards, provided design guidelines for settlement housing, and oversaw the construction of thirty settlements in Vienna. The *Baubüro* prepared comprehensive site plans, designed individual houses, and examined all building projects before they were submitted to the Siedlungsamt and city building authorities for approval. From 1922 to 1925 Franz Schuster and Georg Karau were chief architects of the *Baubüro*; Margarete Lihotzky was a full-time employee for a short time, and Josef Frank served as an advisor on building questions.⁴⁸

Loos himself was directly involved in the design of four *Siedlungen*, in each case in collaboration with another architect. Usually he designed the site plan and one or two rows of housing, leaving the rest to his collaborators. In total Loos designed somewhere between 40 and 50 *Siedlung* houses during his association with the Siedlungsamt.⁴⁹



Loos's Friedenstadt Houses Loos's first *Siedlung* designs were for the cooperative association "Kriegerheim," on whose board of directors he served. The first project was for the Siedlung Friedenstadt in the Lainzer Tiergarten. This had been one of the original "wild" settlements, described by Lieutenant Morgan, in which war invalids had illegally occupied a portion of the Zoological Gardens of Schönbrunn Palace. In 1920 the municipality had granted the cooperative 30 hectares of land on lease. In the same year Loos was asked to prepare a site plan for the new settlement.

Loos's plan (figure 3.4), which he described as "intentionally unpicturesque," retained the preexisting broad, straight, brick-paved allée that connected two ponds at the summit and base of a hill on the site. At the elevated end Loos placed a tower, at the lower end a community center and school buildings. The principal residential streets of the *Siedlung* were sited on axis with these monuments and perpendicular to the allée, with the houses set back from the street, interspersed among the trees.

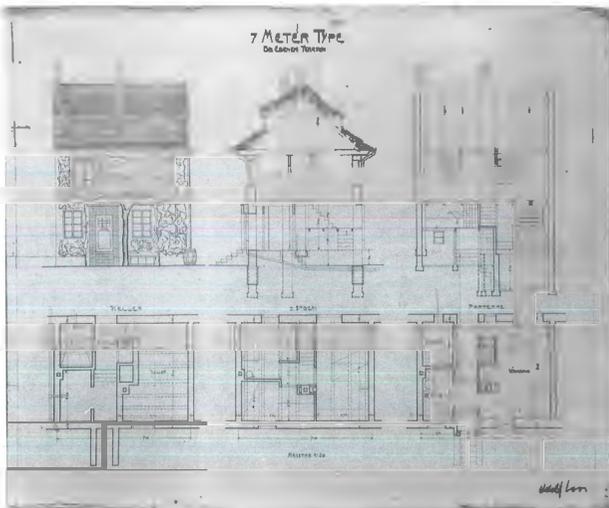
For the houses Loos designed a standard plan-type 6 meters deep and 7 meters wide, with stairs perpendicular to the street and with living and work rooms facing south toward the garden (figure 3.5). (Larger versions of this type, 8 or 9 meters wide, were also developed.)⁵⁰ The gardens were long and narrow, covering an area of about 400 square meters. An alternative 7-meter-wide type, developed for Lainz but built in a subsequent *Siedlung* in Hirschstetten, incorporated Loos's *Resomplan*, volumetric conception of the plan, with interstitial mezzanine spaces inserted midway between the main floor levels of the house.⁵¹

Loos's site and house plans were rejected by the cooperative association and the Federal Housing and Settlement Fund (the agency providing funds for the development), who objected to the regular straight streets, the north-south orientation of the houses, and the long, narrow gardens—just those aspects of the design which for Loos were the defining features of



3.4 Site plan, Gardenstadt Friedenstadt, by Adolf Loos, dated March 1921

3.5 7-meter house type for level ground, Friedenstadt, by Loos, 1931.



the garden settlement house type. In defense of the project Loos explained (in a private publication) that the streets were straight because they traced the most direct routes from the entrance of the park to the *Siedlung* itself. The north-south orientation of the houses, he argued, did not preclude south-facing rooms; indeed, according to the submitted plans, the living room, work room, and all but one bedroom face south. Furthermore, the north-south orientation of the houses protects them from exposure to the prevailing

westerly winds of the district. Long, narrow gardens (oriented north-south), Loos noted, were recommended by gardening experts, particularly Migge, if they were to be productive, as they have more usable space for cultivation (fewer paths), get more sun, and are protected from the wind. Finally, in answer to the charge that the straight streets in the submitted plan were monotonous, Loos claimed that it is not straightness but sameness that is dull.⁶⁴



In the end, however, only one row of eight houses designed by Loos was built. At the end of September 1921 the cooperative held a competition for a new site plan for the Lainz settlement. Loos resigned from the board, and a design by another architect was selected.⁸⁵ But the subsequent development of the settlement, which between 1922 and 1924 included thirty-six houses designed according to Loos's plans, was piecemeal and uncoordinated, failing to adhere to any unified plan.⁸⁶

The built houses designed by Loos were the standard 7-meter-wide-plan type, with full basement; ground floor *Wohnküche*, work, and wash rooms; second floor master bedroom and two children's bedrooms (to allow for separation of the sexes); and an attic. Built of stucco-faced hollow cement block, with gable roofs, standard mullioned casement windows, and wood floors and stairs, they were entirely conventional in their strict adherence to the building code. The code itself had been modified in June 1920 in order both to legalize and to facilitate the construction of cottage housing (known as *Kleinhausten*) in Vienna's outer suburbs. The new legislation, which introduced the concept of the "Kleinhaus" (literally, "small house") as well as the "Wohnstrasse für Kleinhaussiedlungen" (residential street for small house or cottage settlements), established less stringent building standards for both. Until this time the same building standards had applied to single-family houses as to large apartment blocks, which made the construction of small houses inordinately expensive. According to the new codes the minimum permissible ceiling height was reduced from 300 to 260 cm (10 ft. to 8 ft. 6 in.) in single-family houses, hollow-block wall construction was permitted, roofs did not have to be fireproofed, wooden stairs with 90 cm stair width and 20 cm risers were permitted, and gravel (rather than paved) sidewalks were allowed in the cottage-lined streets of the *Siedlungen*. One of the more interesting amendments to the code was the dispensation from fireproof party

walls between houses in a row. This was based on an expedient redefinition of the row house as a (horizontal) multiple dwelling housing type, which made it legal to build party walls like the partition walls within the dwelling. To reduce construction costs further, adjacent houses could share a single chimney stack built into the party wall.⁸⁷

The completion of the first house designed by Loos was celebrated with great fanfare on 3 September 1921. A plaque commemorating the *Siedlung Friedenstadt* was unveiled by the mayor, who was accompanied by government officials and city council members; present were the administrative heads of the Departments of Welfare (Julius Tandler), Personnel (Paul Speiser), and Housing (Anton Weber). Kampf-meyer, Ermers, and Loos were all in attendance. On the following day the house, furnished by Loos with built-in cupboards, benches, and tables, as well as curtains, rugs, books, kitchen equipment and utensils, vases, flowers, pictures, and even ashtrays, was opened to the public, who were greeted at the door by the architect and shown around the house by his students. (Subsequently it became standard procedure for architects to furnish and outfit a model house, which would be opened to the public at the official opening ceremonies.)

Elsie Altmann-Loos, the architect's second wife, described the event and the interior, furnishings, and impact of Loos's first house at Lainz (which seems to differ slightly from the surviving house plans for the *Siedlung*):

the plan of the house . . . was a miracle of exploitation of space. Since it was very small, I could immediately understand its spatial conception. From the outside the house was tiny. On crossing the threshold one found oneself in a long and narrow corridor that divided the ground floor into two parts. At the end of the corridor a door opened onto the vegetable garden. Through this door streamed green-hued light, reflected off the vegetation outside. On the left were

two rooms, completed and provided with beautiful windows, but unfurnished, so that each tenant could arrange things to his own satisfaction. The rooms [unlike the standard Viennese dwelling] were not interconnected, so that the occupants would not disturb each other. The first room was conceived as the father's workshop and had space for a joiner's bench or a writing desk, whichever suited the tenant. The other room at the end of the corridor could be transformed into a bathroom since there was a tap on the outside wall and a large roofed-over area with a basin (for washing laundry and/or vegetables) facing onto the garden. The space could be used for other purposes as well: playroom, pantry, storage, ironing, or sewing room. It was left up to the settlers to determine its use.

To the right of the entrance was the door of the living room/kitchen. Here Loos had installed a corner bench and a beautiful table. The windows were large and hung with light-colored curtains through which a pleasant light filtered. Under the windows were shelves for plates and crockery. On this side of the house there was no partition wall; one passed directly from the kitchen into the living room. A beautiful bench was set beneath a large window, on the wall were bookshelves, and at the back of the room, near the door leading to the vegetable garden and outdoor basin, was a wooden flight of stairs leading to the upper floor. Here two bedrooms were located, one large and the other smaller. Tucked under the stair was the cooking niche, with a large metal hood over the stove. The *Wohnküche* furniture was made from a soft wood (pine), painted white. The kitchen and living spaces could be separated by a cretonne curtain. Yes, it is true that the staircase was narrow and inconvenient, with very steep stairs; yet it was the only kind of staircase that could have fitted into that space, and the steepness of the stairs allowed the builders to economize on wood.³⁰

Elsie, whose job it was to listen to visitors' comments, was shocked by the negative reception of Loos's design (which she deemed "so enchantingly beautiful that it made poverty seem like a privilege"). "All these people who lived in miserable tenements,"

she reported, "were furious about the house and found fault with everything."³¹ In particular the external water tap and basin were considered inconvenient, while the *Wohnküche* and bedrooms were deemed too small to accommodate conventional furnishings. This was a common complaint, and a significant problem also in the *Gemeindebauten*. It was finally addressed in the mid 1920s, when the municipality organized exhibitions and opened an advice bureau to help tenants find suitable, reasonably priced furniture for small dwelling spaces (see chapter 6).³²

Despite its tone of condescension, Elsie Altmann-Loos's description points up the significance of the houses designed by Loos at Lainz. Both the techniques and forms Loos employed were conventional. Typologically, the houses derive from neither the rural peasant cottage nor the suburban middle-class cottage; nor (as has also been suggested) are they descended from the English working-class row house.³³ Instead they evince knowledge of all three as well as of the prewar garden city row house cottages of Raymond Unwin—at Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb, in particular—and of Muthesius, Riemerschmid, and Tessenow at Hellerau. Certainly the row house type itself was neither original nor new to German or Austrian *Siedlung* design. In the immediate postwar period, the urban, economic advantages of the small, attached row house had been argued by Muthesius, Tessenow, Theodor Fischer, and Peter Behrens in a series of publications that appeared around 1918 and were clearly aimed at postwar reconstruction.³⁴ Closer to home, Leopold Bauer, an architect who had studied with Otto Wagner but did not share his enthusiasm for the "unbegrenzte Grosstadt" (unbounded metropolis), had published a proposal in 1919, titled "Healthy Living and Joyful Work: Problems of Our Time," advocating "ecologically correct" row houses for Vienna interspersed with green spaces and gardens.³⁵



Loos's houses acknowledge all these sources and, significantly, also conform to the Viennese building code for *Kleimbauwesen*. But ultimately their form, organization, and structure derive from the logic of the problem of the *Gartenstiedlung* house itself. The urban settler who undertook to grow his own food and participate in the construction of his own house was neither a farmer nor a builder, but was instead employed in a factory, workshop, or office at a job to which he traveled daily by streetcar or on foot, and at which he worked eight hours each day. Limited means, space, time, and skills were, therefore, determining conditions for the design of house and productive garden. House and garden had to be not only economical but also simple—both to produce and to use.

The typified and simplified forms of Loos's houses emerged out of an analysis of the needs and purposes of the proletarian gardener. And it was an investigation into the social practices, habits, and customs of the modern urban settler, not a concern for ideal regional or national types, that underlay their design. Although the space and physical amenity provided were correspondingly minimal, the conceptual simplicity of Loos's *Gartenstiedlung* house—designed to be built, operated, and molded to the individual needs and purposes of each settler household—created possibility for the proletarian subject, expanding rather than limiting the uses to which it could be put.

"House with One Wall: System Loos" In the model houses Loos designed for the Heuberg Siedlung (figures 3.6 and 3.7), he applied the same logic to the development of an integrated system for the structure and organization of *Gartenstiedlung* housing.⁹¹ Loos first introduced his new structural system, called the "System Loos" or "Haus mit einer Mauer" ("house with one wall") in a row of eight houses on the Plachy-gasse. The purpose of Loos's invention (figure 3.8), which was patented in December 1921, was to cut building costs by reducing materials and labor. In the



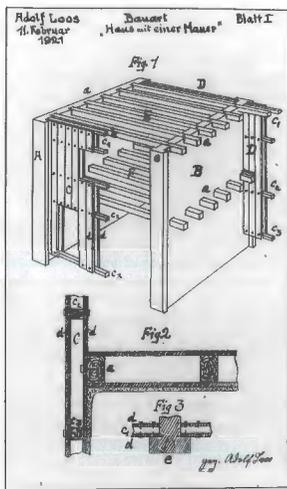
3.6 *Siedlung Am Heuberg* houses designed by Loos, 1921. (Josef Hoffmann Wien [1926], 1:279).

"house with one wall," Loos explained, "the foundations of the two external walls are dispensed with. This is done by suspending them from, rather than basing them on, the foundation that supports them."⁹² According to this scheme, the front and back walls of the houses were hung on the lateral walls. It was necessary, therefore, to lay foundations only for the lateral party walls since the outer walls were suspended from them on wooden beams 5.5 meters long, which spanned the width of the house. The structural party walls were shared by adjacent houses in the row—hence the name "house with one wall."⁹³ Two significant changes followed from this. First, the narrow street fronts and hung walls made it necessary for the stairs to rise in the direction of the structural beams; that is, parallel (rather than perpendicular) to the street. The basement and attic stories were eliminated, along with the gabled roof, which was replaced by a flat one. The only *Siedlung* housing with flat roofs built in the early 1920s, the Heuberg houses and terraced gardens that stepped down the steep slope of their site were a "strangely graceful" anomaly in Vienna.⁹⁴ (In presentation drawings of the "house with one wall" that Loos prepared in 1921, the roofs were developed into terraces.)⁹⁵ Equally alien to Vienna was their wood shingle cladding, a material and technique Loos had

encountered and admired in North America; much of the original cladding was subsequently removed and replaced with asbestos tiles or rendered cement.

Along with floor plans, sections, and elevations of the houses, Loos's presentation drawings for the Heuberg houses (see figure 3.7) included the plot lines of the long, narrow kitchen gardens and their plantings, with the various vegetable beds laid out according to principles propounded by Migge. In the Heuberg plans Loos carried the logic of the unromantic, antipicturesque, urban, productive garden house—a structurally and spatially integrated system to be built and operated by the settlers themselves—further than in any of his other settlement house designs. The individual unit, like the *Siedlung* as a whole, derived its forms, organization, and structure from the social and technical problems of the *Gartenriedlung* itself. The constructional "System Loos," had little in common with contemporary efforts in Germany (by Ernst May and others) to rationalize the building process.¹⁰ Loos's system was economical and logical, but its purpose was not to facilitate mass production of standardized housing; rather it was to be simple and inexpensive enough that urban factory workers could afford and build the housing themselves. The "System Loos" thus focused not on efficient serial production of mass housing but rather on the autonomy of the urban working-class subject, enabling the proletarian family to build its own shelter and grow its own food.

Loos's conception of the *Gartenriedlung* also had little to do with either the decentrist ideal of the garden city movement or the preservationist purposes and nationalist ideals of the *Heimatschutz* movements in Germany and Austria. For Loos the modern urban *Gartenriedlung* house, like the modern city dweller, was ideally a world citizen; knowledgeable of the world, yet comfortable at home. Loos's house designs were conventional in adhering to the (newly revised) Viennese building code, but also in the more profound sense that Loos conceived the term, in being derived



3.6 "Haus mit einer Mauer" (House with one wall), by Loos, 1921.

from social practice and careful consideration of the cultural problem of combining productive gardening with proletarian urban living.¹⁰⁰ As chief architect of the *Siedlungsamt*, Loos established the organizational standard for the *Siedlung* house, and the settlements built during his tenure followed his type-plans. But neither his authority nor the rigorous logic of Loos's designs extended beyond his own work to that of the other architects employed by the *Siedlungsamt* and cooperative societies, all of whom developed their own

3.9 Site plan, Kaiser Karl-Kriegerheimstätte, by Hugo Mayer ca. 1918. (Goldschmid, Die Kaiser Karl-Kriegerheimstätte in Aspern (1918), plate 2).

architectural solutions to the problem of the *Garten-siedlung* house and community.¹⁰¹

Rosenhügel The settlement plan for the Heuberg Siedlung had been developed by Hugo Mayer, an architect who had been engaged in settlement design before the war and who after the war became one of the more prolific architects of Red Vienna. Along with Loos, Mayer had been associated with Kriegerheim, the cooperative of war invalids, and had likewise designed houses for both the Lainz and Hirschstetten settlements.

But his involvement with *Siedlung* design as well as his association with the cooperative Kriegerheim preceded this work. Employed in the city building office since before the war, Mayer had been commissioned by the Vienna city council in 1915 to prepare a design for the "Kaiser Karl-Kriegerheimstätte," a housing estate for returning soldiers and war widows to be built in Aspern (which was then part of district XXI). The idea for the *Kriegerheimstätte* originated in Germany with Adolf Damaschke, first president of the Bund deutscher Bodenreformer.¹⁰² In keeping with the Bund's back-to-the-land agenda the *Kriegerheimstätten* projects were conceived as models of exurban settlement, designed to provide war invalids and their families with housing, and were developed within the context of the international "homes for heroes" movement. Mayer's scheme (figure 3.9), which was never built, adhered closely to the picturesque planning principles and the medievalizing village imagery of prewar German and Austrian *Siedlung* and garden city design. For the most part, the housing consisted of two-story rows of two- and four-family dwellings, grouped around allotment gardens, parks, and squares in which were located play areas, schools, and other community facilities.¹⁰³

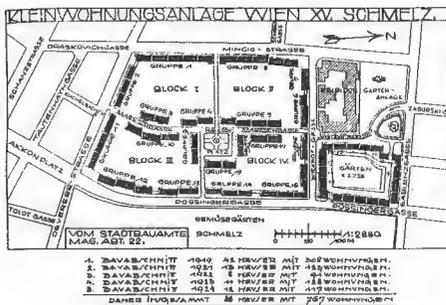
In 1918 Mayer had designed a settlement for wartime emergency housing, known as Siedlung Schmelz, on a 100,000 square meter site on the western part of



the former imperial parade grounds in Fünfhaus (XV).¹⁰⁴ Mayer's original site plan (figure 3.10) and the neo-Biedermeier houses he designed (figure 3.11) were likewise firmly within the prewar tradition of German *Siedlung* and garden city design; but they also drew on the wartime *Gartenstadt* *Staaßen*, designed by the German architect Paul Schmitthenner and built in Prussia in 1914 to 1917 for employees of the German State munitions factories in Spandau.¹⁰⁵ Widely published at the time, *Staaßen* was intended to be, and indeed became, a *Mustersiedlung* (model settlement) for wartime *Siedlungen* of around 1,000 units.¹⁰⁶ Siedlung Schmelz itself is an amalgam; part *Garten-siedlung*, part cluster of apartment houses with kitchen gardens. The picturesque sightlines and preindustrial village imagery evoke the *Kleinstädt* idyll that was so much a part of prewar *Siedlung* ideology. But the relationship between dwelling and garden, and the emphasis on food cultivation and subsistence gardening, places it within the typology of postwar *Garten-siedlung*.¹⁰⁷

Mayer's cooperative *Siedlung* designs in the early 1920s merged these prewar community design principles more effectively with the postwar economic stringency of the *Garten-siedlung*. Most of his work was done for the Altmannsdorf-Hetzendorf Association, one of the largest and most politically active cooperative associations in Vienna, whose original members were railway workers. Mayer designed the association's

LEARNING TO LIVE, 1919-1922



3.10 Left: Site plan, Siedlung Schmelz, by Hugo Meyer, showing the phases of construction between 1918 and 1924. [Zeitschrift der Österreichischen Ingenieur und Architektenvereine, nos. 15/16 (18 April 1924): 127].

3.11 Siedlung Schmelz, buildings on blocks I and II facing central square, photo ca. 1925.



first *Siedlung*, Rosenhügel (XII), which was built in 1921, when building materials were largely unavailable. The settlers, who became known as the “Rosenhügel Pioneers” (both after the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers and in reference to their founding role in the cooperative movement), made their own bricks—known as “Pax Ziegel” (peace bricks)—out of cinder, sand, and cement pressed into hollow blocks.¹⁰⁸

Because of the high level of political engagement among the settlers, Rosenhügel became a focus for Social Democratic activity and the locus of a number of the party’s social and cultural organizations, including workers’ singing and gymnastics associations, a mandolin orchestra, and groups of freethinkers and teetotalers, as well as a company of the *Schutzbund* (Social Democratic militia). The communal center of the settlement, where much of this activity took place, was the *Gemeinschaftshaus* (cooperative house). Max Ernster described its significance:

[It] is the heart and the brain of a settlement, simultaneously a town hall and a home for recreation, a club, a theater, a concert hall, a people’s university. Here the otherwise easily narrowed mind of the allotment gardener and of the inhabitant of the single family house grows into the social, the universal, the important. Here the individuals become a sensitive community. Here the ideology of the settlement as a social category is born and spreads over the whole of its parts. Here is the seat of the freely elected administration, of political fights, of the diffusion of knowledge, of artistic experiences, of celebrations. And a high degree of intellectuality of the Viennese settlers’ movement is revealed in the fact that right from the beginning such an intellectual-cultural center stood in the middle of the aspirations for almost all settlements.¹⁰⁹

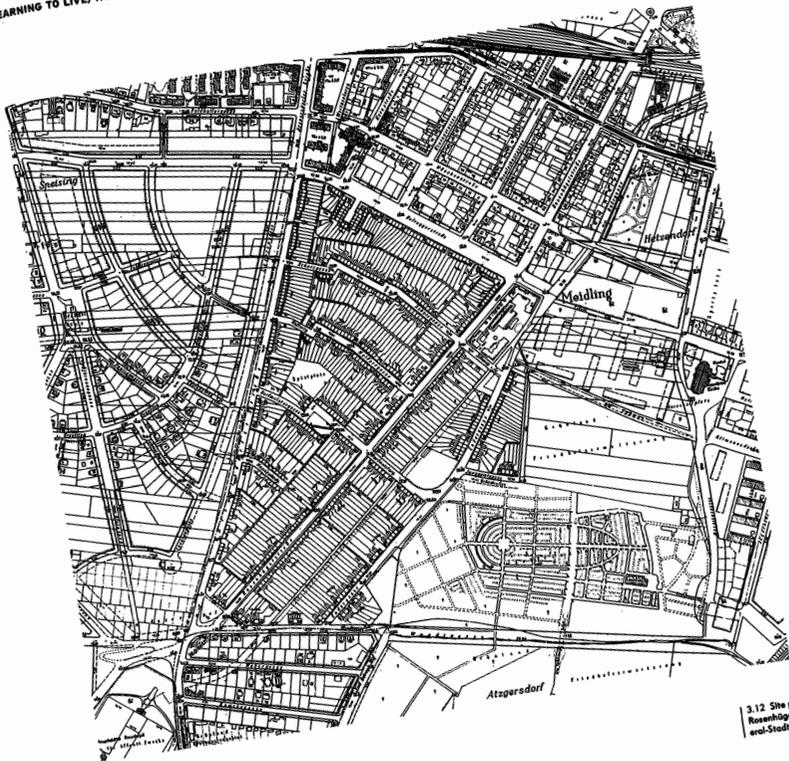
The underlying civic image of Rosenhügel, as Mayer described, it was

a city within the metropolis, having an economic, social, and cultural life of its own; a place of progress and of a higher conduct of life. The cooperative house with assembly and lecture rooms, a library, reading room, and offices . . . right in the middle of an expansive green, as a center of cultural life. The market square with cooperative stores, workshops, artisans’ houses and the cooperative nursery are to concentrate the economical life at the center of the settlement. On the northern edge, en route to the tramway, is the young people’s welfare building; the kindergarten and creche are at the center of a playground. Each city block is to contain a playground; two larger playgrounds are planned in conjunction with fish-stocked duck ponds. A medical building . . . with solarium and a swimming pool are also envisaged.¹¹⁰

Mayer’s site plan (figure 3.12) merges the traditional civic scale and order of the prewar *Siedlung* with the long, narrow lots of the productive *garden/dwelling* units of the postwar *Gartensiedlung*. The continuous rows of narrow houses give the streets they flank a scale and spatial order that is densely urban. Behind them, however, is arable land, comprising over two-thirds of the total area of the *Siedlung*, on which food is grown. But as the population of Rosenhügel grew, and more houses were built, the dimensions of the garden plots were reduced from 400 to 200 square meters. Much of the public parkland as well as some of the more civic public spaces—the market square, playgrounds, and fishponds—were jettisoned and the land reallocated for housing. The planning of this later phase was the work of another architect, Ferdinand Krause, who further reduced the size of the individual gardens to 100 square meters in an effort to accommodate more housing.¹¹¹

The houses at Rosenhügel (figure 3.13) were designed to the standards established by the *Siedlung*. Though they differed slightly in dimension from Loos’s houses, their organization was essentially the same.¹¹² But unlike the houses designed by Loos, they





3.12 Site plan of Siedlung Rueschhölzel as built. (General-Stadt-Plan, IX-3, 1949)



3.13 Siedlung Rosenhügel, houses, Hugo Mayer architect, 1921, photo 1997.

were decorated with neo-Biedermeier ornamental pediments over the doorways, string courses, and other simple stucco moldings. Rather than articulating each unit individually and identically as Loos had done at Lainz and Heuberg, Mayer often paired the units, overlaying their otherwise asymmetrical arrangement of windows and doors with the classicizing vernacular of the old Viennese *Vorstadt*, transforming them visually into rows of bilaterally symmetrical double houses.

It has been suggested that the neo-Biedermeier stylism of Rosenhügel was imposed on the cooperative by city building authorities, who rejected earlier simpler designs as too plain.¹¹³ Indeed, Mayer was clearly working within the tradition of bourgeois pre-war *Siedlung* design in Austria and Germany, which favored the vernacular *Heimastil* (indigenous style) of the rural village and was informed by the urban design principles of Camillo Sitte. The German-Austrian Biedermeier, or classicizing vernacular of "around 1800" popularized by publications such as Paul Mebes's *Um 1800* of 1908, was one of a number of vernacular modes considered appropriate for commu-

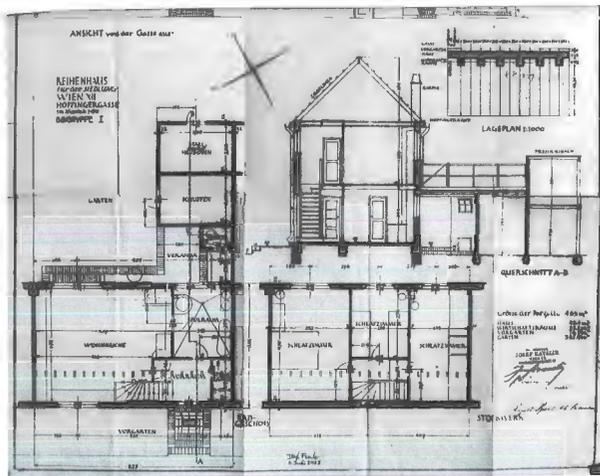
nity design.¹¹⁴ In Vienna the Biedermeier had particular resonance as the urban vernacular of the Viennese *Vorstadt* itself. The evocation of that preindustrial civic urbanism at Rosenhügel was perhaps (as Max Ernster maintained) a reflection of the immaturity of the *Gartensiedlung* concept. "Only after a long flowering of the settlement movement," he wrote in the Rosenhügel Festschrift, "after a long series of fumbling experiments . . . will we come to an architectonic resolution of the new building types. We are only at the beginning."¹¹⁵

JOSEF FRANK: SIEDLUNG HOFFINGERGASSE

The one architect who, along with Loos, grasped the cultural significance of the urban *Gartensiedlung* was Josef Frank. Frank was associated with the Vienna Circle of philosophers through his brother Philipp Frank (a theoretical physicist) and Otto Neurath. Like Neurath, Frank was a socialist and advocate of low-rise *Siedlung* housing. Neurath, who criticized what he called Loos's "sensationalism," commended Frank as "the one socialist [architect] who tries to make his style accessible to young people, the settlers, [and] municipal authorities."¹¹⁶ Frank, who had trained under Carl König at the technologically advanced but stylistically conservative Technical University, was a professor at Vienna's progressive design school, the Kunstgewerbeschule (where Oskar Kokoschka, Kolo Moser, Josef Hoffmann, and Oskar Strnad also taught), from 1919 until 1925; he then founded an interior design firm, "Haus und Garten" (House and Garden), with Oskar Wlach. A member of the Austrian Werkbund, Frank was the only Austrian invited to participate in the German Werkbund's 1927 Weissenhofiedlung exhibition in Stuttgart. Subsequently he was a founding member of CIAM and president of the Austrian Werkbund from 1930 to 1933.¹¹⁷

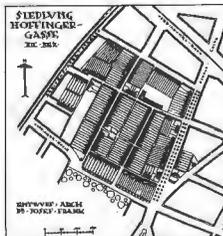
Frank's Hoffingergasse Siedlung, designed and built in 1920 to 1921 for the Cooperative Altmannsdorf-Hetzendorf, was the second largest *Siedlung* after





3.14 Top: Stedlung Hoffingergasse, house plans and sections, by Josef Frank, 1921.

3.15 Site plan, Stedlung Hoffingergasse, by Josef Frank, 1921. (Das Neue Wien (1926), 1:274).



Rosenhügel and was located close to it in Vienna's district XII. Like Rosenhügel, Hoffingergasse was exemplary in the rich socialist cultural life it supported. The locus of a variety of worker associations—for gymnasts, freethinkers, choral singers—it also had extensive carpentry and machine workshops.¹¹⁸

In plan, Frank's houses (figure 3.14) were similar to Loos's 9-meter-wide type developed for Lainz. Frank, however, located the stairs along the inside wall of the street front. This both opened up the ground-floor living space and allowed all rooms in the house, including the three upstairs bedrooms, to face onto the garden. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* recognized this innovation and declared the Hoffingergasse houses the ideal four-room proletarian dwelling.¹¹⁹ The Hof-

ingergasse Siedlung (figure 3.15) was innovative in other ways as well. Facing neither north-south as Loos prescribed nor east-west as Eberstadt (and subsequently Ernst May, Gropius, and CIAM) prescribed, Frank's rows of houses were oriented at a 45-degree angle to the meridian so that no facade (or garden) would face due north or be exposed to the prevailing west winds.¹²⁰ The gardens, as in most of the early *Gartensiedlungen*, measured 400 square meters; they were long and narrow, and (because of the graded site) they were accessed from the basement of the house.

The site plan of Hoffingergasse differed from the picturesquely conceived arrangement of squares, parks, and carefully framed prospects of Hugo Mayer's schemes as well as from the classical symmetries and

3.14 Stellung Hoffingergasse, Josef Frank architect, photo ca. 1924.



monumental axes of Loos's (rejected) plan for the Lainz Siedlung. Frank's plan is both antipicturesque and anticlassical, conceived without regard for biaxial or other symmetries, visual terminating points, framed prospects, or enclosed squares. Instead, the rows of houses slide past each other in alignment with the existing streets and grid of paths and lanes established by the allotment gardens to give the *Siedlung* the quality of seeming incomplete and open-ended, a fragment of the larger shifting grid of the city itself.¹²¹

Frank's facades (figure 3.16), like those of Loos, were undecorated, faced with rendered cement in earth tones, and overlaid with the ordering grid of a wall trellis on which climbing roses and vines were trained. Loos had also applied trellises to the facades of the prototypical house designs he prepared for Lainz and Hirschstetten; and of course Heinrich Tessenow had made much use of trellises of all kinds at Hellerau and in his drawings for small cottages illustrated in *Hansbau und Dergleichen* (1916). Indeed, the wall trellis was incorporated into the iconography of the working-class home during this period—a kind of “poor man's ornament”—that achieved its most refined treatment and its theoretical underpinning in the working-class housing designs of Josef Hoffmann (see chapters 8 and 9, below).

For Frank the uniformity of the houses in the settlement was as important for the conception of the *Gartensiedlung* as the productive or kitchen garden. It was both a democratic principle and an expression of the equal status of all members of the cooperative. That principle, or at least its architectonic manifestation, was lost on the settlers. Shortly after the 300 houses Frank designed for the Hoffingergasse Siedlung were completed, the settlers, who were displeased with the plainness and uniformity of the houses, reconfigured them to give the *Siedlung* a more “Völkisch” (regional/“folkish”) popular, vernacular character.¹²²

LIHOTZKY AND SCHUSTER: THE SIEDLUNG INTERIOR AND THE VIENNESE LEGACY OF HEINRICH TESSENOW

Two younger architects, Margarete Lihotzky (known after her marriage to Wilhelm Schütte in 1927 as Schütte-Lihotzky) and Franz Schuster, both students at the Kunstgewerbeschule during and just after the war, played significant roles in the *Siedlung* movement. Lihotzky, who began her studies in 1915 and received her diploma in 1919, was the first woman to complete her architectural training at the school and to practice as an architect. Indeed, before 1919 it was not possible for women to study architecture at either the Technical University or the Academy of Fine Arts. Lihotzky studied primarily with Oskar Strnad, who taught the basic design course and ran one of the three architecture studios at the school (the other two were run by Josef Hoffmann and Heinrich Tessenow).¹²³ Lihotzky worked for Strnad while still a student, but after graduating she went to Holland (accompanying a transport of undernourished children to foster families in Rotterdam), where she worked for six months for an architect named Vermeer, studied Dutch housing, and attended lectures by H. P. Berlage.¹²⁴ On her return to Vienna in 1920, Lihotzky, together with landscape architect Alois Berger, entered a competition for an allotment garden complex. Their scheme won fourth prize, but in the process Lihotzky became acquainted with Max Ermers, who introduced her to Loos. She began working in the ÖVSK *Baubüro* in 1920, and collaborated with Loos at Lainz and Hirschstetten.¹²⁵

In 1921 Lihotzky designed a row of model houses for the “Reformsiedlung Eden” (1922–1923) in district XIV. One of the original “wild” settlements, Eden was distinctive for the social, political, and cultural diversity of its settlers. “Here there is really no difference between the intellectual and manual worker,” a contemporary newspaper reported. “Factory workers, railway employees, art historians, writers, office work-

ers, anarchists and Christian Socialists, freethinkers and Baptists, theosophists and socialists, German nationalists and Jews work side by side and together. Here they are not ‘-ists,’ but only settlers.”¹²⁴ The settlement received funding from a variety of charitable organizations including the Society of Friends, the World Brotherhood Federation, the Free Church of Sweden, and the Theosophist Brotherhood for Education.¹²⁷

The same individualistic, anarchic spirit appears to have informed the architectonic order of the Siedlung Eden, which was notable for its lack of a cohesive plan and urban infrastructure. The original detached houses were randomly sited on the sloping hills of the Wienerwald. In 1921 the architect Ernst Egli, for whom Lihotzky was then working, was brought in to regularize the development and give it a coherent plan. Lihotzky was assigned the task of developing a design for a theosophical *Kinderheim* (hostel for children), house types (along the lines of Loos’s types), and a row of houses on the Edenstrasse, which are notable mainly for their large (500 square meter) gardens, small front gardens, and stone facing that was quarried locally.¹²⁸

Lihotzky made a more significant contribution to the Reformsiedlung Eden, and to the *Gartensiedlung* development generally, in the field of interior and furniture design. For Eden and Lainz, and for the annual Allotment Garden Settlement and Housing Exhibitions held on the Rathausplatz, she designed model interiors equipped with simple artisanal *Reform* and *Einheitsmöbel* (reform and uniform furniture). The idea behind the *Einheitsmöbel* (figure 3.17) was uniformity of production (mass production) and use. Each piece was designed to meet fundamental needs and to be easily accommodated in the average dwelling of the ordinary citizen or worker. This notion of fundamental, basic furniture adaptable to as wide a range of conditions and circumstances as possible was an offshoot of a wartime project and exhibition, “The Simple

Household,” organized by Strnad at the Kunstgewerbeschule in 1916. The exhibition, which included designs by Strnad and his students—Lihotzky among them—was intended to provide “war-ravaged areas” with an alternative to the “usual commercially produced goods.”¹²⁹ Lihotzky’s designs of the 1920s included built-in cupboards, but they were mostly light, movable pieces—unupholstered wooden chairs, drop-leaf tables, sideboards, and benches with woven rush seats—derived from English as well as simple Biedermeier models. They are very much in the manner of Strnad’s and Frank’s furniture designs of the period.¹³⁰

Lihotzky’s most significant contribution to the *Siedlungshaus* interior was the design of the kitchen. Beginning in 1921 she undertook a thorough investigation into the optimal organization and equipment of the modern kitchen, a study that culminated in the “Frankfurter Küche” the model kitchen she developed for the New Frankfurt in 1926.¹³¹ In Vienna, however, her primary concern was the *Wohnküche*, the kitchen/living room of the traditional proletarian dwelling. The principle from which Lihotzky’s designs were developed (see chapter 6) was the separation, within the kitchen itself, of “dry” and “wet” spaces, or of activities involving water from those that did not.¹³²

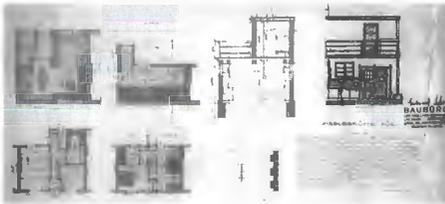
From 1922 until 1926, when Ernst May invited her to join the Typification Department in the Frankfurt City Building Office, Lihotzky was a full-time employee in the ÖVSK *Baubüro* in Vienna, where she was involved in developing a new building concept: the *Siedlerhütte*, or settler’s hut, designed to meet the need for shelter while the settlement house itself was under construction. The *Siedlerhütte* was to be a simple habitable structure in which the settler (and family) could live temporarily. Lihotzky’s designs were for extremely simple, small, one-room hutments that contained cooking facilities and sleeping quarters. She developed several different types. According to “Type A,” the *Siedlerhütte* would convert to a garden shed or small animal stall once the full house was completed.



In "Types A6 and B" (figure 3.18), the hut would become the *Wohnküche* of the full house, onto which rooms were added or an upper story was built.¹³

Related to the *Siedlerhütte* was the *Kernhaus*, or core house, a project initiated by the GESIBA in 1923 to facilitate the phased financing and construction of houses. Lihotzky, George Karau, and other architects enlisted in the project were charged with developing the house types. The initial construction of these dwellings would be financed out of credits advanced by the city, and the core house would be "finished" at a later date by the settlers, who would also provide the financing for this second phase of the work.

The *Kernhaus* project (figure 3.19) was moderately successful. More than seven types were developed, the smallest of which consisted of *Wohnküche*, bedroom, and washroom. One of the drawbacks of the scheme (which was strongly opposed by Loos, who disagreed with both the economic and architectural principles of the *Kernhaus*) was the expense to the settler. The construction costs for the smallest type were 60 million crowns, of which 25 million had to be provided by the settler. Since the average monthly salary of a streetcar driver was 1.5 million krona, and that of a starting schoolteacher was 2 million krona this house was out of reach of most workers. And indeed, only about two-thirds of the settlers who occupied the 198 *Kernhäuser* actually built were workers. Yet the project generated considerable interest. Two full-scale models of *Kernhaus* types "4" and "7", with fully finished interiors designed by Lihotzky and Karau, were exhibited at the fifth Rathausplatz Allotment Garden Settlement and Housing Exhibition in September 1923.¹⁴ Two years later GESIBA drew from this experience to develop the "Heimbaulhilfe Aktion" (home-building assistance drive); according to this scheme, the settlers made a down payment of 25 percent of the total construction costs and covered the rest with a 4 percent long-term loan from the city. At the end of the period of the loan (fifteen years) the settlers owned their

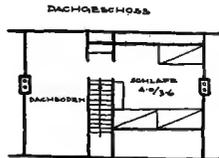
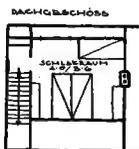
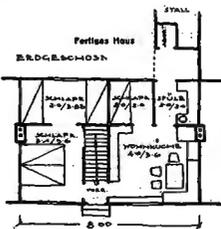
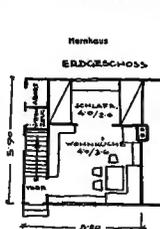
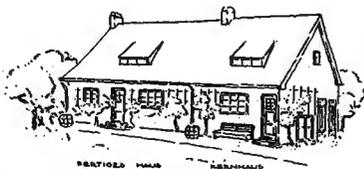
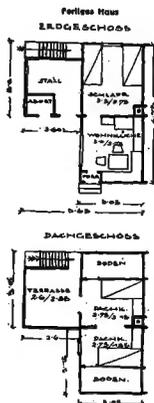


houses. The land was leased at a nominal rate through the year 2000.¹⁵

The first settlement built according to this method was the *Siedlung Am Wasserturn* in district X, designed by Franz Schuster and his associate Franz Schacherl. Schuster was Heinrich Tessenow's star pupil in Vienna. He studied six semesters (1913-1916) with Tessenow at the Kunstgewerbeschule and then worked for him for six years (1916-1922), first in Vienna and then in Dresden-Hellerau. On his return to Vienna in 1923, Schuster until 1925 ran the ÖVSK's building office with George Karau. Most of Schuster's *Siedlungen* therefore were designed after Loos's tenure at the *Siedlungsamt*, and they are more closely allied to the community planning and design principles of Tessenow.¹⁶

3.17 Top: *Einzelzimmer* (uniform furniture), by Margarete Lihotzky, 1919.

3.18 *Siedlerhütte* (settler's hut) design, "Type B," by Margarete Lihotzky, ca. 1922.



3.19 Kernhaus (core house) project, "Types 4 and 7" by Margarete Lihatsky, 1923.



Tessenow himself had designed only a small part of one *Siedlung* in Austria before he returned to Dresden in 1919. Kolonie Rannersdorf was neither a cooperative settlement nor a project of the *Siedlungsamt*; it was a housing development for officials of the city-owned Schwechat brewery outside Vienna. Tessenow's houses (figure 3.20) were different from both the picturesque neo-Biedermeier cottages of Mayer's Rosenhügel Siedlung and from Loos's and Frank's standardized row houses.¹⁷ A row of six two-unit houses with side entrances, the dwellings themselves were paired behind rigidly symmetrical pedimented stucco street facades; their sides, however, were timber-clad. Though semidetached, the paired houses were linked along the street by service wings that created a continuous wall along the Stankgasse. The elemental forms of the Rannersdorf houses exemplify Tessenow's notion of typification as a process of simplification and repetition. Through formal reduction, the inessential and the secondary were stripped away to achieve purity of form and clarity of idea. For Tessenow, this rigorous formalism had intrinsic ethical and social value: the type was an ideal or essence resulting from extreme discipline of mind, aesthetic refinement, and technical mastery. Typification itself, in Tessenow's view, represented the assimilation of industrial processes to the forms and practices of an authentic middle-class culture. It therefore faced up to the technological future, producing forms that were "strongly industrial" but remained rooted in traditional practice and contained "a powerful communal quality."¹⁸ This idea of typification, of course, differed sharply from both Loos's notion of conventionalized building practice and Frank's concept of democratic unity.

Schuster, who was a socialist, sought to reconcile Tessenow's conception of rooted, simple, understandable form not only with industrialization but also with socialism. In 1926 he developed this position in an article coauthored with Franz Schacherl, "Proletarische

Architektur" ("Proletarian Architecture"). "Does not each intellectual, social, economic, and cultural epoch have its own unambiguous, clearly recognizable outward expression?" they asked. "An ideology of such incredible force as socialism, a mass emotion as we know it from the proletarian movement," they argued, "already has its own expression." The relevant question therefore is "How can this new socialist ideology express itself in architecture?" The answer, however, is not easily found. "It is difficult, if not impossible, to declare that certain forms which are not only just beginning to emerge in architecture, but are also socially, economically, and culturally unclear, undeveloped, and in evolution, are the forms which will be the definitive expression of socialist ideology." It is easier, Schuster and Schacherl conceded, to frame an answer negatively, in terms of "what such an architecture cannot and should not be"—"petit bourgeois, . . . absolutist, monarchical," evocative of "sentimental small-townishness" or "Heimastil Gemütlichkeit," "charm"—indeed the entire "clutter of the bourgeois world."¹⁹

In the programmatic editorial in the first issue of *Der Aufbau, Österreichische Monatshefte für Siedlung und Städtebau*, a progressive journal of modern architecture and urban planning founded by Schuster in January 1926, he recast this argument as a question of architectural, rather than political, ideology. (Schuster's editorial board included Josef Frank, Hans Kampffmeyer, Otto Neurath, Bruno Taut, Heinrich Tessenow, Ernst May, and Martin Wagner. Twelve issues appeared before the journal ceased publication at the end of the year and Schuster left Vienna to work with Ernst May in Frankfurt.) The legacy of the nineteenth century, Schuster argued, was a jumble of old and new, chaos, obscurity, disorder. "Our cities and homes," he wrote, "are a reflection of this fragmentation and instability." The task of the architect in the new century is to reestablish clarity and order, to separate old from new—to accord the old its appropriate



3.20 Katsche Brunnenort,
Heinrich Tessenow with
Hugo Meyer and Engel-
brecht Hing architects,
1919, photo ca. 1921.

place and grant legitimacy to the new. "We accept technology with all of its limitations, because if we reject it, we cannot overcome its negative consequences and improve conditions. If in striving for clarity we generate clear, simple architectural forms, then we must boldly acknowledge them, because if we do not, but instead out of pettiness, banality, and sentimentality build factories in the form of country estates, twentieth-century worker housing in the form of medieval villages, we seriously inhibit future development."¹⁰ Much of this program and the course it charts between the negative polarities of unchecked technological progress and the persistence of outworn traditions can be related to Tessenow's conciliatory conception of typification.¹¹ So can the forms of the Siedlung Am Wasserturn, one of Schuster's first built works, designed before he had committed these ideas to paper.

Completed in 1926, Am Wasserturn comprised 188 houses on 200 square meter lots (figure 3.21). Seven different dwelling types were developed, ranging in size from 35 to 64 square meters with 150 square meter gardens. These were grouped in rows of

two to seven units along the peripheral streets and around two cul-de-sacs to either side of a central artery bisecting the site. All of the units had three bedrooms; in the larger units one of the bedrooms was located in a third attic story. All had fully equipped bathrooms, central heating, and separate kitchens and living rooms, and they were fitted with built-in furniture: cupboards, clothes closets, window seats, counter- and desks, and ceiling lights, as well as an efficiently planned "functional" kitchen.¹²

Tessenow's influence is unmistakable in the balanced massing of the plain stucco-faced facades (figures 3.22 and 3.23), the cubic proportions of the blocks, and especially the hipped roofs under which the units are variously grouped. Rather than being a fragment of a larger urban grid, the *Siedlung* is self-contained and oriented inward toward the gardens and cul-de-sacs at its center. Each building, whether it contains two or seven units, is treated as a self-contained figural body; capped by its own hipped roof, it stands alone, complete in itself. The image—reinforced by the model interior furnished by Schuster and the garden equipped with arbor, brick terrace, groomed lawns, and ornamental pathways and plantings—is of bourgeois gentility rather than proletarian subsistence. Indeed, the bourgeoisie were the settlers for whom the *Siedlung* was intended and who bought into the community, workers could not afford the purchase price. At Am Wasserturn the *Kleinstadt* forms do not (like the *Heimatsitz* houses of Hugo Mayer's Rosenhügel settlement) belie their urban proletarian contents. Schuster's *Siedlung* is in fact a middle-class suburban settlement, not a working-class *Gartensiedlung*.

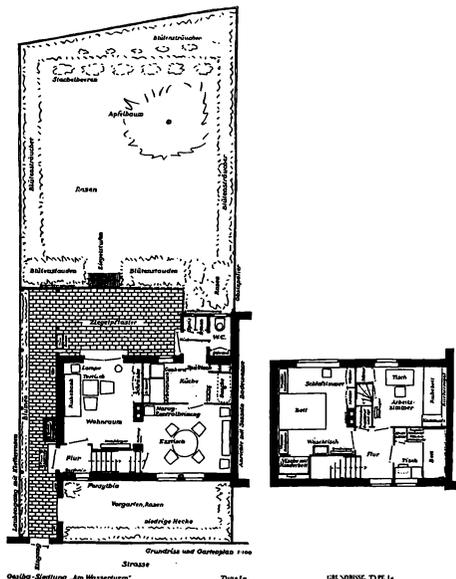
Yet its conception has little if anything to do with suburban middle-class *Siedlungen* built before the war. Schuster's houses are the products of rigorous formal discipline and typological research. In the plans and accompanying text in *Der Aufbau*, Schuster carefully calculated the spatial needs of the modern settlement

house, calibrating the relationship between each piece of furniture, window, and door and positioning every flowering bush, fruit tree, and berry patch for optimum productivity and visual effect. Like Tessenow's illustrations in *Hausbau und Dergeleichen*, Schuster's houses (figure 3.24) have the timeless, ideal quality of a distillate from which all sentimentality, picturesqueness, and randomness have been purified. Inside (figures 3.21 and 3.25) the precise location and use of each table, cupboard, shelf, and curtain is not only prescribed but meticulously inscribed in the plan. Outside, the attenuated proportions of window, door, wall, and roof, as well as the relationships between openings, rain gutters, drain pipes, and metal railings, are carefully calculated to achieve a balance so delicate and finely calibrated that any alteration or addition would threaten the stability of the whole and throw its parts into confusion.

By the time the *Siedlung Am Wasserturm* was completed in 1926, the *Gartensiedlung* idea had lost its force. Rooted in the ideology and politics of self-help and linked conceptually as well as materially to subsistence gardening, the cooperative settlement movement itself was both a result of the city's failure to provide nourishment and shelter for its population during and immediately after World War I and an indictment of the economic system that had allowed such conditions to prevail. In the early months of famine and economic collapse, the community of urban row houses—each on its own plot of ground but part of a row of typified units, occupying little more than one-tenth of its long narrow lot, which was otherwise given over to productive gardening—was considered not so much the appropriate housing form for a modern urban proletariat as the most effective solution, in economic as well as social terms, to the postwar housing and food crisis in Vienna.

Nevertheless, the link between settlement housing and allotment gardenerie forged in the wartime

3.21 *Siedlung Am Wasserturm*, "Type 1a" plans, by Franz Schuster and Franz Schachtel, 1924. (*Der Aufbau*, nos. 89 (1926): 155).



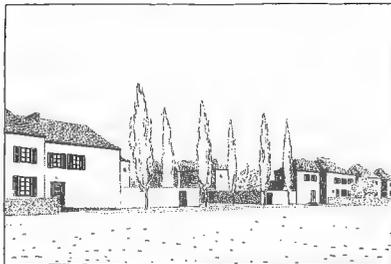
3.22 *Stedlung Am Wasser-
turm*, Schuster and
Schubert architects, photo
ca. 1928.





3.23 Top: Aerial view, Städtchen am Wasserturm, photo ca. 1931. [Julius Johnes GESHA (1931)].

3.24 Städtchen am Wasserturm, [Das Neue Wien (1926), 1:886].



3.25 Living room "Type 16,"
Siedlung Am Wasserturn,
[Der Aufbau, no. 97
(1926): 158].



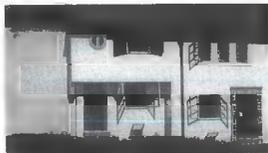
wild *Siedlungen* continued to define the Viennese settlement movement throughout the early 1920s. It remained distinct not only from prewar *Siedlung* housing but also from the later *Gemeindsiedlungen* (in which the gardens were recreational rather than productive) built by the municipality after 1926. Indeed, it was not the house but the garden, to be used for growing food rather than recreation, that set apart the *Gartensiedlung* as an urban architectural form.¹⁴⁹

The emphasis on food cultivation also distinguished the early Viennese settlements from the famous exurban *Siedlungen* built outside Frankfurt and Berlin in the middle and late 1920s. Though the German *Siedlungen* (particularly outside Frankfurt) were also provided with allotment gardens, productive or subsistence gardening and urban proletarian living were not conceptually linked.¹⁵⁰ As we have seen, the

Viennese *Gartensiedlung* was conceived according to Migge's postwar theory of the *Schreibergarten*, as an urban inner-city allotment garden that would permit "everyone to be self-sufficient." By enabling the city dweller to cultivate his own food, the allotment garden provided a means by which the city itself could be spatially contained, a means of preventing the outward spread and parasitic dependence of the *Grassstadt* (metropolis) on the surrounding countryside—a way, in other words, to preserve the integrity of both city and countryside.¹⁵¹ It was the antithesis therefore of the garden city idea and the ideology of decentralization, both of which underlay the conception of the German *Siedlungen*: May's notion of the *Trabantenstadt* (satellite town) as well as Martin Wagner's concept of the *Grassiedlung* (large or metropolitan settlement), and of course also Le Corbusier's "immeuble villas" in their peripheral parks in the *Ville contemporaine* (1922).¹⁵²

There is another, political dimension to the Viennese settlement movement. The *Gartensiedlung* house was conceived as the adjunct of the garden. But the combined working garden/dwelling was itself a part of the larger collectivity of the garden settlement. As Adolf Müller, chairman of the Charitable Allotment-Settlement Cooperative of Altmannsdorf and Hetzendorf, wrote in 1921, "A settlement is not a cluster of individual houses with a few ornamental gardens, but a coherent group of kitchen gardens with residential accommodation together with all kinds of cultural provisions such as a cooperative house, a cooperative market, playgrounds, creches, etc."¹⁵³ Collective ownership and collective identity were key to the original concept of the *Gartensiedlung*: "The individual house is as a brick in a building," Neurath wrote of Frank's Hoffingergasse Siedlung in 1923. "A new community evolves here out of the class solidarity of the working population. The uniformity of the typified dwelling units, the uniformity of the standardized building parts, follows from economic necessity, but also from a sense of equality. . . . It is not the individual house





3.26 Houses by Franz Kohn and Alfons Hohenberg for the Siedlungen Weissenböckstrasse and Am Platzsträßl, 1922-1926. (*Moderne Bauformen*, no. 1) (1930): 429.

but the totality of houses that is the object which is shaped.¹⁴⁸

The radicalism of the early Viennese *Gartensiedlungen*, as historians of the movement have pointed out, was due in large part to the movement's lack of prewar bourgeois roots. In Vienna, unlike Germany, there had existed no petit bourgeois ownership-oriented allotment or settlement movements (nor a prewar garden city or bourgeois cooperative *Siedlung* movement) before 1914.¹⁴⁹ Not only was there no existing bourgeois model to recast, but the origins of the movement itself were anarchic and radically independent of existing bourgeois structures.

DISSOLUTION OF THE GARTENSIEDLUNG MOVEMENT

By the time the Austrian economy stabilized at the end of 1922, the *Gartensiedlung* as a cooperative productive self-help enterprise—to be built, operated, and lived in by urban “settlers”—had already begun to lose its significance. Yet the municipality continued to build *Siedlungen* after 1923.¹⁵⁰ These *Gemeindefiedlungen* (municipal settlements) were different from the *Gemeinschaftsiedlungen* (cooperative settlements) of the early 1920s.¹⁵¹ No longer *Kleingartensiedlungen*, or small working-garden settlements, but *Wohnsiedlungen* (residential settlements), they were clusters of houses with recreational and ornamental, rather than productive, gardens, which were reduced in size from 400 to around 100 square meters and often had neither toolsheds nor animal stalls. The houses were also reconceived. Instead of the self-sustaining operational kitchen garden/dwelling units conceived by Loos, the houses reverted to prewar *Siedlung*-type, becoming traditional row houses with attached gardens. The *Wohnküche* (the working kitchen/living room) was often replaced by separate *Wohnzimmer* (living room) and *Küche* (kitchen), which were detached from the garden and frequently oriented toward the street.

A small number of representative examples illustrate the transition from *Gartensiedlung* to *Gemeinde-*

siedlung. Two of the most prolific *Siedlung* architects were the partners Franz Kaym and Alfons Hetmanek (who also designed *Gemeindebauten* during the same period). Both had studied with Otto Wagner from 1910 to 1913 and had also designed a number of *Siedlungen* for the cooperative societies in the early 1920s. Am Flötzersteig (XIV), begun in 1921, and Weissenböckstrasse (XI), begun in 1923, were part cooperative, part *Gemeindefiedlung*.¹⁵² In plan the units generally had large *Wohnküchen*, toolsheds, and animal stalls in the gardens, which varied in size from 350 to 100 square meters. Architecturally, Kaym and Hetmanek's houses (figure 3.26) show the influence of English garden city architecture, particularly the Arts and Crafts (C. F. A. Voysey-inspired) designs of Raymond Unwin for Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb.¹⁵³ But the broad encompassing roofs with gable ends facing the street also reflect Kaym and Hetmanek's Wagner School origins and their own engagement with the simple geometries of alpine vernacular building in Upper Austria.¹⁵⁴ Intriguingly, in 1919 Kaym and Hetmanek had published designs for inexpensive standardized row houses that were remarkably close to Loos's designs for the *Siedlung* Am Heuberg a few years later; they were far more radical—with flat roofs, roof terraces, and Migge-inspired kitchen gardens—than anything the partners later built.¹⁵⁵

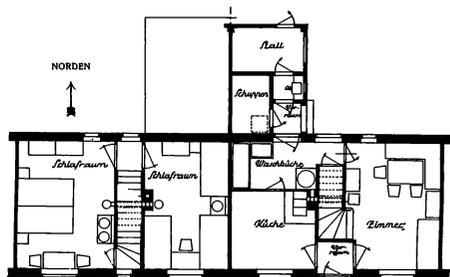
Another Wagner student, Karl Ehn, who designed the Karl-Marx-Hof, the most famous *Gemeindebau* of Red Vienna, was also responsible for one of the municipality's earliest *Gemeindefiedlungen*: the *Siedlung* Hermeswiese (XIII) of 1923.¹⁵⁶ In Ehn's houses (figure 3.27) the transition from *Gartensiedlung* to *Wohnsiedlung* is complete. Kitchen and living room are disengaged, sometimes even separated by an entrance hall and central staircase. Altogether Ehn's plans are distinctive for the careful delineation of spaces, separated by strong thresholds, that have prescribed programmatic uses: kitchen, living room, washroom, vestibule, and upstairs bedrooms. Ehn's



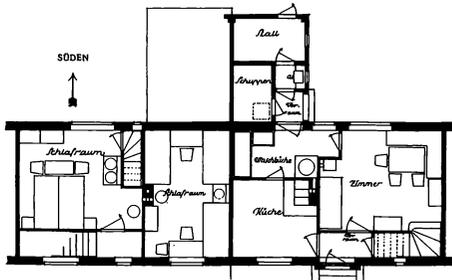
houses (figure 3.28) were built to the same standard as the municipality's large *Gemeindebauten*. Instead of the inexpensive *Ersatz* (substitute, inferior) building materials (such as hollow cement block) used for the early cooperative *Siedlungen*, the Hermeswiese houses are brick, with rendered cement facing and ornamental brickwork around green-and-white-painted doorways. Like Kaym and Hetmanek, Ehn assimilated an English Arts and Crafts sensibility to Austrian vernacular forms, particularly in his use of exposed brickwork, broad tile-hung gables, and simplified geometric forms. Each house had its own fenced-in front and back gardens, which were large (ca. 300 square meters) and provided with toolsheds and animal stalls.

Still, it is the house and not the garden that dominates. From Ehn's plans and photographs of the *Siedlung* published in contemporary journals, it is clear that the emphasis at Hermeswiese is on the house and the common space of street and square, rather than on the operational unit and productive function of the garden. An extensive, eight-page illustrated article on Hermeswiese in *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1925-1926) includes not a single image of a garden or even a rear view of a house. Instead, the entire focus is on the public spaces of the *Siedlung*—the continuous street facades and urban ensemble they create (figure 3.29).¹³⁷ Unlike Loo's and Frank's *Gartensiedlungen*, Hermeswiese is conceived in terms of *Sittesque Platz Bildung* (place making); that is, as a discrete urban ensemble rather than a fragment of a larger urban grid. Indeed, Ehn himself noted that "the character of the *Siedlung* is that of a self-contained district," a character that is "emphasized by the gateway-like bridging of the principal residential street."¹³⁸ This feature, and the internalized street, links Ehn's conception of the *Siedlung* to Hugo Mayer's Schmelz and Schmitthener's Staaken; it also, as we will see later, links his idea to the *Gemeindebauten*. In the late *Gemeinde-siedlungen*, the connection to the *Gemeindebauten* is even closer. At Lockerwiese of 1928 (XIII), designed by Karl

3.27 Siedlung Hermeswiese, house plans, by Karl Ehn, 1923. (*Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1925): 80).

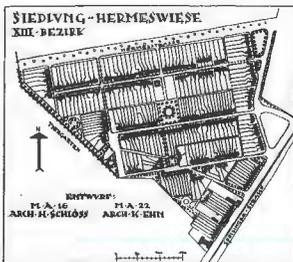


KARL EHN: SIEDLUNG „HERMESWIESE“ / GRUNDRISSPLÄNE



3.28 Top: Siedlung Hermeswiese, row of four houses, Karl Ehn architect, 1923. (Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst (1923): 75).

3.29 Siedlung Hermeswiese, site plan, by Ehn, 1923. (Das Neue Wien (1926), 1:285).



Scharlemüller (figure 3.30), the *Gartensiedlung* paradigm of Loos and Frank, whereby the house is an indexical unit of a larger system, has been jettisoned in favor of a conception of the *Siedlung* itself as a continuous, hierarchical, scenographically conceived architectural unity that bridges and binds together street, square, and building into a single unified structure.¹⁵⁹

For Adolf Loos and the other architects who had been involved in the early years of the movement, the municipality's evident abandonment of the *Gartensiedlung* idea was disheartening. Yet Loos had long had an uneasy relationship with city building officials. "It is unnecessary to mention that only a few understood him in city hall, that the [architecturally] conservative bureaucrats were bitterly hostile towards him, [and] that they sabotaged his plans," Max Ermers wrote of Loos's experience as chief architect in the *Siedlungsamt*. At the same time, it would seem that Loos himself was not always attuned to the needs and aspirations of his proletarian clients. Loos "had wanted to deproletarianize [the settlers], so as to become 'gentlemen' by means of their own houses," Ermers noted, but "the settlers themselves loved their trivialities more than his strict objective functional-constructional manner of building."¹⁶⁰ Increasingly frustrated by the bureaucrats' and settlers' resistance to his ideas, Loos resigned from the *Siedlungsamt* in June 1924.

Not only Loos but the *Siedlungsamt* as a whole was isolated from power. As Werner Hegemann pointed out in *Wasmuths Monatshefte* in 1926, the *Siedlungsamt* was not part of the division of public works and was therefore unconnected to the *Stadtbaumeister*, which was responsible for municipal building operations. Thus Loos, Ermers, Kampfmeyer, and the *Siedlungsamt* in general had little influence with city building officials. Bureaucratic opposition was compounded by what Hegemann called the "hard-nosed individuality" of the settlers, who did not want to have anything to do with the typification of settlement

houses proposed by Loos and Frank, and had obstructed attempts to implement such ideas—most notably at the Hoffingergasse *Siedlung*, where Frank's designs had been rejected and subsequently reworked by the settlers.¹⁶¹

But there were also organizational problems within the cooperative settlement movement. Ludwig Neumann, secretary of the ÖVSK, outlined them in *Der Aufbau* in September 1926. In the early days of the movement there was an absence of control over building operations. The settlers lacked practical experience in dealing with the organizational, economic, and technical problems they faced. As a result unsuitable land was often selected, time and energy was wasted on "impossible" experiments with building materials and techniques, agricultural operations were begun without sufficient capital and located on infertile waste- or stubland, building workshops and factories were set up without commercial foundation, and corrupt or merely incompetent individuals were entrusted with large sums of public money.¹⁶² The ÖVSK was also beset by problems. In 1924 lack of funds forced it to close its *Baubüro*, which, since 1922, had been supported by the Anglo-American Mission of the Society of Friends. A year later, in July 1925, the ÖVSK's board of directors disbanded, and from then on the *Verband* was primarily concerned with allotment gardening. In January 1926 the ÖVSK changed the name and focus of its journal from *Siedler und Kleingärtner* (settlers and allotment gardeners) to *Kleingärtner, Siedler und Kleintierzüchter* (allotment gardeners, settlers, and small animal breeders).¹⁶³ Neumann concluded that unless the municipality assumed full responsibility for the construction and administration of the *Siedlungen*, the movement itself would come to an end.

In 1927 the municipality introduced a new system for financing the construction of settlement housing. From that time forward, settlers were no longer required to contribute either down payments or labor

2.30 Siedlung Lockertesse,
Karl Scharnhöfner archi-
tect, 1928, photo ca. 1931.



toward the cost of construction. Instead, settlement houses were financed, built, maintained, and owned by the municipality and rented to tenants.¹⁴⁴ Finally, in the fall of 1928, Hans Kampffmayer resigned as head of the Siedlungsamt, three years before his contract expired; he left for Frankfurt to become secretary general of the newly founded International Housing Association. Three years later, in 1931, the Siedlungsamt itself was disbanded.

The last gasp of the settlement movement came in 1932 with the ill-fated Werkbund *Siedlung* exhibition in Vienna, which had originally been planned for 1929. Organized by Josef Frank, it was meant as a re-

sponse or counterproject to the Stuttgart Werkbund exhibition (Weissenhofsiedlung) organized by Mies van der Rohe in 1927.¹⁴⁵ Whereas at Weissenhof the emphasis had been on materials and building technology, in Vienna the focus was on space and planning. According to Frank's brief, the purpose was to develop dwelling plans that made maximum use of a limited amount of space. Each design was to "create the greatest living comfort that could be compatible with the principle of minimum expenditure of space." In other words, consonant with Frank's antipathy toward the machine aesthetic of "das neue Bauen" or indeed any kind of aesthetic system, the objective was individual-



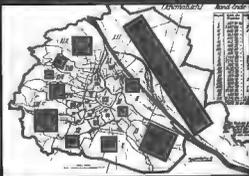
ity (rather than uniformity) within severely restricted financial and spatial limitations. Together the seventy units designed by thirty-one architects were to demonstrate the "greatest possible variety of types with this condition in mind."¹⁶⁴ Originally the exhibition was conceived within the context of the municipal building program; it was to be financed by the city and was to include apartment buildings as well as small row houses. Subsequently, it was reconceived as a project of the *Heimathilfe Aktion*, according to which the units were to be sold, not rented, and apartments were eliminated from the program. The site also changed from a relatively urban location on the Triesterstrasse (adjacent to the Am Wasserturm Siedlung) in district X, to a semirural one in the suburban villa district of Hietzing (XIII). Most of the architects invited were Viennese, and they included the "modern" contingent of the *Siedlung* movement—Loos, Lihotzky, Wlach, Strnad, Schuster, Anton Brenner, and Ernst Plischke¹⁶⁵—as well as Werkbund members Josef Hoffmann, Clemens Holzmeister, Oswald Haerdtl, Hugo Gorge, Ernst Lichtblau, and others. Viennese expatriates practicing in the United States, Richard Neutra and Arthur Grünberger, were also invited to participate, as were a small number of foreign architects including Gerrit Rietveld, Gabriel Guevrekian, Hugo Häring, and André Lurçat.¹⁶⁶

In the final program for the exhibition there was no urban design component. The houses, mostly rows of double units, were distributed without particular attention to overall composition along the peripheral streets and the one internal street of the site. Some of the designs were innovative in the Viennese context, introducing roof terraces (Lurçat, Hoffmann), double-height living room spaces (Loos in collaboration with Kulla), and open plan studio-cum-living spaces (Frank). All of the houses were in the modern idiom, with flat roofs and white- or pastel-washed smooth stucco walls. (Some of the foreign architects also made use of horizontal strip windows.) All of the

houses were furnished by their architects for the duration of the exhibition with chairs, tables, lamps, and so on, scaled to the circumscribed spaces of the modest exhibition house interiors. But as a whole the Werkbund *Siedlung* offered little that was new. By 1932 neither the planning concepts nor the formal language of the houses was novel. Both were well established in the formal vocabulary of European modernism.

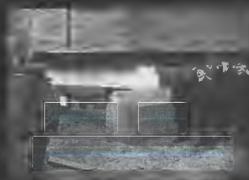
The timing of the exhibition was disastrous in other ways as well. Whatever economic and social impact the exhibition might have had under normal circumstances was dispelled by the worldwide economic crisis and gathering political storm in Austria. Because of the worldwide economic depression, interest in the exhibition was less intense than anticipated, and the Werkbund was unable to sell most of the houses (which were subsequently acquired by the municipality). Politically, the Austrian Werkbund itself was in crisis. Within year it split apart into two factions: the old left-wing and "Jewish" Werkbund (Frank, Strnad, and Oskar Kokoschka, among others) and the nationalist, largely anti-Semitic Neuer Werkbund Österreichs (New Austrian Werkbund), whose members included Hoffmann, Behrens, and Holzmeister.¹⁶⁷

Well before that time, the Viennese *Siedlung* movement had lost its original purpose: the postwar food shortages were long over. By 1923 the worst of the currency crisis was also past and priorities had shifted. Rather than providing a starving urban population with provisional shelter and the means to supply its own food, the municipality was attempting to provide a newly enfranchised urban proletariat with permanent living space, social services, and employment. This required not just the revision of existing housing policy but a complete reorganization of the city's administrative and technical functions.



4

VIENNA BUILDS ON ITSELF





THE MUNICIPALITY OF VIENNA WAS NOT THE ONLY ONE TO TACKLE THE HOUSING PROBLEM ON A VAST SCALE AFTER THE LAST WAR. BUT IT WAS PROBABLY THE ONLY ONE WHICH TRIED NEW WAYS OF ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE COMBINED WITH A NEW LAND POLICY.—Max Ermers, "Housing Policy in Vienna, 1919-1934" (1941/1942)

The techniques used by the Social Democratic municipality of Vienna to realize its building plans—revolutionary methods of financing involving a new tax structure, land acquisition policy, standardization of building parts, and massive reorganization of the municipal administration to supply, execute, coordinate, and oversee citywide building operations, as well as to integrate the new social welfare, educational, and cultural facilities provided by the municipality in the new buildings—were among the more original aspects of Red Vienna's building program. The program could be executed only with an enormous collective effort of will. Every department of government was engaged and directed toward transforming the sociospatial structure of the lives of Vienna's newly enfranchised working-class subjects.

While many facets of this program are known, the processes by which the buildings were planned, designed, and built, as well as the means by which crucial decisions regarding policy, program, and design were reached, have remained obscure.¹ One reason is that records of internal departmental or interdepartmental meetings at which such decisions were presumably made apparently have not survived. It is likely that documentation of this kind disappeared in the course of the many political changes in Vienna between 1934 and 1945.² City council minutes did survive, but there discussions of policy and the designs for specific buildings—all of which were presented to the city council for approval—rarely went beyond the exchange of political invective, since the approval of the measures proposed and the building designs presented was as-

sured by the Social Democrats' majority throughout the period that Red Vienna was building.³ Nonetheless, it is possible from the available evidence to piece together the organizational structure of the administrative apparatus assembled to execute the building program, to determine the methods by which space in the new buildings was allocated once they were completed, and to outline the processes by which decisions were made regarding the program and design of the buildings.⁴

FINANCE The foundation stone upon which the entire municipal program rested was the systematic reorganization of the city's finances. This was the work primarily of two key figures in the Social Democratic administration of Vienna: Robert Danneberg, president of the Regional Assembly (provincial parliament) of Vienna, and Hugo Breitner, councillor for finance. Danneberg, who died at Auschwitz in 1942 had studied law at Vienna University and in 1908 assumed responsibility for the party's educational and cultural programs, as well as editorship of the journal *Die Bildungsgarbei* (*Educational Work*) in which these programs were discussed.⁵ He was also responsible for developing the party's housing policy and for crafting the network of interlocking institutions that constituted Red Vienna's housing program. In addition, Danneberg played a significant role in reforming Vienna's municipal and provincial tax structure. In this he worked together with the principal author of Red Vienna's new tax system, Hugo Breitner, a banker and a socialist who was a former director of the Austrian Länderbank.⁶

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Hated by conservatives and admired by Social Democrats, Breitner was generally respected for his economic acumen and was considered by both parties to be something of a financial genius. Breitner's financial policy was defined by the decision to finance the building program out of current taxation rather than mortgage loans.⁷ "I am opposed to incurring debts," Breitner declared. "One cannot operate in these tumultuous times with borrowed money. I would rather limit my activities, and remain debt-free."⁸ Since the Social Democrats' plans were to build on a large scale and for the long term, the accumulated debt, Breitner reasoned, would have made it necessary not only continually to raise taxes but also to raise rents in order to service the loans. Neither was considered acceptable. Though it was not possible to raise sufficient revenues in the early years, after 1923 all of the city's new buildings were financed out of current tax receipts. This policy earned Breitner the sobriquet "tax sadist" and made him the target of virulent antisocialist (as well as anti-Semitic) propaganda in Vienna (figure 4.1). But the historical prerequisite for the policy was the Federal Rent Control Act of 1922, one of the most important pieces of post-World War I legislation in Austria.

The Federal Rent Control Act The Rent Control Act itself was a direct consequence of the crisis in Austrian industry after World War I. The new republic had acquired 30 percent of the industrial workers and 20 percent of the steam-powered industry of the old empire. Yet domestic production of coal amounted to only 0.5 percent of that produced in the last years of the monarchy, and the output was generally of very poor quality. Consequently, almost all the coal needed for industry, for the railways, and for household consumption in Austria had to be imported. This meant that Austria's postwar economy was almost entirely dependent on industrial production and the ability to export over 70 percent of its products.⁹ But because of



Die Steuern sind die Ursache für die Inflation, weil sie die Kaufkraft des Geldes mindern. Die hohen Steuern führen zu einer Überproduktion von Geld, was wiederum zu einer Inflation führt. Die Inflation wiederum führt zu einer Überproduktion von Steuern, was wiederum zu einer Inflation führt. Die Inflation wiederum führt zu einer Überproduktion von Steuern, was wiederum zu einer Inflation führt.

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Bochergasse



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4.1 Socialist counter-offensive: propaganda sheet showing uses to which tax revenues were put. "Tax sadism and welfare inflation." From *Der Kuckuck*, 9 February 1930, 2.

Austria's large debts, its poor resources, and the high tariffs enacted by the neighboring Succession States, the only way for the new republic to undersell its competitors and dispose of its products was to keep labor costs down. It was therefore imperative that some means be found of lowering the wages of Austria's large industrial workforce, without overburdening the worker.

The solution—*Mieterschutz* (rent control)—meant sacrificing the landlord for the worker:

Our competitiveness can only be maintained by relatively low wages, which are lower than . . . those of other industrial nations. The quotas for food, clothing, education, and the small portion for entertainment cannot stand reduction. There is only one component that can be eliminated from the worker's wages without the necessity of stepping up his productivity. That is rent. In the prewar years rent absorbed 25 percent of the worker's wages. With rent control its cost has become negligible, averaging only about 2 percent of the wages. When rent control ends, wages must rise. Our export industry, on which the fate of this country depends, cannot, in light of the described unfavorable production conditions, accommodate any such wage increases.¹⁰

A permanent law, the Rent Control Act of 1922, fixed the basic rent a tenant paid at half the rent paid for a given apartment on 1 August 1914.¹¹ Because of the depreciation of the Austrian krone this meant that rents were reduced to practically nothing; they were less than 1 percent of their prewar value. (In U.S. dollar equivalents, a prewar rent of \$600 per annum would have been reduced to approximately \$0.04.) In addition to the basic rent, a maintenance charge (to cover repairs and the labor of management) was fixed at a nominal figure of 150 times the prewar rent. On top of this there was an additional variable charge for operating costs, insurance, and taxes.¹² In essence, the new Rent Control Act expropriated all of the land-

lord's income from rents beyond the amount actually needed to cover his expenditures on the building.

It is important to note that the Rent Control Act was not a municipal but a federal law, legislated by the conservative Christian Socialist government to provide a subsidy to industry. And though opposition to rent control was to become a rallying point for conservative groups throughout the interwar period, the law itself benefited not only tenants but also employers, most of whom were Christian Socialists—businessmen who had little allegiance to, or sympathy for, Vienna's "rent vultures" and who found it expedient to expropriate the landlord for the worker.¹³ The traditional antagonism between landlords and big business (not only between landlords and tenants), therefore, led Austria to impose particularly stringent restrictions, and, unlike other European countries also seriously affected by postwar inflation, to make rent control a fixed feature of the country's economy.¹⁴

The Rent Control Act of 1922 had a number of consequences for Vienna. Because it more or less eliminated rent from a tenant's budget, each tenant became in effect the owner of an equity in his apartment. But it was an equity that the tenant could not sell and could protect only by continuing to occupy the apartment. This naturally reduced the number of vacancies to a point where there was practically no turnover in the housing market, exacerbating the need for new housing construction in the city.¹⁵

Rent control also destroyed private building speculation (since no profits could be made) and pushed down land values. This made it possible for the city to buy land at greatly reduced prices and to increase its already substantial holdings of urban building sites within the municipal boundaries.¹⁶ In this the Social Democrats were following in the footsteps of their Christian Socialist predecessors, who made extensive land purchases before and during World War I. By 1918, the municipality already owned 17 percent,



or 4,690 hectares (18 square miles), of its area.¹⁷ The Social Democrats increased municipal land ownership to 5,040 hectares by 1922 and doubled the city's real estate holdings by 1931.¹⁸

New Tax Structure and the *Wohnbausteuer* Rent control had significant financial implications for Vienna. It not only provided an additional source of revenues—the tenants' savings on rent—but also made it possible for the municipality to restructure its system of taxation.¹⁹ On 1 February 1923, a new highly progressive tax, known as the “housing construction tax” or *Wohnbausteuer*, was introduced. This was a tax on rent; but unlike the old rent tax, it was levied not on the landlord's income but on the fixed rent of the particular property and was sharply graded (from 2 percent to 37 percent) according to the size of the apartment or commercial space rented. This meant that the tenants of small apartments and shops, which represented 86 percent of the total rental property in the city, paid only 23.6 percent of the total tax collected. The tenants of the largest and most luxurious flats or offices, which comprised less than 0.5 percent of the total rental property in the city, paid 41.7 percent of the tax. In other words, the 90 most expensive rental properties paid as much tax as the 350,000 least expensive.²⁰ Thus the burden of the *Wohnbausteuer*, the entire proceeds of which were earmarked for new housing construction, was placed on the rich.²⁰

Aside from the *Wohnbausteuer*, Vienna introduced a series of other new city and provincial taxes. Except for a welfare tax (a flat assessment of 4 percent on all payrolls), most of the new taxes were, like the *Wohnbausteuer*, levied on goods and property: real estate, capital gains, investment and rental income, luxuries (automobiles, horses, specialty foods, brandy, and various forms of entertainment, as well as domestic servants, pets, etc.) rather than on income. Revenue from these taxes, together with the city's share of federal tax revenues, and the *Wohnbausteuer* was used to finance

the municipal building program.²¹ By transforming rent control from an emergency measure into a permanent law, the federal government had made it possible for the socialists in Vienna to levy the *Wohnbausteuer* and other municipal and provincial taxes with which it could finance its building program. At the same time, it was only through such a building program that the continuation of rent control, on which the economic survival of the republic itself depended, could be ensured.²²

To emphasize this fact, the Social Democratic city council inaugurated its first major building program on 1 February 1923, the day the *Wohnbausteuer* went into effect.²³ This program, to build 1,000 dwellings in 1923, was followed eight months later by the inauguration of Red Vienna's first “Five-Year Building Program” to provide 5,000 new dwellings annually. Forty percent of the necessary funds for this building program (estimated at 400 billion krone per year) were provided by the *Wohnbausteuer*. The remaining building costs were covered by revenues from other municipal and provincial taxes and by Vienna's share in the federal tax revenues. Among these, the funds distributed by the federal government and the municipal welfare tax made up the largest part. Expenditures on housing construction amounted to approximately 20 percent of Red Vienna's annual expenditures.²⁴ The city forwent any return on the capital invested in the housing, since the investment was to be written off entirely as a nonrecoverable cost to the municipality. The decision to build *à fonds perdu* was founded on Breiner's determination not to incur large debts (as the socialists' predecessors had done) and, as far as possible, to maintain a balanced budget.

Although the federal rent control laws did not apply to new construction, the Social Democrats decided to keep the rents in the new buildings on a par with those in older buildings. The new apartments, it was argued, were intended “for people earning moderate wages . . . [the] economically weakest section of the

people . . . [who] can only remain in [their] new sanitary dwelling[s] if the rent [they have] to pay is really exceptionally low. Otherwise these dwellings will be abandoned by the people of modest means for whom they were built, and be taken over by those better situated in life."²³

Rents in the new municipal housing blocks were fixed, therefore, at levels sufficient to cover only the cost of maintenance and repair, according to the following calculation. The rent for a dwelling in a municipal housing block was divided into four parts: the first three were a "basic rent" (determined by floor space and fixed at one-half the prewar rent for equivalent space), a repair and management charge (fixed at 150 times the prewar rate), and regular maintenance costs (chimney sweeping, cleaning of sewers, caretakers' wages, and so on). Since it was calculated that the maintenance and repair costs would be relatively low in new buildings, a small surplus was added as a reserve fund to be used for future maintenance and to guard against having to raise rents. The fourth part was a sum to cover taxation charges. On top of this there were small extra charges for the use of some communal facilities, such as the laundries, baths, and child-care services. On average, monthly rents in the new buildings amounted to around 3.4 percent of the income of skilled and semiskilled workers; this figure included the *Wohnbausteuer*, which every Viennese tenant was obliged to pay, as well as the cost of utilities.²⁴

LAND ACQUISITION In 1919 most of the city-owned land in Vienna could not be used for new housing construction. The *Wald- und Wiesengürtel* was protected green space, and most of the municipally owned building lots suited for development had been zoned for schools, public offices, and other civic purposes. The municipality, therefore, was forced to increase its land holdings if it was to carry out its building plans. The Social Democrats began buying land during the

worst period of inflation, and between 1919 and 1922 they steadily accumulated holdings throughout Vienna at a fraction of prewar real estate prices.²⁷

Administered by the Division of Food and Stores, Red Vienna's *Bodenpolitik* (land acquisition policy) was to a large extent determined by the fact that the city of Vienna had at its disposal no effective legal measures for the compulsory acquisition of land to be used in the public interest. The existing laws of expropriation (in force since 1883) could only be invoked for the improvement of traffic circulation; that is, for constructing streets, not housing.²⁸ Consequently, all of the building land acquired by the municipality had to be bought in the open market, where the city had no control over prices. However, since there was almost no private building activity in Vienna at the time, the market was, in fact, favorable to the city. As we have seen, the federal rent control laws also played an important role, as the virtual elimination of profits to be made from rent caused land values to plummet.

To avoid losing this advantage once its intention to carry out extensive building operations over a period of several years was announced, at the end of 1922 the municipality adopted a new policy regarding land purchases. Rather than acquiring sites individually or in small strips (*Riemen*), the Division of Food and Stores was charged with buying up large parcels of land all over the city before definite building plans had been made. Two such major purchases were made in 1923: the *Drasche-Gürtel*, the former clay pits of the Wienerberger Brick Factory in Favoriten, and the Frankel-Gründe, also in Favoriten and the adjacent district of Meidling, along the old *Linienwall*; together they amounted to 2.6 million square meters.²⁹ At this time also the city began to employ a variety of different agents and middlemen in its negotiations with private owners, wishing to avoid either paying inflated prices for key pieces of ground needed for its immediate building plans or having those plans blocked by landowners who refused to sell.

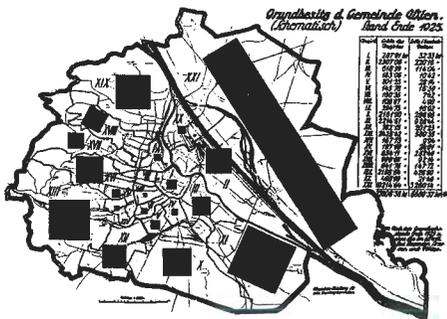


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The municipality also used its tax policies to regulate prices and depress land values. Unbuilt urban land ready for development was taxed more heavily than land less well served by urban infrastructure. Capital gains on land sales were also taxed separately, and at a higher rate than other property. Moreover, to prevent tax avoidance by understatement of purchase price in private sales, the city was legally empowered to intervene in such a transaction and to purchase the given property at the value set for tax purposes. In addition, the city used its planning powers to change the zoning (and thereby influence land prices) in areas in which it had plans to build.¹⁶

Occasionally plans for particular sites had to be abandoned because of unreasonable demands made by landowners, but in general these methods were successful, even though the time required to assemble plots often delayed projects or forced them to be completed in stages. Between 1922 and 1928, 1,550 hectares of urban land were purchased in this way (figure 4.2). By 1928 the municipality owned a total of 7,920 hectares, or approximately one-quarter of the total area of Greater Vienna.¹⁷

In 1929 a federal law of eminent domain authorized Vienna to expropriate unsanitary residential buildings that required complete reconstruction, as well as small pieces of land (vacant lots on streets up to 30 meters long) that "could not be built up rationally" and that prevented the unified development of neighboring pieces of ground already owned by the city. This law enabled the municipality to considerably increase its land holdings in the more densely built-up areas of the city in the following four years. It also led to an increase in interstitial, infill building, or *Lückerverbauung*, in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Together with the purchase from the *Bodenkreditanstalt* (land credit corporation) of a 2.3 million square meter area in Floridsdorf in 1929, the building land acquired by means of the new law increased Red Vienna's ownership of urban land by 419.3 hectares and brought the



city's total holdings at the end of 1931 to one-third of its area.¹⁸

BUILDING OPERATIONS The creation of 5,000 dwellings a year for five years, Breiner had noted in 1923, represented "an enormous undertaking for the municipal apparatus," requiring massive reorganization of the administrative departments responsible for housing and construction.¹⁹ Four of the seven divisions within the *Magistrat* (administrative branch of the municipal government) were directly concerned with the execution of the building program: Finance, Food and Stores, Public Works, Social Policy, and Housing. A fifth, Public Health and Welfare, was responsible for providing health and welfare facilities in the new housing, and was therefore also an integral part of the program. Departments within each of the remaining divisions (Personnel and General Administration, as well as Municipal Enterprises, which was not part of the *Magistrat*), particularly those con-

4.2 Map showing (schematically) distribution of land owned by the municipality in 1925. Ernst Hain, "Die Bodenpolitik der Gemeinde Wien," in *Internationaler Wohnungswissenschaftlicher Kongress: Vorberichte* (1926): 101.

cerned with population statistics, public education programs, and cooperative and other enterprises, were also variously involved in the planning and design of the city's housing projects. Thus the building program demanded interconnected and coordinated activity at all levels and in every branch of the municipal government.¹⁴

The building program itself was administered by the Stadtbauamt (City Building Office), a department within the Division of Public Works (Verwaltungsgruppe für Technische Angelegenheiten). While this division was responsible for overseeing all technical operations in the city, the Stadtbauamt was charged specifically with supervising the municipal building operations. At the head of the Stadtbauamt was the *Stadtbauinspektor* (city building director), who supervised all operations concerned with the design, construction, and equipment of the new municipal housing. In the period from 1920 to 1934 there were two directors.¹⁵ The first, Max Fiebiger (1867–1958), was *Stadtbauinspektor* from 1920 until his forced early retirement in 1925. An engineer by profession, Fiebiger, who was an archconservative regarding architectural matters, was by all accounts elevated to this position more for his organizational abilities than for his skill as an architect or planner. The principal mandate and achievement of his directorship was to systematically dismantle the large bureaucracy of the prewar Stadtbauamt (a legacy of Vienna's imperial administration) and to devise a new and more efficient organization. This work earned him the nickname “de-construction director,” or “Abbaudirektor.”¹⁶

Fiebiger was succeeded in January 1925 by Franz Musil (1884–1966), who ousted Red Vienna (as well as “Black” and “Brown” Vienna) to retire in 1946. Musil was also an engineer by training and had specialized in transportation and traffic planning. He began working for the city before the war and from 1910 to 1917 was employed by the Austrian National Railways (Österreichische Staatsbahnen) in Vienna, where

he worked on traffic and rapid transit planning. During that period he was sent by the Vienna transport commission on a tour to study metropolitan rapid transit systems and traffic conditions (*grossstädtischer Verkehrsverhältnisse*) in Germany, France, England, and the United States. In 1917 he was appointed director of the Rapid Transit section in the Stadtbauamt. When lack of funds forced the disbandment of this section in 1922, Musil transferred to the Department of Transport and became head of the bridge and dike construction section. Just before he was appointed *Stadtbauinspektor*, Musil and Otto Hula (head of the building supply section of the Stadtbauamt) were sent to study housing and construction techniques in North America.¹⁷

The *Stadtbauinspektor* reported directly to the head of the Division of Public Works and Technical Infrastructure. While the former was an employee of the municipality (*beamtete Chef*), his superior was a *Stadtrat*, a member of the majority party and the *Stadtensrat* (senate) who was elected to this post by the city council.¹⁸ From 1919 until his death from cancer in 1927, this political position was held by Franz Siegel (1876–1927), an influential and respected party member who was a building foreman by profession. Siegel had both solid socialist credentials and a thorough understanding of the building operations under his purview.¹⁹ As head of public works, he was in charge of policy as well as operations. Siegel chaired the council's executive committee (*Gemeinderatsausschuss*) on public works and technical infrastructure (of which he was *ex officio* head), and he reported on these matters to the senate and city council.²⁰

Immediately preceding the inauguration of the first five-year building program, the Stadtbauamt was reorganized into sixteen sections, each of which was responsible for executing a different aspect of the building operations connected to the new housing program. The most important and largest sections were concerned with providing and supervising the



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dispersal of materials, with construction, and with developing and vetting the architectural designs.⁴¹

Materials The section in charge of the purchase and supply of building materials (*Abteilung für Baustoffgewinnung und Baustoffbeschaffung*) was run as a commercial business. A large part of the necessary supplies were produced directly by the municipality in city-owned factories administered by the building supply section. Most of the sand used in the construction of the new buildings was produced by the city-owned Vienna Building Materials Company (Wiener Baustoff

AG), which had its own ships and tugs and had been purchased by the municipality in 1918. Bricks and tiles were produced at the Ober-Laa brick kilns, acquired by the city in 1919 and subsequently enlarged and modernized to increase their capacity.⁴² A new, smaller brick format (known as the German format) was introduced for the new buildings (25 × 12 × 6.5 cm instead of 30 × 15 × 7.5 cm), as a cost-saving measure.⁴³ All of the city's limestone came from the Hinterbrühl limekiln and Kaltbrunn quarries, purchased in 1918 and 1923 respectively. In the period between 1919 and 1922 the municipality bought its own granite works,

4.3 Construction site, Ruderhof III, Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Alschinger architects, photo ca. 1925.



paving stone works, tile factories, and repair workshops.⁴⁴

Large quantities of building materials were also bought in the open market. Here the municipality's experience as producer not only provided insight into the real costs of production but also gave it a distinct bargaining advantage. Generally, in order to obtain favorable prices, very large orders were placed with private concerns. Usually materials for an entire year's projected building program were ordered in advance, and up to one-half of the amount due on these orders was also paid in advance of their delivery. To further ensure economy, building parts such as doors and windows, as well as wooden and metal door and window frames, metal fittings, stairs, banister rails, toilet bowls, wall faucets, gas stoves, and park benches were standardized.⁴⁵ These were ordered by the ten thousand, or by wagon load. By 1928 a total of 113,586 wagon loads of such materials, weighing 10 tons each, had been delivered. A city publication offered an interesting statistic: "Put end to end, the 113,586 wagons would have stretched 695 kilometers—that is, from Vienna to the town of Bregenz on Austria's northwest border with Germany."⁴⁶

The advantages of this system for the producer were considerable. Large contracts over a number of years, at quantities that often comprised a firm's entire output, ensured both stability and cheapness of production. The city as contractor also benefited greatly. By purchasing materials in bulk directly from producers, the municipality was able to eliminate the middleman, reduce the number of inquiries for materials, and control the quality of the materials. All of the building materials produced and purchased were also quality tested by city inspectors at municipal (and state) testing stations, as well as on the building sites themselves.⁴⁷

Transport Usually building materials were delivered directly from their place of manufacture to the build-

ing site (figure 4.3). They were transported in city-owned trucks, goods cars on the municipal tramways (particularly at night), and branch railway tracks especially laid down for the purpose. Only small quantities of supplies were held in municipal storage yards on the Erdbergerlande along the southern railway line in district III. These were intended as reserves, should the delivery of materials from factories to the construction sites be delayed. Since the yard had both a railway connection and a loading dock on the Danube Canal, the storage costs were minimal.⁴⁸

Construction The construction section (*Hochbauabteilung*) of the *Stadtbauamt* was charged with supervising the execution of the buildings themselves. All the

4.4 Testing strength of reinforced concrete beams (5 m span under weight of 230 tons), photo ca. 1926. [Das Neue Wien (1927), 3.321].

4.5 Opposite: Karl-Herrn-Hof, Karl Elm architect, under construction. Photo showing reinforced concrete structure of curvilinear corner element, ca. 1928.



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labor on the new buildings was done by contract, and all building contracts were awarded through public advertisement; thus one of the primary functions of this section was to evaluate tenders from private building firms and tradesmen. Given the lack of private building activity, the number of competing firms was high and the city was able to get very reasonable prices.⁴⁹

Aside from handling the building contracts, the construction section also monitored work on the site once construction had begun. The methods used were dictated by the needs both to contain construction costs and to combat unemployment. Standardized elements, extensive use of reinforced concrete for pillars, roofs, and floors, heavy machinery for dredging and cement-mixing, and practical systems of scaffolding were used to keep the costs of construction down (figures 4.4 and 4.5). At the same time, the stucco-faced load-bearing brick masonry construction used throughout the new buildings was a labor-intensive method that required little skill and gave jobs to large numbers of otherwise unemployed manual laborers. The extensive millwork, joinery, and other carpentry work involved in the buildings, as well as the specially commissioned sculpture, painted decoration, and ornamental stucco, metalwork, and ceramic tile work with which the buildings were embellished, employed thousands of additional skilled workers, craftsmen, and artists.⁵⁰

Design and Planning The architectural supervision of the municipal building operations was handled by the Architecture Bureau (Architekturabteilung), which had a permanent staff of around twenty architects, all of whom were municipal employees; many had been in the city building department since before World War I.⁵¹ Until 1923, almost all of the actual planning and design work was done by the bureau itself. In 1923, according to a report in the *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereines*, the Stadtbauamt was working day and night on twenty-two

large buildings, with five private architects working on the designs and the department architects managing all the rest, including the preparation of working drawings, estimates, subcontracting, materials, and so on.⁵² Once the five-year building program was launched and the volume of work became too great for the architectural section to handle alone, the bureau began to employ a large number of private architects to assist in the preparation of designs for the municipal buildings; since there was almost no private building activity in Vienna at the time, many were available.⁵³

Generally private architects were commissioned directly by the Stadtbauamt to design specific housing projects. Often they were grouped into design teams to work collaboratively on developing designs for some of the larger building complexes. Occasionally competitions were held for some of the larger, more complicated, and more prestigious building projects. These were usually juried by distinguished architects in private practice, heads of the professional institutions, and professors in the schools of architecture (e.g., Josef Hoffmann, Hubert Gessner, Peter Behrens, Siegfried Theis, and Robert Oerley), together with one or two high-level officials in the Stadtbauamt. Here, as with the distribution of contracts and hiring of skilled and unskilled workers, the guiding principle, according to official policy, was to give employment to as many architects as possible.⁵⁴

While the municipal architects of the Architecture Bureau continued to execute designs for some of the new buildings (54 of the 250 buildings designed in the period from 1923 to 1928 were by architects in the city building department), the majority of the approximately 400 new buildings completed by 1934 were designed by around 190 private architects. After 1923 the Architecture Bureau functioned primarily as an advisory and review bureau (*Bauberatungs- und Überprüfungsstelle*) and an intermediary or coordinating link (*Zwischenglied*) between the city administration as cli-



ent and the private architects as temporary employees of the building department.

The bureau itself was charged with drawing up the guidelines for ground coverage, layout, and general disposition of the interior spaces of the buildings; it also formulated the specifications regarding the size, organization, and equipment of the apartments in individual buildings and designed the standardized building elements. Policy on design guidelines, building specifications, and facilities was established at the executive level by a joint committee of the Divisions of Public Works and Housing (see further below).⁵⁵

Once the program for a particular building or group of buildings had been determined, and an architect commissioned to execute the design, the Architecture Bureau was responsible for overseeing the development of the design from the first preliminary sketches to the completed working drawings, to ensure that the bureau's guidelines and other architectural specifications were followed. Contracts with private architects specified site, program (i.e., number of apartments of different types and dimensions and the various communal facilities to be accommodated), budget, and delivery and fee schedules.⁵⁶ Design drawings, including perspectives (at a scale of 1:200) and working drawings at various scales (from 1:100 to 1:1), were to be submitted along with an "exact description of the facade articulation and all architectonic details both exterior and interior" and "a model (wood or cardboard), 1:360," as well as "plans and detail drawings of the landscaping for the entire complex." Architects were required to "assist the municipal *Bauleitung* [building authorities] in artistic and technical matters," "to attend all necessary meetings with building officials, contractors, [etc.], and to incorporate requested changes to the design."⁵⁷

Aside from vetting and supervising the design of the buildings themselves, the Architecture Bureau was also in charge of commissioning craftsmen, painters, and sculptors, either directly or through competitions,

to work on the decoration of the buildings. Finally, once the buildings were completed and occupied, the Architecture Bureau oversaw their repair.⁵⁸

The thirteen remaining sections in the *Stadtbaumamt* were responsible for installing gas, electricity, water and sewage lines; providing bathing and laundry facilities, child-care services, and health-care clinics; planting trees and gardens; laying out parks and equipping them with outdoor furniture, playgrounds, and paddling pools; and constructing and maintaining streets and access roads.⁵⁹

PROGRAM AND PROCESS The building program for a given year, including the distribution, dimensions, and layout of the dwellings in the new buildings, as well as the location, size, type, and equipment of the buildings themselves, was determined jointly by the Division of Public Works and the Division of Social Policy and Housing, who worked in close conjunction with the Division of Public Health and Welfare to determine which health-care facilities, kindergartens, clinics, and other welfare services would be incorporated into individual housing blocks and to ensure that the new housing program meshed with the city's welfare policies regarding the family, hygiene, social education, and child care.⁶⁰ Once ready, the proposed program was submitted to the senate and city council for approval to proceed with the design. Later in the process, after the buildings had been designed, each scheme was examined and discussed by the executive committees of the divisions before being passed on to the senate and finally to the city council for approval to proceed with construction. At the executive level, therefore, Public Works, Housing, Health and Welfare together shaped the policy and program for the new buildings.⁶¹

After the death of Franz Siegel on October 1927 the housing construction component of the Division of Public Works and the housing component of the Division of Social Policy and Housing merged to form

a new Division of Housing and Housing Construction (Wohnungswesen und Wohnungsbau). A new director, Anton Weber (1878–1950), the former head of the Division of Social Policy, was appointed. Weber was first elected to the *Gemeinderat* (city council) in December 1918. In January 1919, however, he won a seat in the National Assembly and left municipal politics briefly for federal politics. But five months later, after Vienna's first Social Democratic mayor had been elected, Weber returned to municipal politics, representing the largely working-class district of Floridsdorf (XXI) in the Vienna City Council. Weber's own working-class roots were in Styria, where he was born, but he had trained and worked as an engine fitter (*Maschinenschlosser*) in Russia before settling in Vienna. He remained head of the newly created division from 1927 to 1934.⁴³

HOUSING ADMINISTRATION At an administrative level, the Division of Social Policy and Housing was principally concerned with managing the housing once it had been built, and with executing the city's social policies. From 1922 to 1925 the department itself was divided into two sections. The first was concerned with general policy: organizational, legal, and financial matters to do with the settlement office; questions of housing rights, rents, repairs, and book-keeping; and the management of allotment gardens and facilities such as central laundries and baths.⁴⁴

The second section was concerned with individual housing matters. These included allocating apartments in the new buildings as well as those in older buildings requisitioned by the city, and organizing a system of apartment exchange for tenants requiring more or less space because of changes in personal circumstances. Within this section a separate commission of city council members was set up to devise an equitable "point system" for classifying applicants for municipal housing according to urgency of need. This system was adopted in 1922, first as a means for evalu-

ating need for space in requisitioned private buildings and as a way to allocate apartments in the new buildings. The point values of the conditions included in the schedule are given in table 4.1.⁴⁴

An applicant with 10 or more points was considered to be in urgent need of housing and put in Class I. Persons with between 5 and 9 points were put in Class II, and those with fewer than 5 points in Class III. Once classified, each case was then considered individually and all Class I cases were subjected to further analysis and occasionally reclassified. The highest priority cases, the absolutely homeless or those who were living in quarters that had been condemned as unsanitary, were designated Ia; single applicants, or those who had been married for less than one year, even if they rated 10 points or more, were excluded from Class I. The effect of the point system, together with the small size of the apartments themselves, favored smaller families with one or two children; and since, before moving into city housing, such families had lived with parents or in-laws, the system ultimately worked to dismantle the traditional extended family and working-class household.⁴⁵

The equity of the classification system and allocation process was questioned at the time. The principal charge against it was partisanship. According to anti-socialist propaganda, "the tenants are everywhere Social Democrats with the exception of a dwindling residue of 1 to 8 per cent."⁴⁶ Whether or not members of the Social Democratic party received preferential treatment and opposition party members were denied access to public housing is almost impossible to verify. Two-thirds of the voters in Vienna, and three-fourths of the inhabitants of small apartments (classified as *Klein- and Kleinstwohnungen*) in the city, were members of the Social Democratic party. The demand and eligibility for housing of this group would likely have been proportional to their number in the city. It would also make sense that those who supported the city's housing policies would be more likely to apply for housing



VIENNA BUILDS ON ITSELF

Table 4.1
Point System of Classifying Applicants
for Dwellings

	Points
Austrian citizenship	1
Domicile in Vienna	1
Marital status:	
Married less than one year	1
Married or living together as husband and wife for more than one year	2
Each child:	
Under 14 years of age	1
Over 14 years of age	2
Residence in Vienna:	
Since birth	4
Since August 1, 1914	3
For more than one year	1
Legally binding notification to vacate present residence	5
Unfitness of present dwelling for continued occupancy	5
Disability:	
60%-99%	1
Complete	5
Pregnancy, more than 6 mos. advanced	1
Illness that will be made materially worse by continuing to live in present dwelling	1
Subtenancy (not with parents or parents-in-law)	2
Each member of family who sleeps away from home and has no room of his own	2
Household separated under such circumstances as to make it impossible to live with parents or parents-in-law	2
Overcrowding* for each person too many in a dwelling*	1
Lack of kitchen	1
Applicant the principal tenant of a dwelling fit for occupancy which is not overcrowded, or has only one excess person	-10
Subtenancy where rooms are fit for occupancy and not overcrowded	-5

*overcrowding = more than three adults or two adults and two children occupying one "room" (*Zimmer*); more than two adults or one adult and two children under ten years of age occupying a "sleeping room" (*Kabine*). Rooms were considered to be overcrowded only if occupied by the tenant (extended) family. If such conditions were caused by lodgers or subtenants, the dwelling would not qualify as overcrowded. In 1925 proximity to place of employment and professional need for certain types of living accommodation were added to the list of qualifications for housing. Source: Charles O. Harty, assisted by Robert R. Kuczyński, *The Housing Program of the City of Vienna* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1926), pp. 10-11.

than those who opposed them. By the same token, those who profited from those policies, who were allocated housing in the new buildings, would also be more likely to support the party that provided it. (This was the explanation given by the city for the high proportion of Social Democrats in the municipal housing.) At the same time, a sampling of election returns from the period showed that the percentage of Social Democratic voters in the municipal housing blocks was no higher than in buildings that were privately owned.⁶⁷ On the whole, there was a great deal of overlap between the supporters and beneficiaries of the Social Democrats' housing policies; those whose living conditions were the least satisfactory and were most in need of housing tended to support the party that declared decent housing a right of citizenship.

In 1925 the municipality's appropriation law, which had been contested in the courts in 1922, was abolished; the city could no longer requisition underutilized space in existing buildings. The focus of the housing department then shifted from redistributing space in old buildings to administering and managing the new buildings, of which there were an increasing number each year.⁶⁸ The organization of the department changed accordingly. The two subsections within the housing office were disbanded and replaced by six councils (*Referate*), which were in charge of allocating apartments in the new buildings. Each council was responsible for a certain number of Vienna's twenty-one districts and for supervising the housing offices that were located in each district. The district housing offices, in turn, were responsible for processing applications and allocating housing within the district. They also handled appeals to the allocation and rent boards, and managed the inspection of the buildings themselves. Each district office was under the charge of a district inspector, who was available for consultation with tenants during regular office hours and who supervised the housing officers or caretakers of the municipal housing blocks in his district. The

housing officers, who usually lived in the buildings under their charge, were responsible for collecting rents as well as for cleaning, lighting, and maintaining the safety and "orderliness" of the public and communal spaces: the stairwells, public rooms, gardens, pavements, and courtyards.⁶⁹

The administrative structure of the housing department was hierarchical and centralized. The caretakers responsible for maintaining physical plant and order in the buildings were not authorized to make decisions regarding policy, nor did they determine the regulations they were responsible for enforcing. Neither, significantly, did the tenants, though there were tenants' organizations. Indeed, the residents of each stairwell (*Stiege*) in a building elected a representative to serve on a building committee. But these committees were only responsible for the "general welfare of the tenants" and had no authority to establish policy or affect the management of the buildings. Their role was "advisory," providing a forum for tenants to voice criticism and discontent.⁷⁰ Philip Vas, a contemporary critic of the system, characterized the party's centralized control as a form of "benevolent despotism":

In these dwellings the tenant lives under healthful conditions, he lives cheaply, he saves time and work; in short, as tenement houses they are ideal—the dream of many a housing reformer is realized. But solicitude has gone too far. Individual needs cannot be satisfied. Literally, every nail driven in the wall is controlled by the city government. Every individual rule may be approved, but all the rules taken together tend to destroy the satisfaction of living in a building where everything is done mechanically and the bureaucracy, because no rents are charged, is in a position to exercise the most minute control in every part of every dwelling.⁷¹

Recent critics have seen the party's system of control in terms of Michel Foucault's "panopticism."⁷² According to tenants of the time, interviewed in the 1980s, the system of control and supervision was

repressive: carpets could be beaten and trash emptied only during specified hours; children were not allowed to play on the grass except in designated play areas (and therefore would play in the streets or on vacant lots outside the courtyards), and they were chastised for making noise. The use of the communal laundries was strictly regulated. Male supervisors intimidated users, who were all women since men were not allowed in the laundries as a measure of protection for the female users, who were further intimidated by the unfamiliar machinery provided. In addition, the standards of cleanliness and "orderliness" enforced by the caretakers were alien to many tenants and, it was felt, were aimed at breaking down traditional customs and habits of working-class culture.⁷³ These issues, as well as questions of "embourgeoisement," "panopticism," the status of women, and the role of children in the Social Democrats' program, are problematic aspects of the social welfare and housing programs to which we will return.

POLICY AND PROCEDURE Final authority throughout the municipal administration lay with the executive. While individual departments were responsible for administering and executing aspects of the building program, the decisions regarding policy and program were all made by the executive committees of those divisions, which were composed of city council members and were chaired by an *Amtsführender Stadtrat*—an elected politician and member of the city senate. It was in these committees that the projected building program was first discussed and decisions were made regarding the location, size, and equipment of the structures to be built.⁷⁴

Once approved by the senate and city council, the program for a building or group of buildings was sent to the *Stadtbaumeister* for development. There an architect (or team of architects) was hired, or one or more of the architects in the *Stadtbaumeister*, a *Stadtbaumeister*, was commissioned to design a given building



under the supervision of, and in consultation with, the Architecture Bureau. The completed design was then examined by the executive committees of the Divisions of Public Works and Housing before being sent once again to the senate and council. Each building was reported on in council and discussion of it opened to the floor. These discussions were remarkably repetitive and lacking in substance. The issues raised most often by the opposition—that the buildings were too expensive, ugly, badly built; that the socialist administration of the program itself was riddled with corruption; that the city was building “rental barracks” and perpetuating old rather than introducing new standards of living—had little to do with the particular building under review, or with the architectural program, and were for the most part politically motivated.⁷⁵

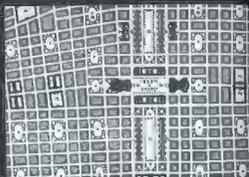
After a building design had been approved by the council, builders were invited to tender bids for the construction. These were vetted by the construction section (*Hochbauabteilung*) of the building office, which selected contractors and subcontractors and then ordered and assembled the materials. Once the contracts with builders and suppliers had been examined and approved by the executive committee of the Department of Public Works, construction could begin.⁷⁶

On site, a city engineer functioned as site manager and building foreman. In addition, a general inspector of housing construction, an employee of the construction section, which was responsible for overseeing and coordinating the construction throughout the city, traveled from site to site supervising the progress of the work. Overseeing all of these activities was the *Amtsführender Stadtrat*, the head of Public Works (Franz Siegel for much of the period in question), who reported regularly to the city council on the progress of the building program. Altogether, the system ensured complete control over the building operations,

as well as the execution of housing and welfare policy by the majority party.

After 1923 the methods developed to implement the building program remained relatively constant throughout the period that Red Vienna was building. The groundwork for it had been prepared before the city actually began to build on a large scale. The systems for financing, acquiring land, manufacturing and transporting building materials, developing and vetting architectural designs, organizing building operations, allocating space in the new buildings, and integrating social and cultural facilities were all in place by the time large-scale building operations began at the beginning of 1924.

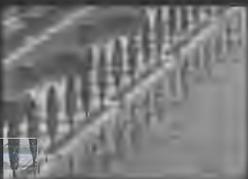
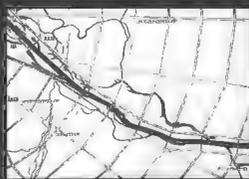
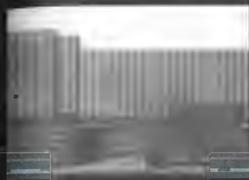
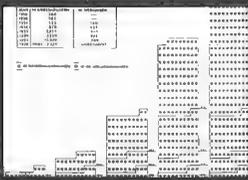
The one aspect of the Social Democrats' building program that was not fully developed by the time the municipality began to build on a large scale was the architectural program. The political leaders of Red Vienna assumed that the spatial and architectonic character of the “New Vienna” would emerge out of consideration of the political, social, and cultural components of the party's program for the Social Democratic metropolis. The architectural program was a secondary concern. “We anticipate that new ideas and plans will arise,” Breiter declared in September 1923, “which will not only pertain to living space and living area, but which will establish a new cultural standard of living . . . and furthermore will contribute to the embellishment of the city.”⁷⁷



5

GROSSTADT AND PROLETARIAT: CONCEPTUALIZING THE SOCIALIST CITY





When Hugo Breitner presented the Social Democrats' first five-year building program to the city council on 21 September 1923, he did not specify what proportion of the new housing was to be provided in *Siedlungen* and what proportion in *Gemeindebauten*.¹ But it soon became clear that the emphasis in the new program was to be on apartment construction, not on *Gartensiedlungen* (figure 5.1). In 1921, 55 percent of the total housing provided with the municipality's support was in the form of small *Siedlung* row houses, in 1923, when the city started its own building program, this percentage dropped to 28, in 1924 to 14, and in 1925 to 4 percent.²

"HIGH-RISE SOUL" OR ECONOMIC NECESSITY

What led the Social Democrats, once they had the funds to build, to favor *Gemeindebauten* over *Gartensiedlungen*? The reasons given by the city officials responsible for the housing and building programs were both political and economic. "If we want to build garden cities," claimed Franz Siegel, "then we will need money not only for construction, but also to acquire the necessary land on which to build. We would not have enough land in Vienna; we would have to go beyond city borders, perhaps enter into negotiations [with the province of Lower Austria] regarding incorporation, with all its consequences."³

Aside from the cost of ground preparation in places where there was no urban infrastructure, there were also insurmountable political difficulties involved in the acquisition of building land outside the area of Greater Vienna. As Max Ermers pointed out, Vienna's constitutional status in 1923 was a major factor in settling the fate of the *Siedlung* movement.⁴ After 1922, when Vienna became a city-state, it was virtually impossible for the municipality to acquire land outside its boundaries, as these boundaries were also provincial borders. Any expansion of the city limits, therefore, required enacting laws not only of the municipality and province of Vienna, but also of the province of Lower Austria and the Federal Republic. Indeed, *Bundesland Wien* could not expand beyond the city's municipal boundary without constitutional amendment. "Because of a political situation which had become intolerable," Ermers wrote, "the centuries-old practical utility of Lower Austria and Vienna [had been] severed [in 1922] without providing the lat-

ter with the indispensable living, expansion, and settlement zone. All development, all scope for housing development, all improvement of transportation, all land banking is concentrated fatefully within the boundaries of the old toll barrier [*Verzehrungssteuerlinien*]"⁵

To build garden suburbs within the precinct of Vienna, city officials argued, was also beyond the city's means.

A garden suburb for 25,000 families requires, reckoning 200 square meters for a house with garden, or, including frontage and adjoining spaces 300 square meters, a site of 7,500,000 square meters, i.e. 7.5 square km. Such an unbroken area was neither at the disposal of the city nor could have been procured. Nor were several component spaces suitable for building, amounting in aggregate to this area, to be obtained at a reasonable price. Imagine the gigantic cost of development for an area of such dimensions! A main drainage system, main pipes for water supply, connections for laying on gas and electricity, a network of streets for communications and residences, would have had to be created. Such a great building area would of course have needed also a first-class quick railway connection with the heart of the city, the cost of which would have been excessively high [260 million schillings . . . or about one-third of the city's total investment in housing from 1923 to 1933], since for this purpose only an overhead or an underground railway could be contemplated.⁶

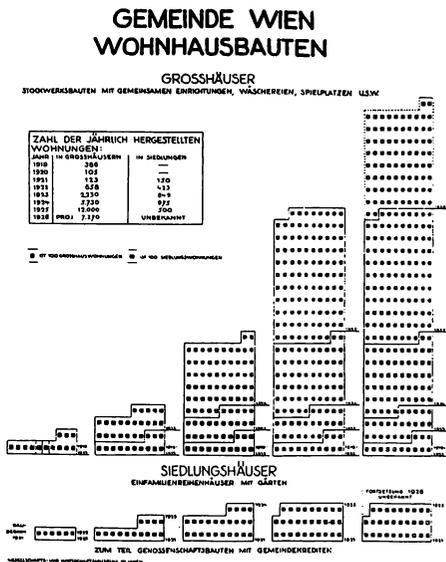
Franz Siegel declared that "the realization of such a dream presented insurmountable obstacles. . . . We have the intention in the next five years to build 25,000 dwelling units. If we were to insert these



25,000 units in settlement houses, [they] would occupy . . . an area equal to that of districts XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XXI of Vienna joined together.⁷⁷

It is true that many outlying parts of the city were still not adequately served by public transportation. Only the western (primarily middle-class) outer districts were linked to the city center by the Wiental line of the *Stadtbahn*. The other *Stadtbahn* lines along the Gürtelstrasse and Danube linked the suburbs to each other, but not to the center. This was largely because the *Stadtbahn*—unlike many municipal railways, such as the one in Paris—had been built by the state and was tied for military reasons to the state railway system. Both state and city railways were steam powered and shared tracks in Vienna. The inner *Stadtbahn* lines, however, were unconnected to the northern, northwestern, and southern state railway lines, which skirted the outer districts. Thus the northern, north western, and southern districts of the city, which were residential suburbs and partially developed industrial factory and tenement zones, were unconnected to the city center.⁸ In January 1924, however, a number of the *Stadtbahn* lines were electrified and handed over to the municipality of Vienna, a change that had several consequences. First, the *Stadtbahn* could no longer share tracks with the steam-powered state railways. It could, however, be joined to the electric streetcar system in Vienna. Beginning in 1925 the *Stadtbahn* and *Strassenbahn* (streetcar) lines were linked, with the result that public transportation within the city itself was greatly improved, though connections beyond the city limits became more cumbersome.⁹ As *Bundesminister* Dr. Hans Schürff noted in the *New Free Press* in January 1924, the combined *Stadtbahn* and *Strassenbahn* system was a vast improvement, “offering a large part of the Viennese population better and easier transportation possibilities from their homes to their places of work.” It would also, Schürff predicted, “create employment opportunities for workers, give industry lucrative contracts,” and notably it would “without a

5.1 Graph comparing number of housing units provided in Gemeindefbauten and Stadlungen between 1919 and 1926. [Der Aufbau, nos. 8/9 (1926): 129].



doubt increase settlement activity on the periphery of Vienna."¹⁰ In 1923, however, none of this was yet possible. Electric streetcar service, discontinued during the war, was not reestablished until 1925; because of fuel shortages, before 1923 neither streetcar nor *Stadtbahn* service was operational in Vienna.¹¹

As we have seen, the situation regarding the availability of building land within the city was complex. The largest area of open land was the *Wald- und Wiesengürtel*, Vienna's protected green zone on which the city could not and would not build.¹² Except for disused military parade and exercise grounds, on which the Social Democrats built their first municipal housing, the city possessed few large tracts of land or urban parcels that had not been zoned for other purposes. The municipality, as we have noted, was also severely handicapped by the lack of an effective expropriation law. The existing statute of 4 February 1919 was useless in the majority of cases. In the few cases when it had been used—for example, in acquiring land for the Hoffingergasse and Rosenhügel *Siedlungen*—the legal proceedings took four years, and the costs were equal to the purchase price of the land itself.¹³ Despite repeated attempts to revise the law, the only result was political deadlock; it remained unchanged throughout the interwar period.¹⁴ Therefore, all land had to be purchased in the open market, which was not only costly but also made it difficult to put together a sufficient number of adjacent lots for settlement housing purposes.¹⁵

Another factor in the Social Democrats' decision is often overlooked. The *Wohnbausteuer* (housing construction tax) introduced by the municipality in 1923 to finance its building program and earmarked for housing construction was restricted even more narrowly. An amendment submitted by the Christian Socialist opposition and carried by the Vienna City Council limited the use of these tax revenues to housing construction within the existing boundaries of Greater Vienna.¹⁶

There were other factors in the Social Democrats' decision to favor the apartment *Hof* over the settlement *Haus*. In November 1923 Jacob Reumann retired and a new Social Democratic mayor, Karl Seitz (1869–1950), was elected by the city council. Reumann had been a staunch supporter of the cooperative *Gartensiedlung* movement. As Vienna's first socialist mayor he had presided over the city's slow emergence from the devastation of the war. He had been sympathetic to and supportive of the self-help efforts of the wild settlers and had founded the *Siedlungsamt* to assist them. During his tenure the building code had been revised to facilitate the construction of *Kleinhäuser* (small houses), *Kleingärten* (allotment gardens) and *Siedlung* zones had been established, a settlement museum had been founded in city hall, and a series of settlement and allotment garden exhibitions had been held annually between 1919 and 1923. Reumann was perceived as a champion of the independent settler and allotment gardener, as well as of the cooperative *Gartensiedlung* movement itself.¹⁷

Reumann's successor, a former schoolteacher and captivating public speaker who in May 1919 had briefly been president (the first) of the German-Austrian Republic, was viewed as having a "high-rise soul" and perceived as an opponent of the settlement movement.¹⁸ In June 1924 at the opening of one of the new housing complexes, Karl Seitz declared: "Now begins the new building period, in which we will no longer construct small single buildings with narrow courts, but large communal housing complexes, in which the people will live as a mass together, and yet each person, according to his individuality, can also live a particular and private life. The universal need for recreation and relaxation will be provided for in beautiful parks for the use of all. We want to educate our young not as individualists, outsiders, loners. Rather they should be raised communally and be brought up as socialized individuals."¹⁹

Of course there was a long tradition of communal forms of housing within the socialist movement; Fourier's Phalanstère, Godin's Familistère and Owen's New Harmony were utopian projects often cited as historical reference points for the Social Democrats' ideas regarding communal housing forms.²⁰ And Seitz was not the only member of the Social Democratic leadership to advocate large communal housing blocks over settlement houses. In 1919, in *Der Weg zum Sozialismus*, Otto Bauer had argued in favor of apartment living on feminist grounds. Large housing complexes provided with extensive communal facilities, he maintained, relieved working women of the "double burden" of job and household.²¹ Feminists within the socialist movement endorsed this, recommending both the professionalization of physically demanding domestic work and apartment living in general as less labor-intensive for women than single-family forms of housing.²² Furthermore, extensive communal facilities, the Social Democrats argued, could only be provided in large, unified housing blocks; it was not economically viable to supply settlements of single-family houses with such facilities.²³ Even Ernst May, building director of Frankfurt-am-Main, supported this view. In an article in *Der Aufbau* in 1926, "Hochbau oder Flachbau" ("High-Rise or Low-Rise Building"), May noted that the debate regarding housing typology was so intense because it involved two conflicting "worldviews," divided along gender rather than economic lines. "After becoming accustomed to big-city life women in particular, on whom the burden of physical labor in the home falls, find the return to living on the land most difficult."²⁴

Yet such concerns were not the true focus of debate. In fact in Vienna the *Siedlung* house was never considered a viable alternative to the apartment house. The new era of *Gemeindebauten* construction heralded by Seitz was conceived in relation not to the cooperative *Gartensiedlung* movement, but rather to the period of speculative building that had preceded it and pro-

duced the "desolate rental barracks" of prewar Vienna, "the period in which the Viennese had been the slaves of capitalism."²⁵ The issue was not building type but organization of the housing market—and changing it required reorganization of the urban terrain and building operations on a much larger scale than had hitherto been attempted.

In the period from 1919 to 1922, a total of 3,209 housing units had been provided in Vienna with municipal help. Of these 673 were in cooperative *Siedlungen*. The organization and supervision of their design and construction had been inefficient, cumbersome, and expensive for the city to administer; and the results were modest.²⁶ Furthermore, throughout that period the number of homeless registered in Vienna rose steadily.²⁷ By the end of 1923, with public money in hand and the number of homeless in the city continuing to rise, the Social Democrats needed quicker and more visible results.

They were also in a unique position to concentrate their resources on the construction of housing without having to provide the urban infrastructure to support it. Under the Christian Socialist mayor Karl Lueger, the urban infrastructure of Vienna had been extensively modernized and all of Vienna's newly incorporated districts provided with drinking water, gas, electricity, sewage, road, and public transportation systems in the 1890s and early 1900s. That infrastructure also allowed the Social Democrats to cut construction costs, since the streetcar and *Stadtbahn* lines, could be used during the night to transport building materials from the city-owned factories directly to building sites. In this way both transportation and off-site storage costs were significantly reduced.²⁸

It seems clear that a series of decisions—to build as many dwelling units as quickly as possible, to use funds from the *Wohnbausteuer* and other taxes for construction rather than land purchase and infrastructure, to control building costs by centralizing the administration and management of building operations, to

build in large units to a definite program over a precise period of time, and to mass-produce standardized components—were determining factors in the Social Democrats' decision in 1923 to favor urban *Gemeindebauten* over suburban *Siedlungen*. The choice of building type, they maintained, was pragmatic; it was dictated by necessity, not ideology. "The multistory building type selected by the city council was the only one possible for Vienna," Franz Musil claimed in June 1926. But it was "chosen with full awareness that thereby something good and superior would be achieved. The dwellings in these apartment blocks in fact represent a considerable advance in Viennese domestic culture [*Wohnkultur*]."19

But there were also political and cultural factors in the decision. The choice of an urban housing typology, the Social Democrats claimed, was dictated by tradition and preference. The majority of Viennese, they argued, wanted to live in the city and had done so, in rented apartments, since the eighteenth century. Furthermore, green areas for recreation, as well as places of work, were generally accessible by streetcar or *Stadtbahn*.²⁰ Against the charge that the Social Democrats were proposing to build "rabbit hutches," Franz Siegel claimed that "it was not accurate that all people wanted to live in such low-rise [*Siedlung*] houses"; indeed, there are people who "purposefully and voluntarily intend to crawl into these so-called rabbit hutches, particularly once they are equipped and fitted as we intend to fit and equip them."²¹

Even leading proponents of the settlement movement acknowledged that single-family settlement housing was not a universal solution to the housing problem in Vienna. "It is asking too much of the Viennese, who for 100 years have lived in a green city, a proverbial garden city, to want to move out of the city into a modern garden city," asserted Friedrich Bauermeister, an associate of Otto Neurath's in the *Siedlungsverband*. Hans Kampffmeyer, director of the *Siedlungsamt*, also noted that *Gartensiedlung* housing

was not suited to all workers. A disadvantage of the cooperative *Siedlung*, he acknowledged, was that "settlement work [*Siedlungsarbeit*]" is understandably much harder physically and psychologically for intellectual workers than for manual laborers"; consequently a whole segment of the population is unsuited to settlement living.²² Loos had also made the observation that settlement housing was not for everyone. Only those who want to do so should grow their own food, he asserted. (But those who do, Loos proposed, should be granted the land, though they should be required to pay for the houses in which they will live on that land.)²³ Even Otto Neurath conceded that it would not be possible, given the historical conditions, to meet the need for housing by building *Siedlungen*. There is not enough land; indeed, it would perhaps be difficult immediately to create a sufficient number of well-functioning settlement associations to tackle the task. By the time satisfactory land-use reforms are in place, too much time will have passed. Therefore, even . . . opponents of the traditional *Grossstadt*, who favor the settlement form of housing, must consider high-rise building for a while longer, and the representatives of the settlement and allotment garden movement must immediately come to terms with the high-rise issue. The question at the moment in Vienna is not *whether* to build apartment blocks, but rather *where* and in *what form*.²⁴

HOCHBAU VERSUS FLACHBAU Despite the seeming consensus on the inevitability of apartment blocks, the decision in 1923 to build urban *Gemeindebauten* and not suburban *Siedlungen*, unleashed a fierce typological debate in Parliament, city council, and the architectural press, as well as in Vienna's politically affiliated daily newspapers, that raged with varying degrees of intensity throughout the 1920s.²⁵ Though framed in terms of *Hochhausbau* versus *Flachbau* (high-rise versus low-rise building), the issue was not actually building type so much as urban concentration: the centralization of urban land development versus decentralization and dispersed suburban settlement.



Before and during World War I, the ideology of decentralization had been espoused by liberal reform groups, in particular the German and Austrian garden city associations.¹⁴ But its principal advocates were radical conservative "back to the land" *Bodenreform* groups. Urban historians have shown that the anti-urban ideology of these groups was founded variously on economic, biological, cultural, social, and psychological arguments, which tended to be broadly theoretical and to be allied with anti-industrial neoromantic agrarianism or nationalism.¹⁵ In general, the socialist parties in both countries, whose constituencies and power base were concentrated in the urban industrial centers, opposed the principle of decentralization and dispersed forms of settlement. The city was not only the proper "home" of the proletariat but also the social environment within which working-class consciousness itself would develop, could be fostered and heightened.¹⁶ Furthermore socialist theory held that in addition to these political benefits, the city offered positive cultural and social advantages to the proletariat. The city was a stimulant to body and intellect, the locus of the creative energy and the technological and social progress that were shaping the modern world.¹⁷

After the war, however, urban economic collapse in both Germany and Austria cast the *Siedlung* and decentralized forms of settlement in a new light. As we saw in chapter 3, during the immediate postwar period decentralization was embraced by the left as a possible solution to urban conditions of near starvation. In Vienna in particular, where settlement housing was not associated with prewar garden city or conservative *Bodenreform* ideas but had sprung from spontaneous self-help and subsistence gardening movements, the *Siedlung* not only had come to be linked with progressive social reform and radical politics but also was seen as one of the key sites of typological and technological innovation in architecture in the 1920s, where new forms of social and spatial organization, new methods

of construction and production, and new principles of site planning were being developed.¹⁸

Therefore, for the architects involved in the *Siedlung* movement in Vienna—Adolf Loos, Josef Frank, Margarete Lihotzky, Franz Schuster, and others then associated with the Siedlungsamt and Baubüro of the Österreichischer Verband für Siedlungs- und Kleingartenwesen (ÖVSK),—the *Siedlung* movement was central to the architectural project of cultural modernism in Vienna.¹⁹ Conversely, its dissolution seemed to indicate clearly that the Social Democrats in Vienna had abandoned the modernist cause and rejected progressive architecture and cultural practices generally. Loos himself attributed the Social Democrats' abandonment of the cooperative *Siedlung* movement to the influence of conservative bureaucrats in the city building office; by Max Ermer's account, they saw Loos and the other "private" architects (who were not career civil servants) as their "mortal enemies" and were constantly trying to "trip us up," and "sabotage [Loos's] plans."²⁰ As early as 1921 Kampffmeyer had written to Jacob Reumann, "[T]he atmosphere in the *Siedlungsamt* is so poisoned by intrigues and friction of all kinds that I must refuse to assume responsibility for the calm, systematic execution of work, unless fundamental changes are implemented."²¹ Anton Brenner, whose designs for built-in furniture were repeatedly rejected by city building officials, claimed that most of the bureaucrats were conservative in both their architectural attitudes and their political attitudes. Many, he claimed, were propertied, the sons of landlords, who had been employed in the building office since before the war and were bent on subverting the socialists' building program by throwing obstacles in the way of the architects commissioned to design the new buildings.²²

In an editorial in *Wasmuths Monatshefte*, Werner Hegemann suggested that it was the Social Democratic politicians who were not well enough informed regarding architectural matters either to question or

to counter the arguments of the professionals in the city building office, who as architectural conservatives favored the traditional Viennese multistory apartment block over the more innovative *Siedlung* house. At the same time, the majority of Viennese architects, Hegemann claimed, had shirked their professional responsibility by taking no stand at all and simply "accepting the political program of building 25,000 dwellings without properly evaluating it or attempting to improve it from a cultural and social perspective." Instead the "Austrian architectural profession praised the building program, but not for its political and financial achievements—aspects which are indeed praiseworthy—but for its architectural and cultural achievements." This was negligence of a high order, Hegemann charged, since "The politicians and building authorities were not the right people to give such a vast project a cultural, urbanistic, and artistically significant direction." Moreover, "In Vienna because of the political attitude of the city officials, architects would have had a particularly easy time influencing the architectural direction of the program, if only they had tried, and not just been concerned with getting contracts for themselves." He blamed the failure of the *Siedlung* movement in Vienna on its having had no prewar history in Austria: "Except in architectural circles where the German literature on the subject was known, the technical, financial, social, and cultural questions involved were a complete *Neuland* [unexplored territory] in Vienna. Building officialdom, in particular, [was] still ignorant of the settlement movement, and largely resistant to it. The people who live in *Siedlungen* are pitied in Vienna."⁴⁵

This was of course not entirely true; nor was the frequent charge that Viennese Stadtbauamt architects were uneducated and ignorant of developments in housing and town planning elsewhere in Europe. In fact, not only the heads of departments, but also the regular staff of the Architekturabteilung (Architecture Bureau of the Stadtbauamt) had undertaken study

tours of housing in the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, Czechoslovakia, and England in the early 1920s.⁴⁶ Though the Social Democratic politicians who were the administrative heads of the municipal departments of public works and housing may not have been familiar with the literature on the garden city movement or the larger discourse on town planning of which it was a part—they were, after all, neither intellectuals nor academically trained architects, but came out of the building trades—the professionals in the city building office most certainly would have been. The first director of the Stadtbauamt after the war, Dr. Heinrich Goldemund (1863–1947), was an engineer trained at the Technical University who had held a number of different posts in the city's development office (*Büro für Stadtregulierung*) between 1894 and 1913, when he was appointed *Stadtbauinspektor*. Goldemund had won second prize in a competition held in 1896 for the layout of the Stubenviertel, the area around the last section of Ringstrasse (the Stubenring), completed in the early 1900s. (First prize went to Otto Wagner, whose Postal Savings Bank of 1904–1906, 1910–1912 was at the center of the district.) Both during his term as director and after his retirement in 1920, Goldemund wrote extensively on matters of urban design and planning in Vienna. His successors in the Stadtbauamt—Max Fiebiger, like Goldemund an engineer by training, and director from 1920 to 1925; and especially Franz Musil, director from 1925 to 1942, who was an engineer and specialist in transportation—would certainly also have been familiar with the ideas and works of the German garden city and town planning theorists.⁴⁷

According to Hegemann, the primary reason for the lack of official support for the *Siedlung* movement in Vienna was the fact that "the *Siedlungsmann*, which emerged out of the duress of postwar conditions, had no influence on the city building authority, and was not even affiliated with the Stadtbauamt, but rather with the municipal Housing Office."⁴⁸ Yet both Franz



Siegel and Franz Musil repeatedly claimed to favor the single-family house and *Siedlung* over the apartment block. In March 1921 Siegel had declared in the city council that “if a building program is implemented in Vienna in the next few years, it can only be low-rise construction [auf dem Gebiete des Flachbaus]. I have advanced and represented this point of view and do not intend to change my position.” Elsewhere he asserted, “the real housing ideal . . . is the one-and two-family house in the *Gartensiedlung*.”⁵²

As Siegel himself noted in the city council, “High- or low-rise is not a matter of party politics; we find advocates of low-rise and high-rise building on both the right and the left.”⁵³ It is true that the political lines of the so-called typological debate were not clearly drawn, and there were indeed advocates and opponents of the single-family house as well as of the multistory apartment block in both political camps. On the whole, conservatives tended to favor the single-family house and to oppose the construction of large, centrally located municipal apartment complexes intended to house sizable numbers of industrial workers, who could also be assumed to be Social Democratic Party members. In right-wing propaganda, the socialist apartment blocks were portrayed as “Red Fortresses”; as both “voter blocks” and military “garrisons”; as “places of assembly for rebellious groups,” strategically sited at “every major point of communication, every avenue, and near all railroads and bridges.”⁵⁴ Yet many conservatives also favored *Hochbau*. And as we have seen, the inner-city apartment block was also strongly opposed by left-wing socialist groups, particularly those associated with the settlement movement. Here the issue was not so much type or location as the form the administrative organization would take—decentralized and cooperative, or centralized and municipal.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, the oft-repeated claim by Social Democratic building officials that if it had been possible, they would have built low-rise one- and two-

family houses in Vienna was something of a red herring—not so much because it was not true as because housing typology was not the issue. Indeed, much of the debate was a smokescreen for what was really at stake: not building type, or even housing, but the city itself. On this point Social Democrats, whether they were proponents of *Siedlung* houses or multistory apartment blocks, were in agreement. “The question for us,” Gustav Scheu, who spearheaded the *Siedlung* movement in city hall, had declared in 1920, “is not metropolis or town [*Grasstadt oder Kleinstadt*]; we start from the position that Vienna will continue to exist as a metropolis.”⁵⁶ And whether they favored *Hof-* or *Kleinhaus* construction, the Social Democrats understood and approached the “housing question” itself as a problem of planning that involved not only dwelling and community, but the entire city. Indeed, at the Party Congress in October 1923, a resolution (tabled by the ÖVSK) was passed stating that “whenever proletarian city council majorities exist, building activity should be brought into line with existing proletarian organizations and unified in a comprehensive development plan.”⁵⁷

In October 1923 the ÖVSK requested a subvention from the municipality in order to prepare a comprehensive development plan for consideration by the city building department. Five architects—Adolf Loos, Josef Frank, Oskar Strnad, Josef Hoffmann, and Peter Behrens (who had recently been appointed to the professorship held by Otto Wagner from 1894 to 1912, at the Akademie für Bildende Künste, and whose teaching contract stipulated that the Academy would provide him with building projects in Vienna)—were commissioned by the ÖVSK to prepare a *Generalarchitekturplan* (general architectural plan) for Vienna.⁵⁸ The purpose of the plan was to designate certain areas throughout the city as allotment and settlement zones.⁵⁹ But its purview, as Otto Neurath explained in an article in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in October 1923, was to extend far beyond this to encompass

the whole city as a “cultural, economic, and aesthetic unit,” and all building types within it—residential, industrial, commercial, institutional—in relation to each other as integrated components of an organic whole.⁵⁷ The *Generalarchitekturplan* was to differ fundamentally from the old *Generalregulierungsplan* (general development plan) of 1893. Unlike the latter, it was concerned not only with the two dimensions of city planning—street plan, urban infrastructure, land and lot division—but with all three dimensions of building (*Bebauung*); it would consider the “architectonic unity” of the city as a whole.⁵⁸

With regard to the distribution of housing, the architectonic conception of the city plan implied the full integration of *Siedlung* housing into the existing urban fabric. The settlement and allotment garden zones were not to be “islands” on the periphery, but rather “green tongues” reaching into the built-up inner districts of Vienna. Allotment gardens were to be maintained, not built upon. Tall buildings were to be located either on main traffic arteries or in vacant lots in areas where high-rise buildings already existed.⁵⁹ In general, however, new residential building was to be in the form of low-rise *Siedlungen*, incorporating allotment gardens. The image behind this conception might well have been Rudolf Eberstadt and Bruno Möhring’s third prize-winning scheme for the Gross-Berlin competition of 1910, where green wedges driven into the old urban core created a system of parks radiating out from the city center.⁶⁰ Möhring and Eberstadt’s design, which was published in *Die Gartenkunst* in 1910, was also interesting for the commingling of high- and low-rise housing typologies it proposed; low-rise cottages ranged along residential streets, encircled by high-rise apartment blocks flanking major commercial arteries.⁶¹

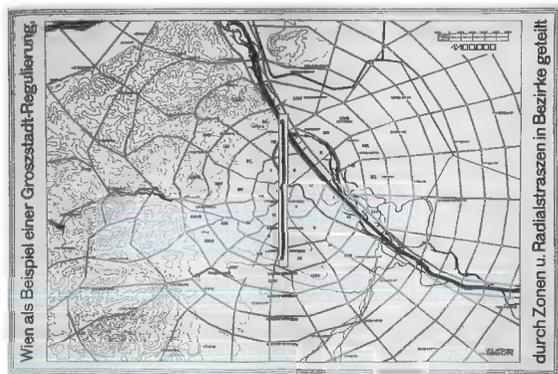
But the principal image evoked in Neurath’s prescriptions for the *Generalarchitekturplan*, which would mix not only housing typologies but also urban social and economic functions throughout the city, was Otto

Wagner’s illustrated text *Die Grossstadt: Eine Studie über diese (The Metropolis: A Study of the Same)*, published in 1911 (figures 5.2–5.4).⁶² It is axiomatic, Wagner here declared, “that the administration of a great city demands its division into wards.” These wards or districts (*Bezirke*), which are brought together by the technical infrastructure of the metropolis, must still, in terms of their cultural and social infrastructure, be complete in themselves. “[T]here is no use in planning entire wards for particular classes or purposes since workmen, employees of high and low rank, officials, and so on will and must make their homes in their own particular wards.” Each ward, Wagner insisted, must have its own “parks, [public] gardens, playgrounds, schools, churches, traffic routes, markets, municipal buildings, . . . department stores, centers for the handling of . . . traffic, garages, morgues, even theaters, special museums, libraries, barracks, asylums, workshops, public halls, etc.” Yet the municipal administration of the metropolis must have strong centralized control over urban development: “It is possible for the city, by regulation of prices, allotments, etc., to direct its growth in certain directions, to reserve the necessary public lands in each ward, to limit the present flourishing speculation in real estate, and with the resulting profits to carry out plans for city improvement on a large scale.”⁶³ Despite the somewhat chilling image of how “largeness of conception” could manifest itself in architectonic unity at a scale of 5.1 million square meters—Wagner’s plan and bird’s-eye perspective of “the future twenty-second district of Vienna” that accompanied his text (but were “not offered as models to be copied”)—the text itself provided a convincing argument for municipal building at large scale within the city as well as an example of how the urban morphology of the historical city could be adapted to the new mass scale and technological social character of the modern *Grossstadt*.⁶⁴

The *Generalarchitekturplan* proposed by Neurath and the ÖVSK was intended to be such a plan. It

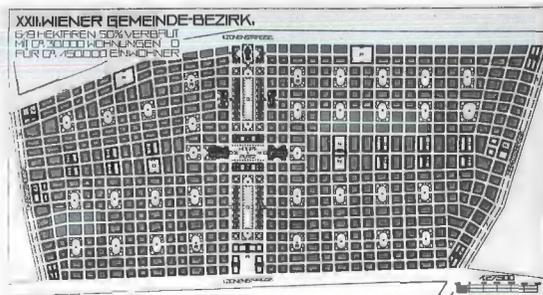


GROSSSTADT AND PROLETARIAT



5.2 Top: "Vienna as an example of metropolitan planning, divided into districts by zoning and radiating streets." From Wagner, *Die Grossstadt* (1911): 12-13.

5.3 "Site plan for projected XXII Vienna Municipal District." From Wagner, *Die Grossstadt* (1911): 11.





5.4 "Aerial perspective, center of projected XXII Vienna Municipal District." Drawing by Otto Wagner for Die Grossstadt (1911).

would comprehend the city in its totality as an economic and cultural entity, rather than as a Sitteesque composition of discrete squares, views, and prospects. And yet it would be concerned with three-dimensional spatial relationships and the "architectonic unity" of each district and of the city as a whole. "The spirit of modern architecture" manifest in such a plan, Neurath claimed, "is the spirit of mass (extraterritorial) organization [*Grossorganisation*], which is the spirit that lives in the labor movement."⁶⁵

The *Generalarchitekturplan* was to supersede the *Siedlungsplan* developed by the ÖVSK and Siedlungsamt in 1921. The earlier plan, according to Neurath, had established allotment and settlement zones, but it did not impinge upon the old city. It left the "closed high-rise districts fundamentally unchanged" and merely designated areas within them: "islands handed over to the new time and its uncertain claims."⁶⁶ The new plan was to be far more comprehensive, encompassing both private and municipal building. It was intended to answer a fundamental question: "How can the extension of a great city like Vienna be systematically carried out in a unified spirit and according to an overarching plan, while still allowing each architect to express his own personality and artistic vision, since only if such freedom exists can something vigorous and powerful be achieved?"⁶⁷ It was also intended to preserve the existing allotment garden installations and to ensure that in the future, the allotments planted on city-owned land would be protected by law and not sacrificed to high-rise building.⁶⁸

In a public hearing held in the Favoriten Arbeiterheim (Working Men's Home) in January 1924, the ÖVSK presented a preliminary scheme for the *Generalarchitekturplan*. On that occasion Neurath, as well as Adolf Müller (head of one of the largest cooperatives) and Peter Behrens, spoke about the project and the proper relationship between high-rise and low-rise buildings, allotment gardens and garden suburbs, in the overall plan of the city. Neurath presented a design

for mixed-height inner-city building developed by Oskar Strnad (see figure 8.57) for an area in the district of Favoriten in which different housing typologies—low-rise *Siedlung* row houses, high-rise apartment buildings, and medium-height terraced blocks—were variously sited along main traffic arteries, in open parkland, along midsize commercial streets and so on, to demonstrate the synthesis of building types and urban spatial configurations that the new *Generalarchitekturplan* was intended to promote. In an effort to sway city building authorities, the ÖVSK invited foreign specialists and garden city advocates, including the Berlin town planner Hermann Jansen, to participate in public discussions of the plan.⁶⁹

But by March 1924 it was clear that those efforts had failed. A series of decrees issued by the city council restricted the expansion of existing settlement zones.⁷⁰ Finally, in August 1924 the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* announced that in order to build the first 10,000 dwellings in the new building program, the municipality found it necessary to appropriate city-owned allotment land.⁷¹ In the end, despite the combined efforts of Neurath and the ÖVSK, a comprehensive *Generalarchitekturplan* for Vienna was never developed, though six settlement and allotment garden zones were created in areas where *Siedlungen* had already been built (see figure 3.2): Heuberg, Lainz, Rosenhügel, Hofingergrasse, Laaerberg, and Strassacker.⁷²

Neurath, Schuster, Schacherl, and the other architects in Vienna associated with the journal *Der Aufbau* continued to champion the idea of a comprehensive expansion plan for Vienna and a centralized planning agency (as in Frankfurt and Berlin) in city hall. The project was revived in September 1926, when the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning (formerly the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association) convened in Vienna. The themes of the congress: "ownership of the urban terrain and its impact on city and regional

planning" and "the rational distribution of single family and multifamily housing," struck at the heart of the Social Democrats' building program.⁷¹ Delegates from seventeen countries attended three days (14–16 September) of discussions, followed by three days of tours of Vienna and nearby sites and towns. Of the 1,100 participants, only 43 were Viennese and 14 of those were official delegates representing the municipality.⁷² Nevertheless, the congress had been eagerly anticipated by *Siedlung* and garden city advocates in Vienna, who saw it as an opportunity to garner international support for the *Gartensiedlung* movement in Vienna and thus to pressure city officials into redirecting the building program toward low-rise suburban development. Their efforts were partly successful. The federation officially declared that though the absence of effective laws of eminent domain made it necessary for the Viennese to build multistory apartment blocks in built-up areas where the city owned land, it was also to be hoped "that the construction of tall buildings would remain a passing apparition, and that building in general would move toward realization of the garden city idea."⁷³

In the pages of *Der Aufbau* Schuster, Neurath, and others continued to press for the establishment of a planning office (outside the Stadtbauamt) in city hall and the creation of a new position of "Vienna city planner." Citing Berlin's recent appointment of Martin Wagner as exemplary in this regard, Schuster, in the last issue of *Der Aufbau*, even proposed a candidate; the Dresden planner, socialist, and author of *Wirtschaftlicher Städtebau* (*Economic Town Planning*, 1926), Hans Ludwig Sierks.⁷⁴ But by the end of 1926 the Social Democrats' five-year building program was well on its way and the fate of the settlement movement had been sealed.⁷⁵ By early 1927 Franz Schuster, Margarete Lihotzky, and Anton Brenner had decamped for Frankfurt's *Hochbauamt* (building office) where they took up positions that they had been offered by Ernst May when he visited Vienna in 1926.⁷⁶

TOWN PLANNING AND PROLETARIAT The failure of the *Generalarchitekturplan* project signaled the end of the cooperative settlement movement, but Neurath expanded on some of the town planning ideas it contained in "Städtebau und Proletariat" ("Town Planning and Proletariat"), an article in the Austro-Marxist monthly *Der Kampf* in June 1924.⁷⁷ The success of a comprehensive development plan such as the *Generalarchitekturplan*, he asserted, was contingent on the city obtaining control over its own territory and having "authority over the disposition of land which determines who can and is permitted to build." Later he would note that "the prerequisite for a modern city plan, including the design of a regional *Siedlungsplan*, is a well-formed picture of the economic and social future" of the city and region.⁷⁸ This was the only means by which the city could protect its large-scale, long-term plans against obstruction by the bourgeois capitalist order, which has persistently kept the proletariat from obtaining land on which to build. Vienna, according to Neurath, "is poor in land compared to other European cities. The victory of the Social Democratic party in Vienna is, therefore, the first condition for transforming the cityscape."⁷⁹

"What are the large building ideas that a victorious worker government will unleash?" Neurath asked. In the first place, the city would begin by building up the traditional worker districts: Floridsdorf, Favoriten, Ottakring, Hernals. Though neglected for decades by earlier bourgeois administrations, these districts, unlike the poorer districts of other cities, have wide streets, without slums or noisome narrow alleys; however, he noted, they also lack gardens, cultural facilities, and decent living quarters. "It is self-evident," Neurath claimed, "that a worker administration will think of building large theaters, new school buildings, laboratories, and similar facilities that will have a significant cultural impact on these outer districts." The proletariat will not continue to concentrate public buildings in the inner city: "Instead, the new symbols



of significance and power in Vienna will take shape outside the center, and will entice even foreign visitors to travel outside [the old inner city] into the worker districts. Indeed, perhaps the most modern creations of the time will be visible where the new class, which has ascended to power, gives a new people a place for self-representation."⁸²

Neurath's conception of the new "peripheral center" of the socialist city is particularly striking given town planning ideas and theoretical conceptions of the city then current. Rather than decentralization, Neurath proposes a shift of focus from the old historic and business center to the proletarian outer edge. Instead of dissolving the boundary between city and country by means of exurban, cooperatively run *Trabantensiedle* (satellite towns), as in Frankfurt, Neurath suggests that a socialist building program should reinforce that boundary by strengthening the city's proletarian districts. In other words, in the modern socialist city, the hitherto most neglected area, its ragged industrial edge, would be transformed into the new center of civic life and the locus of its representational institutions and symbols of power.⁸³

Apart from the development of Vienna's traditional worker districts, the "large building ideas of the victorious worker government" enumerated by Neurath in "Städtebau und Proletariat" are remarkably similar to those of prewar bourgeois German town planning theory, in particular those elucidated by Karl Scheffler, Walter Curt Behrendt, and Peter Behrens. In 1913 in *Die Architektur der Grossstadt* (*The Architecture of the Big City*), Scheffler, an art critic and member of the Dürerbund and German Werkbund (who had also studied in Vienna under Hansen, van der Nüll, and Sicardsburg at the Academy of Fine Arts), had suggested that capitalism was soon to enter a new phase in which the centralization of capital (*Truttbildung*) would bring "profligate arbitrary individuality" to an end. As capital and metropolitan building operations centralized, cities would no longer be developed

by "small unscrupulous speculators" in a piecemeal fashion but by large industrial/financial conglomerates that would build on a correspondingly large scale.⁸⁴ "Through this large-scale architectural-commercial synthesis, the concept of the guild, nowadays represented in the organization of great business corporations, would find its aesthetical expression," Scheffler maintained. The new city of finance and industry would, according to Scheffler, be organized into two functionally differentiated parts: a center "of worldwide business and industrial enterprise" where cultural and religious institutions, as well as administrative functions of city and state would be located; and residential zones, consisting of a dense urban belt of apartment buildings surrounded by suburban satellite towns.⁸⁵ The architectural correlative of the new global order of finance and industry was a significant increase in scale. Instead of individual buildings, large complexes of apartment and office blocks as well as department stores would be built according to a unified plan. The continuous street front (*Strassenwand*) would be conceived as a single facade; whole districts would thus grow in unity and "in architectonic composure." "[O]ut of this noble uniformity," Scheffler predicted, "there will emerge a representational monumental style that will have earned the designation 'modern.'" The architectural corollary of the centralization of capital was a new "large-scale, generous, monumental form-language"—a *Wohnutzarchitektur* (worldwide utilitarian architecture), conditioned by the organizational and operational processes of high finance and industrial production.⁸⁶

The impact of centralized control over urban land development on the architecture of the modern metropolis had already been suggested by Walter Curt Behrendt, whose dissertation, "Die einheitliche Blockfront als Raumelement in Stadtbau" ("The Unified Block Facade as a Spatial Element in Urban Design"), was published as a book, dedicated to Scheffler, in 1911. Here Behrendt had argued that the new scale

of open spaces in modern cities—the broad, straight boulevards, vast squares, and seemingly endless prospects of late-nineteenth-century planning—required a new scale and composition of building.⁷ Large unified and typified blocks were needed to define and control those spaces. As examples of building on this scale, he cited the 1860 Heinrichshof (figure 5.5) in Vienna by Theophil Hansen, as well as the other large apartment blocks interspersed among the public buildings on the Ringstrasse. The Heinrichshof itself encompassed three building lots and comprised several apartment buildings. This grouping together of separate apartment blocks into an architectonic unity, Behrendt argued, was not (as the planner Josef Stibben had charged) a dishonest practice. On the contrary, it was less deceitful than the “false individuality” of giving each building on a street a different facade treatment, even though the buildings themselves were more or less identical in terms of plan and program.⁸ Here Behrendt was drawing on Scheffler’s article of 1902 on urban building, “Ein Weg zum Stil” (“A Path Toward Style”), which suggested that uniformity of dwelling plan and external treatment were social requirements of “the democratic present.” Indeed, the essential ob-

5.5 Heinrichshof, Theophil Hansen architect, 1860
(Kortz, *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, II (1900): 419).



jectives of the new urban architecture (*Stadtbauskunst*), Scheffler maintained, were uniformity, typification of the apartment building itself, and the comprehensive coordinated design of entire city blocks.⁹

Peter Behrens made a similar argument, though on different grounds, in a lecture delivered to the German Werkbund and published in 1914: “Einfluss von Zeit- und Raumnutzung auf moderne Formentwicklung” (“The Influence of the Use of Time and Space on the Development of Modern Form”). For Behrens the determining factors were not only economic and industrial organization but also the emergence of a new model of perception conditioned by the tempo of modern metropolitan life. Expanding on themes developed earlier by Georg Simmel and Adolf Loos as well as by Scheffler, Behrens noted that “hurry is the elementary basis of our work, but it has not yet become a cultural form mastered by art.”¹⁰ The task of the architect building in the metropolis is to develop large-scale, simple, typified building forms, the purpose and character of which can be easily grasped by the busy, distracted, fast-moving urban dweller. There was a larger metropolitan dimension to this articulation of purpose and character. As Behrens explained elsewhere, that dimension was both spatial and temporal: “the business center differs from the dwelling districts; the shopping center or pleasure and entertainment quarters distinguish themselves by their striking advertisements, their shop windows, and other features; they also look different at night—we are already allowed to speak of a systematic division of the town into day-and-night architecture by means of light.”¹¹ The starting point in town planning, Behrens wrote in the small manual he published on his *Meisterschule* at the Vienna Academy in 1930, is “simplicity and boldness. . . . Our age no longer sees architecture in the formation of detail, but rather in the proportional grouping of great masses . . . to secure a wholly appropriate total effect.”¹² Within the German Werkbund, uniformity, simplicity, and largeness of scale and

conception—*Einheitlichkeit, Einfachheit, and Grassförmigkeit*—were the characteristics of a new order that was both aesthetic and social.

For Neurath, it was the “spirit of the organized proletariat” rather than monopoly capitalism that would bring forth the new urban structure and space of the modern metropolis. Unity, largeness of scale, monumentality, coherence—all attributes that Scheffler, Behrendt, and Behrens related to a new centralized organization of capital and industry—Neurath claimed for the proletariat and organized labor: “In its organization, the proletariat is accustomed to think and feel on a grand scale [*grassförmig*]. If organized labor did not think in the dimensions of big industry, it would be ineffectual. All our worker organizations are of the largest conceptual scale [*grüsten Stil*!—the party, the unions, the cooperative associations, and the settlement and allotment garden associations. . . . This *Grassförmigkeit* imprints itself architectonically in the streetscape; tendency toward long streets, unified enclosed squares, monumental buildings.”¹⁹ In the new city, Neurath suggests, “the centralization that is characteristic of proletarian socialism is combined architectonically with ascendant democracy and self-government”: “Big, clear, inherently truthful building ideas will once again be realized because the proletariat is a class in the ascendant, that knows what it wants, that has no need for empty appearances.” It was thus hardly surprising “that architects (whatever their different philosophical or artistic convictions may be), who, in the modern spirit, strive for usefulness and clarity in their buildings, should find [the design of the new socialist city] a desirable field of activity.”²⁰ In his conclusion Neurath asked, “What will the future city look like?” His answer: “Above all else it will be shaped by the modern global industrial organization of worldwide business. Harbor installations, railway stations, silos, warehouses, factories, bold vibrating elevated railway lines, iron structures will characterize the future city; at particular points, for particular purposes,

skyscrapers stretching proudly upward will be incorporated harmoniously into the total picture.”²¹

The modern proletarian city as conceived by Neurath differed little from the modern bourgeois city proposed by Scheffler, Behrendt, and other German town planning theorists before the war. In each case the historic core was to be maintained as the administrative and business center of the metropolis. The new city of “worldwide business and industrial enterprise”—with its tall new office buildings and apartment complexes; factories; new social, cultural, and financial institutions; transportation networks; garden suburbs; and so on—was to be built in and around it. Whether socialist or capitalist, the new *Stadtbankunst* (urban architecture) was to be conditioned by the working and thinking processes of modern, technologically advanced, and rationalized industrial production. As Manfredo Tafuri observed, “programming and planned reorganization of building production and of the city as a productive organism” were seen at this time by both “democratic socialism and democratic capitalism” as solving the central problem of urban development by curbing speculation in the city. “Solutions to individual problems,” Tafuri wrote, “tended to be presented as highly generalized models (policies of eminent domain and expropriation, technological experimentation, formal elaboration of the housing project as a standard architectural type) but they revealed their limited efficiency when tested in actual fact.”²²

In Weimar Germany the exurban *Siedlung*, which combined the ideology of decentralization with the rationalization of industry, became the site for a new social partnership between capital and labor.²³ In the mid-1920s, both Frankfurt and Berlin initiated municipal building programs with objectives that went far beyond the production of housing. In Frankfurt Ernst May, who was given extraordinary administrative powers by Mayor Ludwig Landmann (to direct all municipal building in the city, to design a new development

plan, to control the building industry, and to select and supervise a team of collaborators in the planning and design of new housing), synthesized the *Trahanenprinzip* (principle of the satellite town) with rationalization of production to create exurban *Siedlungen* that were “built utopias,” complete in themselves.⁹⁸ Tafuri describes the relentless logic behind the “ideology of the plan” at Frankfurt: “The industrialization of the building yard involved the establishment of a minimal unit of production. The minimal unit fixed upon was the housing project, the *Siedlung*. Within this complex the primary element of the industrial cycle was pivoted on the service nucleus (the *Frankfurter Küche*). The dimensions given the new quarters and their position in the city were decided by the municipal policy on terrain directly administered by the municipality.”⁹⁹

The Social Democrat Martin Wagner, who became Berlin *Stadthausdirektor* (city building director) in 1926 and oversaw the development of Berlin’s peripheral *Grosssiedlungen* (large settlements) in the later 1920s, gradually came to realize the inadequacy of May’s solution and the limitations of urban land reform and rationalization at the municipal level. Such localized planning and organization of the urban economy, Wagner argued in 1929, allowed the historic centers and the productive areas of the city “to accumulate and multiply their contradictions.” The closed economy of the peripheral Frankfurt *Siedlungen*, Tafuri agreed some forty years later, “reflected the fragmentary character of the undertakings.” The city itself remained intact, neither “controlled [nor] restructured as a system in relation to the new decentralized position of the productive centers.”¹⁰⁰ The only solution to the split between city and *Siedlung*—the monopolistic concentration of capital in the historic center and territorial decentralization of industrial nuclei—Wagner suggested, was global control of the economic plan; making architecture and urbanism the objects rather than subjects of the plan.¹⁰¹ Industry thus would not only accompany the *Siedlung* into the country, it would

provide the organizational methods and technical means for producing that housing.

In Austria there was not the same bond as in Germany between housing and industry. The *Siedlung* movement as we have seen evolved out of radical politics and anarchy—out of the postwar council movements and self-help subsistence farming, not conservative decentrist ideology. We have also seen that economic and political circumstances in Vienna in the early 1920s precluded both the rationalization of building and the expansion of the urban area that occurred in Frankfurt and Berlin. Yet even advocates of *Siedlung* housing among Social Democrats in Vienna did not reject the city, and few wholeheartedly embraced the economic postulate of the rationalized exurban *Siedlung*.¹⁰² The Viennese had learned from the long history of official neglect of working-class interests that the solution to the housing problem was a matter not of technical modernization but of politics.

As a result the Social Democratic administration of Vienna turned for some of the organizational details of its program to a source closer to home: the proposals put forward by Otto Wagner in *Die Grossstadt*. For the purposes of planning and development, Wagner, like the German theorists, conceived of the modern metropolis in two parts: the “old already existing part” and the “new and undeveloped quarters.” Regulation of the old part involved little more than “maintaining its already existing beauty and making use of it advantageously in the city plan.” With regard to development in such areas, no large principles could pertain; each case had to be considered individually. The “undeveloped quarters,” in contrast, were to be the site of systematic “regulation on a large scale.”¹⁰³ Here, economic considerations were of primary significance. Though not all were realized, a number of Wagner’s suggestions—that the municipality systematically acquire urban land for future development along predetermined lines, that it obtain legal powers of expropriation, and that it develop revenue-generating

municipal enterprises to fund the construction of "things which are now scarcely thought of, but which cannot be omitted from the plan of the future metropolis," such as "people's clubs and dwelling houses, municipal sanitoriums, city warehouses, promenades, fountains, observatories, . . . museums, theaters, water-side pavilions"—reappeared eight years later in the Social Democrats' municipal program for Red Vienna.¹⁰⁴

Wagner emphasized two further features of the planned metropolis that derived from his own practice. The first was the vital importance of rapid transit systems and the recognition that circulation within the city occurs at multiple levels and in many directions within three dimensions. Railways are elevated above and depressed below street level; trams, buses, and cabs circulate at grade; and all these local systems must be coordinated with long-distance rail and water transport networks. Wagner himself had been involved in the design of much of this network in Vienna in the 1890s, and his own conception of the organization of the city and particularly of the street (at grade as well as above and below grade) as a complex three-dimensional mechanism was conditioned by that experience. In *Die Grossstadt* Wagner insisted on the "constant circulation through zones," the "movement to and fro through the radial streets," the importance of providing "means of connection between elevated, subway, and street car lines at points of intersection."¹⁰⁵ In his own drawings of the Vienna *Stadtbahn* stations (figure 5.6), Wagner provided the visual corollary to this image of the modern city as mechanized body, in elaborate sections that cut through buildings, bridges, viaducts, streets, railway tunnels, and riverbeds to show the vital interconnections among these systems, on which the life and proper functioning of the city itself depends.

The second feature of the planned metropolis stressed by Wagner was the rented apartment, which he maintained was the only proper urban dwelling

form. In *Die Grossstadt* Wagner made the point (conceded by Neuwirth in "Städtebau und Proletariat" that "the longed-for detached house in the still more longed-for garden city can never satisfy the popular need, since as a result of the pressure of economy in living expenses, of the increase and decrease in the size of families, of change of occupation and position in life, there must be constant shifting and change in the desires of the masses. The needs which arise from such changing conditions can be satisfied only by rented apartment dwellings, and never by individual houses." In direct opposition to Camillo Sitte, Wagner added: "To hark back to tradition, to make 'expression' or picturesque the controlling consideration in designing homes for the man of today, is absurd in the light of modern experience. The number of city dwellers who today prefer to vanish in the mass as mere numbers on apartment doors is considerably greater than those who care to hear the daily 'good morning, how are you?' from their gossipy neighbors in single

5.6 Study for Stadtbahn Station Fandmondsbrücke, by Otto Wagner. Plan and section showing bridge, street, canal, and underground tunnel levels, 1896. [Wagner, *Empfehlungen, Projekte u. ausgeführte Eisenwerke* (1897): 2-Blatt 53].



houses”¹⁰⁶ The same argument regarding tradition and preference was subsequently used by the Social Democrats to defend their choice of an urban housing typology for the municipal building program in 1923.

Both these features of Wagner’s planned metropolis—the emphasis on the dense, vertically stratified living, work, and circulation space of the city and the outright rejection of both the garden city and suburban single-family house—distinguished his conception of the *Grossstadt* from those of the German Werkbund. And though the Social Democratic municipality of Vienna did not follow the implications of either idea through to its logical conclusion, these particular features of Wagner’s planned metropolis, as well as the extreme anonymity and mobility of the urban dweller proposed by Wagner, reappear as central components of Ludwig Hilberseimer’s theoretical conception of the Social Democratic high-rise city developed a few years later and depicted in his *Grossstadt-architektur* in 1927 (figure 5.7). We might note that Hilberseimer’s project was conceived as a critique of Le Corbusier’s *Ville contemporaine* plan of 1922, in which the central business district is surrounded by residential garden suburbs. In other words, Hilberseimer’s critique was directed against just those features of Le Corbusier’s plan that were closest to the urban conceptions of the German Werkbund, those of Scheffler and Behrens in particular, that Wagner also had so adamantly rejected in *Die Grossstadt*.¹⁰⁷

The Social Democrats in Vienna thus had no clear conception of the socialist city, or rather their conception did not differ significantly from reforms to the bourgeois city proposed before the war. The guiding principles for Neurath’s plan of the proletarian *Grossstadt*—centralized control over urban land development, comprehensive planning, and large-scale building—were not new and had been proposed by bourgeois architects and urban theorists decades earlier. One reason for this dependence on preexisting

models, suggested by Günther Uhlig in reference to Germany, was that “anti-bourgeois architects and artists found it just as hard as the average Social Democrat to visualize the day when they would have to exchange their ‘passive formal radicalism’ for constructive work. They were thus not prepared.”¹⁰⁸ But though the Social Democrats in Vienna did not have a clear conception of the future socialist city, they did have a profound understanding of the historical city and the relationship between power and space that it shaped. Consequently their understanding of housing was political and cultural, viewed in terms not only of the private space of the domestic interior but of the public space of the city, and as one of the many institutions that structure urban society. Committed to transforming that structure, the Viennese rejected the economic postulate of *Trabantenstadt* and *Grossiedlung* and chose instead to engage the historic space of the city itself.

To a large extent, the decision taken by the Social Democrats in 1923 to build urban *Gemeindebauten* rather than suburban *Siedlungen* was pragmatic. Because of political and economic circumstances in Austria after World War I, Vienna—unlike Frankfurt or Berlin—could neither expand territorially nor rationalize its building industry. Yet, as we have seen, many of the measures taken by the municipality were not entirely the result of pragmatism, but had been recommended by German town planning theorists before the war. The city’s choices were certainly reinforced, if not informed by, prewar bourgeois town planning theory as it was assimilated into Social Democratic land reform policies.

For much of the interwar period, as we have noted, the municipality was not even empowered to expropriate urban building land for public uses without entering into protracted and debilitating legal proceedings. But it was far from powerless. The Social Democratic municipality of Vienna could—without legal or other impediment—change building practice



GROSSSTADT AND PROLETARIAT

within the compass of its own building program and the borders of the urban territory over which it had jurisdiction. And this is what it chose to do: to build according to its own standards—"standards that no private or speculative builder could achieve"—and according to its own programmatic requirements.¹⁰⁹ Red Vienna chose, in other words, to build *against*, while remaining safely *within*, the legal parameters of the building code.¹¹⁰

The decision to insert *Gemeindebauten* into the existing fabric of Vienna, therefore, was a decision to engage not only the topography but also the history of

Vienna and to enter into debate with the forces that had shaped it. By intricately interweaving the spaces of the "New Vienna" with those of the "Old Vienna," the Social Democrats seized the opportunity to generate a discursive, dialectical space in the city that destabilized, even while it seemed to reinforce, traditional relationships between building and city, insider and outsider, public and private property and space.

5.7 Project for High-rise City (Hochhausstadt), perspective view, east-west street, by Ludwig Hilberseimer, 1924.

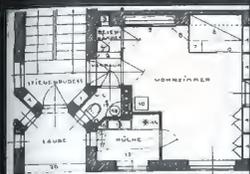




6

THE NEW DWELLING: "THE GEMEINDE-WIEN-TYPE"





What of the form of the new proletarian dwelling space in the Social Democratic city? It would seem that before 1923 the Social Democrats had no fully developed concept of the proletarian dwelling spaces it proposed to build. Though the construction of housing had been a major tenet of the party's *Kommunalpolitik* (communal policy) since 1900, the question of its specific form was not addressed until after World War I.¹

The first programmatic description of the new dwellings was formulated by Gustav Scheu in February 1919. Each apartment, he suggested, would "consist of at least two full-size rooms," including a "living room/kitchen," and would be provided with "adequate light, air, and sunshine. . . . Even within the compass of the smallest dwelling, each unit would be fitted with functional, labor-saving, easy-to-use equipment. In particular, there would be gas, water, and electric light in every dwelling, flush toilets in the compass of the apartment itself, and built-in closets and cabinets."² Depending on the size of the individual dwellings, baths would be provided either within the apartment or in communal facilities. Where feasible, there would be elevators and central heating, and all inhabited rooms would be oriented toward the sun. In buildings with very small apartments, the municipality would provide communal playrooms for children.³ Such housing, well above the general standards of the time, was hardly realizable under current circumstances in Vienna. Scheu was clearly describing an ideal rather than formulating a real program.⁴

Before 1923, descriptions of the housing the Social Democrats proposed to build in Vienna (by city building officials and the party leadership) generally took the form of a long list of existing "housing evils" that the new buildings would abolish. In other words, the new buildings were conceived negatively, in terms of the forms they would *not* take.⁵ Thus, according to Scheu, they would not be "jerry-built"; they would have "no long corridors," "no light shafts," "no shared toilets or water taps."⁶ Beyond these prescriptions, the Social Democrats assumed that the spatial program for the new housing, and the architectural form of the buildings themselves, would emerge out of practice

and through collaboration with "private" architects. "By distributing commissions for new buildings among a larger number of architects in private practice than hitherto," Hugo Breitner declared, "we expect that new ideas and plans will be generated. . . . which will significantly advance our *Wohnkultur*!"⁷

Not surprisingly, the Social Democrats were perceived as having no spatial program for the dwellings they were planning to build, beyond improvement of the appalling conditions in Vienna's existing working-class tenements. The sharpest criticism of this apparent lack of a coherent theoretical or even typological conception of the new proletarian dwelling space, and the municipality's seemingly ad hoc approach to finding a solution, came from a small group of socialist architects—Franz Schuster, Franz Schacherl, and Josef Frank in particular—identified in the press as "left radicals."⁸ These architects claimed that the municipality of Red Vienna evinced little knowledge of typological research and innovations in spatial planning developed in Germany and elsewhere in Europe at that time. The Viennese concept of qualitative improvement, they charged, was nothing more than the embourgeoisement of traditional working-class dwelling space and domestic habits, reflecting the essentially middle-class values of the Social Democratic party leaders and their architects.⁹

This charge was taken up by subsequent historians of Red Vienna and its housing program, including Manfredo Tafuri, Karla Krauss and Joachim Schlandt, and O. Matthias Ungers.¹⁰ Tafuri judged the Viennese concept of the proletarian dwelling deficient typologically, suggesting that the plans of the "dwelling cells" evinced a "great disinterest in typological research." Their organization was "entirely empirical and full of



inconveniences on a functional level."¹¹ According to Ungers, "In terms of their technical planning and construction, these housing complexes could hardly be considered experimental. Only by pre-World War I standards do they seem advanced." To Krauss and Schlardt, "the effect of the plans was the unimaginative *petit-embourgeoisement* of the working class. Collective forms could not be imagined by the planners. For those responsible for the program, progress for the proletariat meant elevating them to middle-class standards of living."¹²

This critique warrants close examination, not only because it raises important questions about the Viennese conception of working-class *Wohnkultur* (domestic culture) and the sociopolitical program of Red Vienna as a whole, but also because it calls into question the ideological underpinnings of the post-World War I housing effort in Europe and the reformist politics of modern architecture with which it was identified. Just how conventional were the plans of the apartments in the Viennese *Gemeindebauten*? How were these plans developed? What relationship did they bear to existing working-class and middle-class apartment plans in Vienna? Finally, how did they differ from the Taylorized apartment plans developed during the same years in the new German housing estates outside Frankfurt and Berlin?

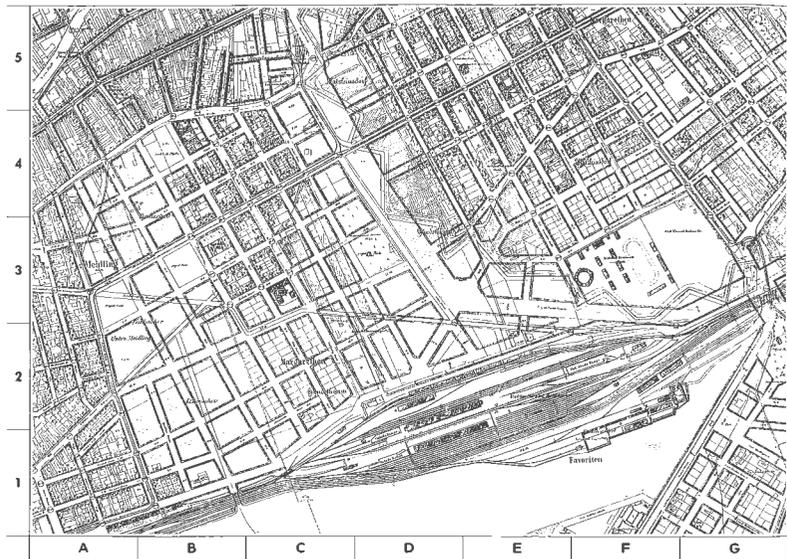
EVOLUTION OF THE "GEMEINDE-WIEN-TYPE"

Although the Social Democratic leadership of Red Vienna was unable to articulate the spatial politics of its new housing program in a programmatic set of planning principles before 1923, city building authorities did have a well-defined set of prescriptions regarding the equipment, access, layout, exposure, and organization of the new working-class dwelling. By 1923 these prescriptions had been formulated into a precise roster of planning guidelines developed by the Architekturabteilung (Architecture Bureau).¹³ Known as the "Gemeinde-Wien-Type" (Vienna Council Type), the

new proletarian dwelling was an apartment that Franz Siegel described as "consisting on average of a full-size room, kitchen, and *Kabine* [a small bedroom]. All rooms are directly lit and, in order for the kitchen to be used as a *Wohnküche* [living room/kitchen], a scullery is built in so that unpleasant tasks of the domestic hearth are removed from the living space of the kitchen."¹⁴ These guidelines continuously evolved. As Josef Bittner, head of the Architecture Bureau, noted, "specific guidelines were given out, but over time these were repeatedly improved and revised."¹⁵

The Gemeinde-Wien-Type did in fact emerge out of practice, in the worst period of postwar inflation between 1919 and 1923; during that time, the city's building efforts were confined to converting disused military barracks, school buildings, and half-built tenements purchased from developers who had been unable to complete them during the war. These conversions usually were of higher quality than the standard tenement plan, including improvements such as proper ventilation for kitchens and toilets; gas, electricity, and water supplied to each apartment; and additional corridor windows.¹⁶ But they did not approach the new standards of hygiene, comfort, and social amenity that the Social Democrats had prescribed for their new buildings.

The first building to meet the Social Democrats' new standards for worker housing was Margaretengürtel 90–98, begun in 1919 and completed in early 1921.¹⁷ Later expanded and renamed the "Metzleitnerhof," this building was the first real *Gemeindebau* of Red Vienna. Like the other housing built during this period, it was a conversion and expansion of a pre-existing building, begun in 1916 and left unfinished during the war. The original building and its later conversion were both designed by Robert Kalesa, an architect who had studied with Friedrich Ohmann at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna; he had designed private apartment buildings and single-family houses in Vienna before and after World War I, but his only



6.1 Map of Margonhan (V) and Meidling (XII) in 1892, showing the foundations of the Linienwall alongside the new Gürteltrasse (General-Stock-Plan, VII-5, 1892).

other interwar housing project was a revision of Loos's site plan for the Lainzer Tiergarten *Gartenstellung* in 1921 when Loos's scheme was rejected by the *Genossenschaft Friedenstadt*.¹⁸

The site (figure 6.1, section D-3), on the outer edge of the working-class district of Margareten (V), consisted of five building lots along the Margareten-gürtel (part of the Gürtelstrasse). The building itself rested on the foundations of the old Linienwall, which had been torn down only a few decades earlier to make way for the outer ring road (Gürtelstrasse) and *Stadtbahn*. Construction of the five apartment houses on the site had reached the mezzanine level when work was stopped in 1916. To judge from Kalesa's plans for the redesign of the block in 1919, the original buildings on the site were most likely standard small apartment houses of *Kleinwohnungen* (small apartments), each house organized around a single staircase leading to long, single-loaded corridors along which the standard kitchen-corridor-type apartments were ranged, and within which the shared toilets and water basin were located.

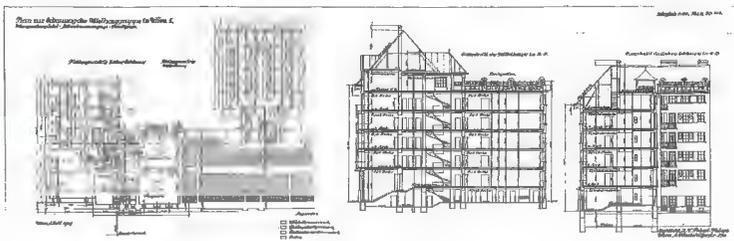
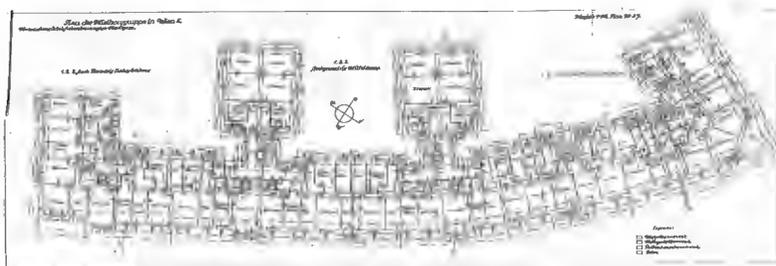
This organization was radically changed in Kalesa's redesign of the block. In the new building (figure 6.2), which comprised all five parcels facing onto the Gürtelstrasse, there are no long corridors; all rooms are directly lit and ventilated; and toilets, running water, gas, and so forth are contained within the compass of each apartment. Except for a few slightly larger units intended for professionals (usually physicians), the 105 apartments are more or less standardized. Each has a small entrance hall or foyer (the only space in the apartment without its own external window), *Wohnküche* with attached scullery, one full-size room, and a lavatory. Some apartments have two full-size rooms, or a room and *Kabinett*—but otherwise there is little variation.

Margaretengürtel 90–98 departed radically from the standard tenement plan in its larger organization as well. Rather than long single-loaded corridors, the

apartments are vertically stacked, with four or five apartments on a staircase landing. This arrangement not only allowed each inhabited room (as well as each toilet) to have a window, but also made it possible to have a few cross-ventilated apartments that spanned the block. Though standard features of middle-class apartment buildings, the new organization along a vertical rather than a horizontal circulation spine and the direct ventilation and natural lighting of all rooms were novelties in working-class dwellings.¹⁹

The building was also novel in section (figure 6.3). It was the first municipal housing in which the city's new lower ceiling height—reduced from the Viennese standard of 350–300 cm (11 ft. 6 in.–10 ft.) to a little over 260 cm (8 ft. 6 in.)—was introduced. An economy measure that reduced the initial building costs and the subsequent heating costs, the lower ceiling height also had cultural and political significance. The new vertical dimension (which became standard in subsequent *Gemeindebauten*), combined with windows in every room, changed the proportions of the rooms of the *Kleinwohnung*, narrowing the variance between the vertical and horizontal dimensions and flooding the interior with light (figure 6.4). It also gave the working-class dwelling a distinctive spatial character of its own, so that it no longer had the quality of a pinched and pared-down version of the middle-class dwelling.

The innovations in plan and organization introduced in the Margaretengürtel block became standard in the eleven municipal housing blocks begun in 1922, even though the buildings themselves differed considerably in size, organization of communal and public spaces, and architectural elaboration.²⁰ The apartments in these buildings were of three basic types, consisting of either one or two full-size rooms, or a room and a *Kabinett*, in addition to the *Vorraum* (small entrance hall), *Wohnküche* with attached scullery, and toilet. The variations to this program were minor. Some units did



6.2 Top: Plan, apartment floors 1-3, Margaretengürtel 90-98, by Robert Kalesa, 1919.

6.3 Section through central portion of Margaretengürtel 90-98, dated 1 July 1919.

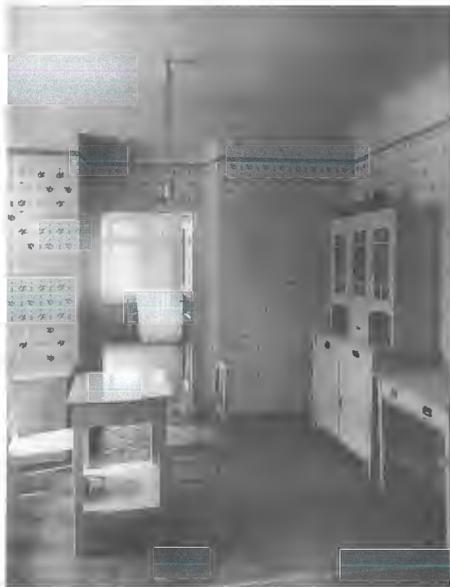
THE NEW DWELLING

not have the *Vorraum*, some were without a scullery, and some had a small balcony (though this was rare in the early blocks), but all had the basic components: one or two rooms, *Wohnküche*, and toilet. All had electric light, gas, and water. Each room intended for occupation, including the toilet, was directly lit and ventilated. There were usually four apartments on a landing, though in some of the blocks there were three. Often—as, for example, in the Erdbergerhof (III) by Karl Schmalhofer, the Fuchsenfeldhof (XII) by Schmid and Aichinger (see figure 7.17), and the Margareten Gürtel block—the toilets were tucked into the *poché* of the curved stairwell wall. Generally the toilet was accessed from either the scullery or the small entrance hall.

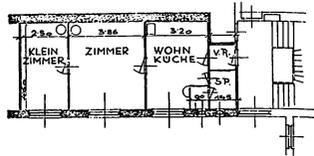
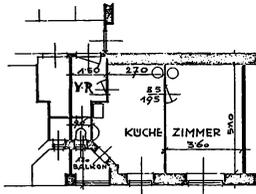
In 1923 the Gemeinde-Wien-Type apartment plan was further standardized.²¹ Two apartment types (figure 6.5) were developed: one measuring 38 square meters and consisting of a small entrance hall, living room/kitchen, toilet, and one full-size room of approximately 20 square meters; the other measuring 48 square meters with an additional small *Kabinett*. In the housing built during 1924 to 1927, approximately 75 percent of the apartments were the former and 25 percent the latter, slightly larger type. There were also a very small number of even larger apartments with two full-size rooms and a few one-room (studio) apartments for single tenants that consisted of an entrance hall, toilet, and a bed-sitting-room equipped with cooking facilities. All conformed to the new, lower ceiling height, and each unit had running water, a flush toilet, a gas cooker, and electric light. Many also had private balconies of considerable size.²²

In the city's own publications on the building program and in the socialist newspapers *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, Stadtbaumeister officials emphasized key components of the municipal apartment, which had very particular cultural significance.²³ The flush toilet and water tap physically contained within the apartment have already been mentioned in this re-

6.4 Apartment interior, Margareten Gürtel 90-98, Robert Kallasa architect, photo ca. 1923.



6.5 Standard apartment types: 38 m² (left), 48 m² (right). (Weber, *Die Wohnungspolitik der Gemeinde Wien* (1926): 28–29).



gard; others included the entrance hall (figure 6.6), a small space usually measuring no more than two square meters. A “buffer against cold and noise,” it was also an interstitial, transitional zone mediating the passage from public to private space.²⁴ In addition, the entrance hall prevented kitchen smells from spreading into the communal stairwell, something that had been unavoidable in the *Gangküchenhaus* where kitchen door and window both opened onto the internal corridor.²⁵ But its importance was not really quantifiable. It added little space to the apartment and could not be considered an additional room. It did, however, add a grace note to the proletarian dwelling, an interstitial zone not only between inside and outside, but often also between the newly internalized toilet and the social living space of the apartment itself; something inessential that improved the dwelling’s quality. In part because of this, as we will see, the entrance hall became a contested feature of the new proletarian apartment.

THE “TAYLORIZED” *WOHNKÜCHE* Another key component of the new proletarian dwelling was the *Wohnküche*, the living room/kitchen. It was hardly a new feature; indeed, it was one of the identifying components of the traditional working-class home, and the central space of working-class life. “Whatever time the

Viennese worker has during the day,” city building officials argued, “is spent in the kitchen, and if there is no dining table available to sit at, [he] will perch on coal box or bench.”²⁶ The *Wohnküche*, firmly rooted in working-class domestic life, was crucial in binding the new proletarian dwelling to the old. As a result, it too was a contested space.

But the *Wohnküche* also had an economic foundation, as city officials explained. The average worker did not have the resources to heat the living and bedrooms of his apartment; the kitchen stove, therefore, was the primary source of heat for the entire dwelling. Since the municipality was unable to provide central heating in the new housing, it had to improve upon the system already in place

to make the kitchen as livable as possible, so that it becomes a real live-in kitchen. This is done by replacing the old coal stove with a gas cooker and by removing those kitchen tasks which involve water from the central living area of the kitchen. The gas oven produces no soot, no ashes, no smoke, and no dirt. In the scullery meals will be prepared, vegetables and meat washed, and dishes cleaned. For this purpose the scullery is provided with a single or double basin sink, with direct water supply. The scullery gives access to the lavatory, fitted with freestanding faience toilet bowl, water tap, and basin, which meets all modern requirements. In a kitchen



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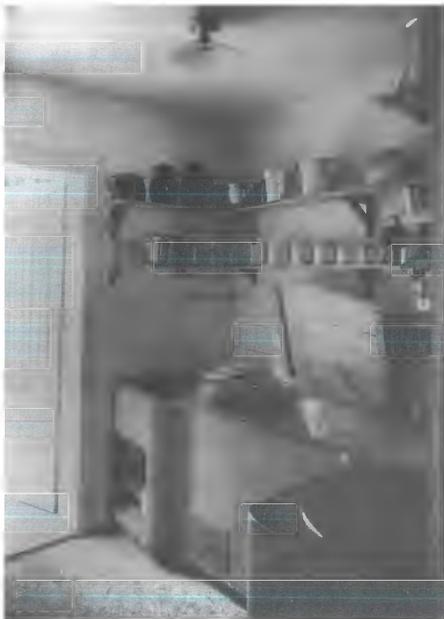
such as this, which has a 16–20 square meter area, there is room for a dining table, which also serves the housewife as work table, the children as play and study place.¹⁷

Modernization of the traditional *Wohnküche* involved not only newly equipping it with gas stove, double sink, and internal water supply but also reorganizing it both to make the best possible use of the available space and to make the kitchen itself easier and less labor-intensive to operate. The new *Wohnküche* was to be more efficiently planned according to the “Taylor work method”—a method, officials claimed, that had great advantages for the housewife.¹⁸ Although the modestly equipped Viennese *Wohnküche* seen in contemporary photographs seems far removed from the sleek tiled surfaces, gleaming appliances, and aluminum fittings of the most famous Taylorized kitchen of the period, the “Frankfurter Küche” designed by Margarete Lihotzky in 1926, its origins were the same. In 1922 Lihotzky had designed a *Wohnküche* with “kitchen niche or scullery” for the Österreichischer Verband für Siedlungs- und Kleingartenwesen (ÖVSK). This design, as she acknowledged in an article published the previous year in *Schönlischer Heim*, was profoundly influenced by the American system of Scientific Management developed by Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856–1915) and known as Taylorism; she also drew on the ideas regarding labor-saving ways to organize and equip the domestic interior put forward by Christine Frederick in *The New Housekeeping: Efficiency Studies in Home Management* (1913). Frederick’s book had been translated into German by one of the leading proponents of scientific management in Germany, Irene Witte, and published as *Die rationelle Haushaltsführung* (Rational Housekeeping) in 1920.¹⁹ Lihotzky’s cooking niche design of 1922, a model of which was built and exhibited at the *Rathaus* in Vienna in September 1922 (figure 6.7), was informed by Frederick’s analysis of work patterns in the kitchen and her proposals for efficient spatial organization. Two prin-

6.6 Entrance hall, Pörschhof
(O), Hugo Mayer architect,
photo 1926.



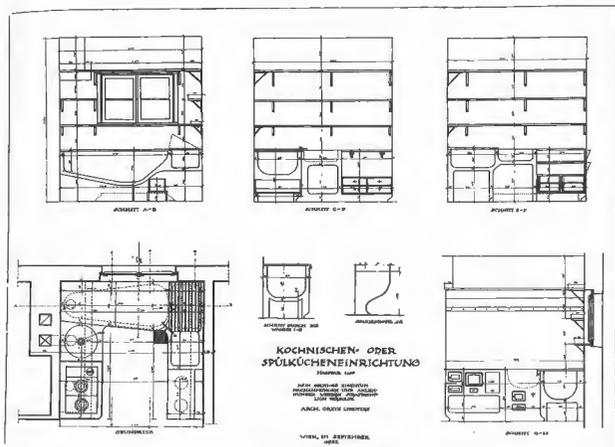
6.7 Model, cooking niche,
by Margarete Lihotzky, photo
1922.



ciples guided Lihotzky's design. First, the stove—cooking surface and source of heat—should, like the hearth in the old *Bauernküche* (farmhouse kitchen), be centrally located. Second, all other kitchen functions, particularly those involving water, should be removed from the central living space of the *Wohnküche* and located in a specially designed *Kochnischen- oder Spülkücheneinrichtung* (cooking niche or scullery/kitchen installation), as Lihotzky called it, which could also do service as bath- and washroom.

Lihotzky focused her attention on the design of this *Kochnischen-Spülkücheneinrichtung* (figure 6.8). Her niche, which measured 2 m × 2.05 m and had 95 cm² workroom, contained the water heater; a wash tub that could be covered when not in use and converted into work surface; a drainboard; shelves for kitchen utensils, buckets, and pots and pans; a sink; and a storage area for fuel (in 1922 the apartments were still supplied with coke-burning stoves). The tub, sink, and walls surrounding the oven and encasing the water heater were all poured concrete, as was the floor, which had a central drain and 10 cm high wall base. All corners were rounded and there were no sharp edges on any of the molded surfaces. Lihotzky applied for a patent for her kitchen niche design and was granted protection for three years. The *Spülküche* produced for the ÖVSK and exhibited in 1922 was never manufactured on a large scale. It did, however, become the model for the "work niche," or *Wirtschaftsnische*, exhibited in the *Rathaus* in September 1924 and later installed in the new housing.¹⁰

The new *Wirtschaftsnische* was a refinement of the Lihotzky model. Though connected to the *Wohnküche*, it could also be closed off from it by a curtain. It measured 1.95 m × 1.60 m and was equipped with a *Gemeinde-Wien*-Type gas stove next to which was a cupboard with five drawers; a sink with a shelf underneath it for buckets, pots, and so on; a drainboard with a shelf under it for various utensils; a tub with wooden cover that could double as table or work surface: a *zas-*



6.8 Design drawings for cooking niche, by Lihotzky, 1922.

fired hot-water heater that could supply water to tub or sink; a double-burner cooktop; a folding table; a kitchen closet with compartments for cutlery; a rotating waste bin that could be emptied from the entrance hall; a folding stool; and an ironing board that flipped down from the side of the kitchen closet into the living area of the *Wohnküche*. As in Lihotzky's model, the tub, sink, and cabinet underneath it, as well as the floor and 12 cm high base, are all of a piece, formed from seamless poured concrete. Spatial relationships were also carefully calculated. For example, cutlery could be taken with the left hand from the work surface above the tub, rinsed in the sink, and returned to the drain-board, without the dishwasher having to stretch or

pass anything from hand to hand. Time-motion diagrams comparing the traditional Viennese *Wohnküche* to the new efficient, space- and labor-saving *Wirtschaftsmische* designed for the municipal apartments appeared in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in May 1924.¹¹

Live-in kitchens with the new Taylorized work niche were first installed in one of the city's new housing blocks, a building of twenty-six apartments at Bergsteiggasse 28 (XVII), designed in 1924 by an architect named Otto Polak-Hellwig (figures 6.9 and 6.10). The plans for this building, which were examined and discussed in detail by the city council, were touted as both a novelty and something of an experiment. Aside from the new kitchen the apartments had

6.9 Top: Apartment and Wohnküche plans showing Taylorized working method for meal preparation and clean up in the Wohnküche, Bergsteigasse 28 (XVII), by Otto Polak-Halleig, 1924. [Österreichische Bau- und Werkkunst (1925-1926): 80].

6.10 View into Wohnküche and angle of Bergsteigasse 28, Otto Polak-Halleig architect, photo 1927.

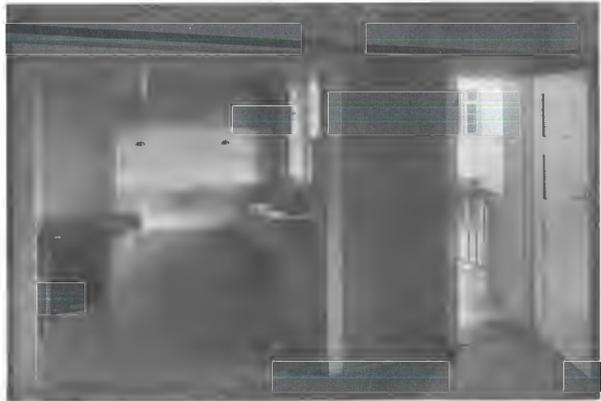
WOHNHAUS DER GEMEINDE WIEN, XIII, BERGSTEIGGASSE 28,
WOHNUNGS-TYPUS



TAYLORARBEITVORGANG
IM BEWAHNKÜCHE
BEIM COBBREITEN DER HAARLEIVEN



1:1
Anzahl der Arbeitsvorgänge

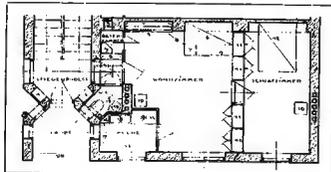


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other innovations: gas and electric meters in the stairwells (which could be read from outside the apartment—an important consideration for tenants who worked outside the home and were away during the day), a garbage chute in the stairwell that emptied into bins in the basement, and in some cases built-in closets.²²

Many of the municipal apartments built at this time did not have tubs or built-in closets; those that did drew a surcharge for “luxury” fittings. Generally, however, the apartments were unfurnished. Emphasis was instead on the durability of materials and on workmanship in the construction of the buildings themselves. After 1922 all rooms had hardwood floors, except for the kitchen niche, toilet, and balconies, where poured concrete floors were covered with tiles. The walls were plastered, the ceilings were reinforced concrete, and the standardized wood- and metal-framed windows had ventilation panels and wooden slatted blinds (*Jalousien*). Apartment walls were painted, sometimes in brightly colored shades of green, orange, and yellow. There was electricity throughout the building, and after July 1927 gas stoves were installed free of charge in every apartment.²³

BUILT-IN FURNITURE In 1924, as an experiment, the Stadtbauamt sponsored the construction of a small apartment building of thirty-three units with built-in furniture (figure 6.11). It was designed by Anton Brenner (1896–1957), a young architect who had trained first with Josef Frank and Oskar Strnad at the Kunstgewerbeschule (1920–1925) and then briefly with Peter Behrens and Clemens Holzmeister at the Academy of Fine Arts (1925–1926).²⁴ Brenner embraced German ideas of household rationalization and was a strong advocate of Taylorism in the home. He had often come into conflict with the building authorities in Vienna as well as the architectural establishment, whom he had accused (in a 1923 article in the *Wiener Tagblatt*), of being reactionary and unresponsive to new



Planverfassung Architekt Anton Brenner. — Ausführung Wiener Stadtbauamt
Oben: Wohnkitchen mit eingebauter Einrichtung
Unten: Gemüchli der Wohnkategorie im Kellerkitchen mit eingebauter Einrichtung

6.11 Rauchfangkehrergasse
26 (XV), apartments with
built-in furniture, by Anton
Brenner, 1924. (*Wiener
Bauforum*, no. 7 (1926):
299.)

ideas.¹⁵ But in spite of this he managed to convince *Stadtrat* Siegel to build his design for a municipal apartment building at Rauchfangkehrergasse 26 (XV), equipped throughout with built-in furniture.

Brenner's design had built-in cupboards in the kitchen and closets in each room. Kitchen and living room were separate. Unlike the standard *Gemeinde-Wien*-Type apartments, the living room and bedrooms were heated and separated by a wall of closets, some opening into the bedroom, some into the living room. The boldest innovation in Brenner's plan, however, was a pair of foldaway beds (*Klappbetten*) in the living room; they could be stowed in a cavity in the wall (*Klappbettische*) during the day and separated from the rest of the living room by a folding screen at night. Brenner's plan also included a large open loggia (with built-in flower boxes) accessible from the staircase landing.

Brenner's plans for the Rauchfangkehrergasse apartments were published in Germany, where they generated considerable interest.¹⁶ In 1926 Brenner himself went to Frankfurt, where he worked with Ernst May; in 1929 he was invited to teach at the Bauhaus in Dessau, though he only remained there for one trial year and returned to Vienna in 1931.¹⁷ In Vienna, however, Brenner's innovations did not generate much interest, nor did the proposal (put forward by Brenner and others), to provide all of the new municipal apartments with built-in furniture take root. The reasons were largely economic. Although (as Brenner had argued) built-in, foldaway furniture made it possible both to reduce the size and to increase the number of rooms in the apartment, the city maintained that the cost of building and installing the furniture was prohibitive. Tenants would have to come up with an installation fee of about 1,200 to 1,500 schillings, which most could not afford.¹⁸ Even Otto Neurath, who was generally in favor of typological innovation, pointed out that built-in furniture was not ideal for tenants of rented apartments; after paying for its installation,

they would have to leave their furniture behind if they moved.¹⁹ But cost was not the only consideration.

PROLETARIAN WOHNKULTUR: FURNISHING THE NEW DWELLING

The question of how to furnish the new proletarian dwelling was a practical problem for the tenants, but it was a highly charged ideological issue for the architects, Social Democratic intellectuals, and party leaders involved with the building program. On both levels, the new municipal apartments presented a special problem. As Neurath pointed out in a 1924 lecture on "Proletarian Living" delivered to the *Wiener Frauenkomitee* (the Women's Committee of the Vienna Social Democratic Party), the new dimensions of the proletarian apartment—no longer high, narrow, and dark but more evenly proportioned and bright, with lower ceilings and numerous windows—required differently scaled furnishings.²⁰ To help tenants find suitable and reasonably priced furniture and other household articles for the small, bright spaces, the municipality created advice bureaus and other organizations to counsel them, as the ÖVSK had done for settlers a few years earlier.

In 1922 the ÖVSK and the *Gemeinwirtschaftlichen Siedlungs- und Baustoffanstalt* (the Public Utility Settlement and Building Material Corporation, or GESIBA) had founded a *Warenreuband* (goods trust) through which settlers and tenants could order good, inexpensive furniture and other household articles. The *Warenreuband* also offered consulting services and would send prospective buyers to manufacturers of well-designed and well built furniture, who discounted their prices for referred customers.²¹ The idea behind the *Warenreuband*, an initiative of Margarete Lihotzky, was that it would be a kind of "poor man's" Wiener Werkstätte and Werkbund. But unlike those organizations, Lihotzky emphasized, the new trust was not concerned with raising the quality of craftwork or involved in producing handcrafted objects from expensive materials. Instead, it was dedi-



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ected to working with industry so as to "to raise the general standard of living [Wohnniveau] of the working class, which," Lihotzky maintained, "has little tradition, and therefore also fewer prejudices than the bourgeoisie."⁴² The *Warentrauband* began with apartment furnishings and fixtures and later expanded to encompass clothing, ceramics, and other articles of daily use.

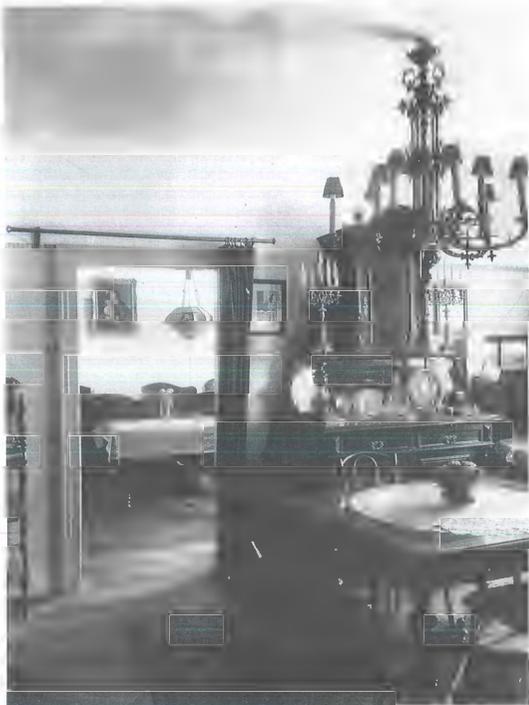
The municipality also sponsored a series of housing-related exhibitions featuring full-scale models of furnished apartments that visitors could walk through, and providing model interiors, furnished by various architects, in the apartments of some of the housing blocks themselves. The exhibitions and model interiors spoke directly to the new tenants' needs to accommodate both the furniture they owned and that which they needed to acquire in the new space of the municipal apartment. For example, in an exhibition on hygiene (*Hygieneausstellung*), organized by the Department of Health and Welfare, held from 28 April to 30 June 1925 in the *Messepalast* (a building in the Prater devoted to exhibitions and trade fairs), a full-scale model of a typical municipal apartment was furnished with simple, solidly built wooden furniture, showing readily available inexpensive contemporary furnishings that a tenant could acquire, or might already own (figure 6.12). The furniture itself, built of dark-stained wood, was boxy and inelegant, in marked contrast to the delicate English-inspired "reform furniture" (thin, lightweight ladderback chairs, benches, and gate-leg tables) designed for the *Siedlung* houses by Lihotzky, Frank, and other architects in the ÖVSK *Baubüro* (see figure 3.17). Yet the pieces exhibited—with their straightforward, unornamented forms and revealed construction—provided tenants of the new buildings with a radically simplified model of the domestic interior, one very different from the standard petit bourgeois apartment of the time, which was generally furnished with bulky and heavily draped chairs, tables, and cabinets (figure 6.13).⁴³

The largest and best-known city-sponsored exhibition was "Wien und die Wiener" (Vienna and the Viennese), held in the *Messepalast* in 1927. For this exhibition, the *Wiener Hausratgesellschaft* (Viennese Household Association), which was founded to provide furniture for the new apartments in the *Gemeindehäusern*, joined with well-known architects such as Josef Frank, Franz Schacherl, and Karl Schartelmüller, as well as with *Wiener Werkstätte* designers Oskar Haerdtl and Josef Hoffmann to create model interiors. These were furnished, for the most part, with readily available small-scale furniture suitable for the new municipal apartments, though in some cases the furniture was designed by the architects themselves.⁴⁴ From contemporary images of these model interiors, it is clear that the starting point for their design—consumption rather than production—was very different from that of the model interiors designed by the archi-

6.12 View of model apartment in Hygiene Exhibition, 1925.



6.13 View of apartment furnished by tenant in the Hamamithol, Robert Curley architect, 1923, photo ca. 1926.



jects who participated in the exactly contemporary German Werkbund exhibition at Weissenhof outside Stuttgart.⁴³ Rather than integrally designed *Gesamtkunstwerke* (total works of art), the new proletarian interiors shaped here—in particular that designed by Frank (figure 6.14), for whom the concept of assemblage was a fundamental principle of interior design—were composed of “found objects” that were affordable and readily available from commercial vendors. The emphasis on accessibility and affordability remained the constant theme of exhibitions on furniture and interior design organized by the municipality, as well as those organized (under Frank) by the Austrian Werkbund, including exhibitions like “Der gute billige Gegenstand” (the good inexpensive object) held in the Museum of Art and Industry in 1931 to 1932.⁴⁴

In the late 1920s temporary exhibitions were replaced by a permanent design center and exhibition space: the Advice Bureau for Interior Design and Domestic Hygiene of the Austrian Association for Housing Reform (Die Beratungsstelle für Inneneinrichtung und Wohnungshygiene des Österreichischen Verbandes für Wohnungsreform), created in December 1929 and housed in the Karl-Marx-Hof. The purpose of the *Beratungsstelle*, which was known by the acronym “BEST,” was to counsel tenants in the new buildings on how to furnish their apartments and to introduce them to new furniture and industrial design. It thus functioned both as an advice bureau and a showroom.⁴⁷

The director of the BEST, Ernst Lichtblau, was an architect who had trained with Otto Wagner, had been associated with the Wiener Werkstätte before the war, and whose private practice in Vienna in the 1920s and 1930s (before he emigrated to the United States via England in 1939) was primarily domestic architecture and interior design. In 1925 he founded his own design firm “for the production of objects of everyday use, purpose-made [in] unpretentious workmanlike materials.”⁴⁸ Lichtblau was a member of both the Austrian and German Werkbund and had exhib-

ited at the Werkbund exhibition in Stuttgart in 1924, as well as the international design expositions in Paris in 1925 and 1929. He also designed two *Gemeindehäusern*, one on his own and one in collaboration with other architects.⁴⁹

As director of the BEST, Lichtblau (together with Ludwig Neumann, secretary of the ÖVSK, and fellow Werkbund members Josef Frank, Walter Sobotta, Carl Witzmann, among others) ran the advice bureau and organized lecture series in which architects and designers, including other Austrian Werkbund members, spoke.⁵⁰ In the BEST showrooms Lichtblau installed a permanent exhibition: a model interior of a municipal apartment furnished with articles designed by himself and others (figure 6.15). The purpose was to showcase good, inexpensive, and technically innovative contemporary design and to demonstrate how such furnishings could be accommodated and arranged in a typical working-class apartment to make

6.14 “Model room” designed by Josef Frank, in exhibition “Wien und die Wiener,” 1927. (*Moderne Bauformen*, no. 8 (1927): 396)



both the opportunity and the need to invest in the dwelling itself; to furnish and decorate it as he or she chose.¹⁴

For most proletarian families, furnishing the new apartment involved first accommodating the few cherished possessions that had survived the family's many moves, then gradually acquiring additional furniture and household articles. One tenant recalled: "We all slept in one room, because we hadn't enough furniture. We just had our double bed and one child slept with my husband and the other with me. But little by little, as time went on, we bought more pieces of furniture. Some years later, when the third child was born, we bought another bed and furnished the *Kabinnett*, which the two older children moved into. The youngest still slept in our double bed until he was fourteen."¹⁵ Though it often took many years to equip the new apartment, the tenants were subjects of their own living space, which they could furnish when and however they chose. Josef Hoffmann recorded that in the *Klosethof*, a *Gemeindebau* he designed in 1924, he had wanted to substitute brightly colored paint for the standard wall moldings and to paint broad stripes across the ceilings of the living rooms, as he had done in some of his private villas. But city officials would not allow it, claiming that the inhabitants wanted, and were entitled, to personalize their own spaces.¹⁶

Thus, it appears that city officials did not pursue the idea of fitting the new municipal apartments with built-in furniture in part because at some level they recognized the importance of allowing Viennese working-class tenants to bring something of themselves into the new proletarian living space (not merely, as "left radical" architects charged, because city officials had capitulated to the popular taste of a proletariat not yet raised to full class consciousness and still aspiring to middle-class luxury). Traditional working-class furnishings and cherished knickknacks—the "trivial trinkets" scorned by architects and socialist intellectuals alike—were the signifiers of

home for a social class that until that time had led an essentially nomadic life (see figure 6.13). They had their place, along with the traditional working-class *Wohnküche*, in the new proletarian dwelling as well.

Yet the harshest criticism of traditional working-class *Wohnkultur* and deepest scorn for the sentimental knickknacks with which working-class families decorated their homes came from the Social Democrats themselves. Helmut Gruber cites several instances of official denunciation of working-class taste, including a particularly uncharitable attack by Richard Wagner in the socialist journal *Bildungsarbeit*. Wagner, a newspaper editor who was active in developing cultural work in the trade unions, wrote disparagingly of the prevailing taste among the proletariat for "holy pictures, pictures of royalty, postcards and artistically vulgar reproductions, and particularly the homemade antimacassars used to prettify the furniture."¹⁷ While others were more constructive in their criticism, offering suggestions for ways in which the working-class home might be "tastefully" decorated, in general the attitude of Social Democratic officialdom toward Viennese workers' evident preference for cultural products of "low quality" was contempt.

Clearly, as Richard Wagner himself pointed out, the Social Democrats had failed to develop a cultural theory comparable to the party's political theory.¹⁸ Taste was loosely construed to be a matter of class consciousness. Accordingly, it was assumed that once the working class had achieved political self-realization, cultural self-realization would follow; the proletariat would naturally reject the sentimental trinkets of petit bourgeois culture in favor of cultural forms that followed directly from the character of its own social and political organization, defined by Neurath as objective, egalitarian, uniform, clear, and straightforward.¹⁹

This position was forcefully argued by the so-called left radical architects Franz Schuster and Franz Schacherl.²⁰ In "Proletarische Architektur" they claimed that the Viennese working class was unre-

ceptive to such innovations as built-in furniture and the austere functional forms of Bauhaus-inspired furniture design, because the proletariat—particularly in Austria—had no understanding or deeper sense of its own domestic culture. “What most proletarians understand as a well-furnished dwelling is such a deceitful and false illusion that we must do our utmost to disseminate true concepts of proletarian dwelling types,” they announced and continued:

What [the proletarian] understands by individuality or personal taste is nothing other than the collective expression of other social classes. No matter how impersonal, how little individuality exists in a bourgeois dwelling with all of its deceitfulness, it appears to the worker as something to strive for. He takes over, without a thought, all these obsolete, dusty forms and believes that he has achieved his own domestic culture [*Wohnkultur*]. He fears simplicity, clarity, and objectivity in his home, fears that if he furnishes it simply and objectively all poetry, culture, and art will disappear from his dwelling.⁴¹

The root of Viennese working-class resistance (and the resistance of low-level Social Democratic building officials) to built-in furniture and other space- and labor-saving innovations, they maintained, was a lack of class consciousness, a failure of proletarian cultural self-realization.

According to Schuster and Schacherl, proletarian *Wohnkultur* was “the culture of objectivity, cleanliness, and clarity.” These were the attributes that created “the most efficient and satisfying environment for the housewife and would lead to freedom from domestic drudgery [*Wohngrene!*].” What use is it, they asked, “if woman is free in society and yet remains the slave of an obsolete domestic romanticism [*Wohnromantik*]; when she wastes her time cleaning the many nooks and crannies, dusting the insignificant knickknacks?”⁴² The proletarian must be educated to reject the obsolete trinkets of bourgeois domesticity in favor of the

own domestic culture of “objectivity, cleanliness, and clarity.”

These were familiar themes of leftist critique of bourgeois domestic culture in the interwar period. The same arguments in favor of the new functionalist aesthetic had been put forward by Bruno Taut in *Die Neue Wohnung: Die Frau als Schöpferin* (*The New Dwelling: Woman as Creator*) in 1924.⁴³ In 1926 Taut took up the theme again in an article in *Der Aufbau*, conceived as a conversation between two women: Frau Schubert, who lives in a minimally furnished functional modern apartment, and Frau Tausendschön (whose name signifies “a thousand beauties”), who lives in an apartment cluttered with memorabilia she and her husband have collected throughout the many years of their marriage. Frau Tausendschön can never find anything and is always exhausted from dusting her many trinkets, while Frau Schubert, unencumbered by housework, has time and energy for other pursuits.⁴⁴

Like Schuster, Taut bases his defense of the austere, uncluttered interior, unburdened by history or memory, on the pseudo-feminist argument that it reduces the domestic work of the housewife. In fact neither architect actually questioned traditional gender roles or took issue with the conventional division of labor in the home that assigned housework exclusively to women. Of course, Schuster and Taut were not alone in this, and we will return to the issue of gender and to both the failure of architects during this period to adequately address the role of women, and the inability of either democratic socialism or democratic capitalism in interwar Europe to conceive nontraditional roles for women within the context of radical programs of housing and urban reform.

A forceful critique of Schuster and Schacherl’s argument regarding class consciousness and architectural aesthetics, and the progressive social claims they and others made for the new architecture, was offered by Ernst Toller, the well-known German theater critic who toured the Viennese housing in 1926. In an ar-



icle that first appeared in the Berlin journal *Die Weltbühne* and was later reprinted in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in March 1927, Toller asserted that the stripped-down functional forms of Bauhaus-inspired design were not proletarian cultural forms but the cultural products of bourgeois ideology, expressing not so much a proletarian collective consciousness as a highly refined bourgeois aesthetic sensibility.

It is significant, I believe, to determine that the worker generally loves frivolous ornament and has no understanding of the new simplicity of modern architecture. Why? The modern architect comes to his simplicity from frivolous, luxurious superfluity. He has gone beyond luxury and for his new forms has extracted only the functional elements. The worker on the other hand has known only conditions of want and need. Everything in his old dwelling was grey and monotonous. Luxury was a dream and ideal. . . . He yearns for a little beauty/embellishment, which he can only recognize in the form of frivolous ornament, and all he finds is sober simplicity. Because the qualitative difference between this form of simplicity and the simplicity he has known is not manifestly apparent, his displeasure and discomfort with it is understandable. It therefore seems that the ruling law for the worker of our generation is that he must travel a little further along the false ways [*falsche Wege*] of the bourgeoisie, in order eventually to be able to reject them out of inner necessity.⁶⁵

Implicit in Toller's critique of Schuster and Schacherl, and of functionalist discourse generally in the 1920s, is the observation made fifty years later by Peter Gorsen that "Here [in the functionalist discourse], the progress of the avant-garde regarding the man in the street, who lived within the ambit of anachronistic constraints, showed its rigid, ruthless character. And showed itself as a form of the supremacy of the industrial 'establishment.' In fact, instead of socializing architectural and technical progress—that is, instead of opening it up to everybody—it limited itself to criticizing the majority of those who lived in backward-

ness and within lower-middle-class limitations.—"⁶⁶

The most sustained critique of functionalist discourse in relation to proletarian *Wohnkultur* was developed by Josef Frank. In 1919 Frank had circumscribed the role of the architect in the design of the domestic interior for all classes of society. In an article on the furnishing of living rooms, he declared that living space should be designed so that it can accommodate an inhabitant's possessions without losing its own character. The architect should provide a scaffolding or frame for dwelling, not prescribe and arrange furniture or objects—that is the business of the inhabitants, if the space is to have life. "The living room is never finished and never unfinished," he stated, "it lives along with the people who inhabit it."⁶⁷ But Frank published his most forceful condemnation of functionalist interior design in two articles in the official publications of the German Werkbund exhibitions (the *Weissenhofsiedlung* and "Die Wohnung") at Stuttgart in 1927. Frank's own contributions to the exhibitions—particularly the interiors of his houses in the *Weissenhofsiedlung*, which he had furnished according to his principle of "assemblage" with an assortment of tables and chairs, upholstered fauteuils and sofas, brightly colored fabrics, and boldly patterned carpets and curtains—had been severely criticized by newspaper critics and by other architects who participated in the exhibition (in particular J. J. P. Oud and Le Corbusier), who found Frank's interiors "femininely appointed," "obtrusive," "middle-class," "provocatively conservative," a "bordello."⁶⁸ Frank wrote the articles to defend and explain his own work, on the one hand, and to launch a counteroffensive against his critics, on the other. In the first he dismissed the notion of *Einheitlichkeit* (unity), arguing (in a reprise of Loos's argument regarding the relationship between inside and outside in "Architecture" [1910]) that the interior and exterior of a house should not be designed as an aesthetic unity.⁶⁹ While it makes sense for a house to be shined like a cube, it makes no sense for a

chair within it to be shaped like a cube in order to achieve aesthetic unity. Inside and outside, he asserted, should be conceived in marked contrast to each other.

In "Flippancy as Comfort for the Soul and Flippancy as a Problem," Frank's contribution to the official catalogue of the Weissenhofsiedlung exhibition, he assumed a more belligerent tone.²⁶ The cultural elite (i.e., middle-class intellectuals), he claimed, advocate simplicity and sobriety because they have a surfeit of comfort—physical, intellectual, and spiritual—in their lives. Those on whom they are imposing their standards, however, do not.

[E]very human being has a certain measure of sentimentality which he has to satisfy. The scientifically or artistically creative person deals with sentimentality during his work . . . so that he has no need of it when he is resting. The industrial worker lives altogether solemnly, which has, after all, made him suitable for representation as an allegorical figure. . . . Solemn are such things as love, death, hunger, uncertainty, unemployment, championship, mechanical work, organization; and there are no means within this sort of life, by which quietness and recreation are offered to the intellect. (5)

Frank follows these observations with a direct attack on Le Corbusier, one of his principal detractors at Weissenhof: "The modern-culture-prophet says (and this is part of his alphabet): 'the human, who uses the train, the car, the airplane, cannot possibly on his return home, sit in a Louis quatorze-quinze-seize-chair, without becoming aware of an intrinsic lie and without appearing ridiculous to himself. Our age demands sobriety, simplicity, sincerity, mechanical work; were one to generally meet these demands it would become a total culture, like those which the negroes are said to still have. Why continue to drag along the whole junk of the past?'" (6). These assertions, Frank argues, are based on false assumptions; one who considers the condition of the worker arrives at quite different conclusions. The worker, who works in a solemn way, re-

quires sentimental surroundings once he returns home; he wants to rest from his occupation. Rest "pre-supposes a superfluous, perfunctory activity which extends beyond the necessary" which engages the mind and body and therefore provides a distraction from the more sober aspects of life (6).

Here Frank makes an astute observation: "The more something is decorated, the more it has a calming effect, provided that we can look at it for long enough, since we have the feeling that everything must be completely comprehended within the duration of its contemplation." He illustrates this point with a comparison. While a waiting room, a space occupied for a short time on the way to somewhere else, is comprehended in a glance and can therefore be plain, a Persian carpet is never fully comprehended and can be contemplated for an unlimited amount of time. "The demand for bareness," Frank notes, "is made particularly by those who think continuously, or who at least need to be able to do so, and who can obtain comfort and rest by other means. Their entertainment is of a higher intellectual order; they have books and pictures, which have been presented to them by artists who are on friendly terms with them; in this case playful embellishment is unnecessary" (6).

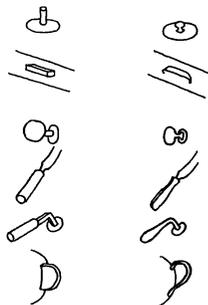
The functionalist discourse can be faulted not only for objectifying the worker and disregarding the actual needs and desires of the working-class subject, Frank argued, but also for undermining the very relationship between modern design and industrial production it sought to promote. In the past, objects of daily use were "individually produced by craftsmen, which accounts for their numerous variations, while today they are manufactured mechanically in series." Over time, objects made to serve a very particular purpose have changed their form, but objects of daily use such as household utensils have changed very little over time "and examples from past epochs are still being used with great success." Nevertheless, he charges, "a large section of our profession is now incessantly



occupied with the alteration of these objects for the satisfaction of our sentimentality," (5) even though no real demand exists for such personalized, individualized household utensils. The return to craft production of household objects (such as cutlery) is a form of "therapy." "Handicrafts are made in order to be *made*, not in order to be used"; rather than satisfying a demand, the designers of these objects are attempting to generate a market for their products and a sphere of activity for themselves. "Today we pretend to search for the thing as such; the chair as such, the carpet as such, the lamp as such, things that already exist to some extent. In fact, we are actually looking for the occupational possibilities which arise from them" (6).

As an example of such producer-driven, rather than user- or consumer-driven, design, Frank later illustrated a series of "Bauhaus" handles (for doors, cabinets, knives, and pots) and compared them to readily available, commercially produced "evolved" rather than "invented" designs (figure 6.16). The Bauhaus handles "all consist of basic geometric shapes. They are therefore very 'simple,' but are less suitable for use by the hand. Handles for the same functions, as they look normally, and as they are produced by industry[,] ... fulfill a function, but who would call them 'functionalist?'"⁷¹ The point here, as Frank notes later, is that the Bauhaus designs derive less from a consideration of function, simplicity, or ease of use than from an aesthetic preference for certain forms (classically derived geometric solids) and for a machined "look." Much of the rhetoric regarding machine-made forms is likewise merely a smokescreen for aesthetic preferences.

What, then, is the relationship between functionalism and modernism? In "Flippancy" Frank insists, "Our contemporary life is rich enough to assimilate many things to which we have grown accustomed, despite their having originated in an earlier period of development. . . . One can make use of everything which one can make use of. Those things that have become



6.16 "Bauhaus handles" (left), and "Handles for the same purpose, as they generally appear and are industrially produced" (right), by Josef Frank. From *Form 30* (1934): 223.

useless will [naturally] be discarded" (6). Who is more modern in his attitudes, Frank asks, the individual who accepts things as they are, or he who conserves their transitory parts by modernizing them? "That is the fate of our reformers. They always defend themselves against the right wing, not realizing that they already stand on the right" (6).

Frank's antifunctionalist polemics and the heavy sarcasm with which he weighted them have led some to see him as a curmudgeon, whose own position with regard to contemporary architecture was essentially negative, even antimodern.⁷² In fact Frank upheld an ideology of architecture that was profoundly modern, one that was both affirmative and committed politically to the principles of social democracy, to individual freedom and ethical equality. It was from these beliefs that his revulsion for totalizing self-referential systems derived, particularly his aversion to German *neues Bauen*, which he regarded, in the words of one historian, as "an attempt to impose a specific national

art, in this case a German style masquerading as internationalism, on the rest of Europe."²³

These attitudes isolated Frank. Though he was closely associated with the German Werkbund (he was the only Austrian invited to participate in the Weissenhofsidlung) and was one of the leading personalities in the Austrian Werkbund, Frank's sharp criticism of the tenets of both organizations confused his colleagues and ultimately alienated him from both institutions. His relations with the German Werkbund became strained after Weissenhof. In 1928 he was invited to join CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) and attended the first two meetings, but he resigned in 1929 because of fundamental ideological differences.²⁴ In general, Frank's aversion to dogma and to programmatic statements of purpose makes it difficult to identify a coherent theoretical position in either his architecture or writings. Whether Frank's ideas had currency among city building officials in Vienna is also difficult to determine. He was highly regarded as a professor at the Kunstgewerbeschule and for his work within the Austrian Werkbund, as well as for his involvement with the German Werkbund and CIAM. He was accorded great respect by socialist intellectuals, particularly those associated with the ÖVSK and those in the circle of Otto Neurath, with whom he worked on the design and organization of the Siedlungs Museum and later also the Gesellschafts- und Wirtschafts Museum (Social and Economic Museum) in Vienna. Certainly Frank's work and writings were known to city building officials, and as a fellow socialist he would have been considered an ally.²⁵ Frank himself, however, was non-partisan in his criticism of contemporary architectural practice and discourse, and in 1926 he directed one of his most famous attacks at the Social Democrats' building program.



"WESTERNIZING" THE NEW DWELLING SPACE

By 1926 the *neues Bauen* had begun to make incursions into the apartment plans of the Social Democrats' new buildings in Vienna. In September 1926 delegates to the International Town Planning and Housing Congress (Internationaler Städtebau- und Wohnungskongress) were taken on tours—organized by the city administration, the congress's official host—of the new housing blocks.²⁶ The general verdict of the visiting planners and housing experts was that the Viennese apartments were too small and had too few rooms.²⁷ City building officials responded immediately by announcing that in the new building program for 1927, four new apartment types, measuring 40, 49, 57, and 21 square meters respectively, would replace the old 38 and 48 square meter units.²⁸ In addition to the four standard types, each of the larger buildings would contain a limited number of bigger apartments for physicians to use as combined home and office. Aside from having more rooms, the apartments would also be provided with storage space in basement or attic, balconies, and gas and electricity. In some of the later buildings provision was made for installing gas stoves and portable showers in the kitchens, though the actual equipment had to be supplied by the tenant.²⁹

The principal objective of the new types, according to building officials, was to "approach more closely Western [European] housing and living standards" by increasing the number of rooms without greatly increasing the floor area of the dwelling.³⁰ In fact, however, it was not so much the size and number of rooms in the new apartment types that differentiated them from the earlier Gemeinde-Wien-Type as the functional designation and organization of those rooms. In the new plans (figure 6.17) the *Wohnküche*, central space of the proletarian dwelling, was eliminated and replaced by a "working kitchen" (*Arbeitsküche*) and separate self-contained living room. The cooking niche or scullery also disappeared, so that the



1 Metzlinstelekhof (V), window detail showing glassed tiles, Hubert Gessner architect, photo 1985.

2 Raumannhof (V), window detail front facade, Hubert Gessner architect, photo 1985.



3 Reumannshof, balconies, photo 1985.

4 Reumannshof, pergola and entryway on Margareten-gürtel, photo 1985.

5 Karl-Selzshof (XXI), interior courtyard facade, Hubert Gesaner architect, photo 1985.

6 Karl-Selzshof, corner pavilion along central spine, photo 1985.



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7 Rabenhof (III), stairwell entrance interior courtyard, Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger architects, photo 1985.

8 Rabenhof, brick laundry pavilion, interior courtyard, photo 1985.

9 Rabenhof, arcade in interior courtyard, photo 1985.

10 Rabenhof, facade detail on tower block, photo 1985.

11 Rabenhof, facade detail on block building Rabengasse, photo 1985.



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12 Karl-Marx-Hof, pavilion building cross street, photo 1979.

13 Karl-Marx-Hof, street facade along Moorsackengasse, photo 1979.

14 Karl-Marx-Hof, balcony detail along Heiligenstädterstrasse, photo 1983.

15 Karl-Marx-Hof, main facade, photo 1979.

16 Karl-Marx-Hof, main facade, photo 1982.

17 Karl-Marx-Hof, interior courtyard, showing balconies and awning, photo 1979.

18 Karl-Marx-Hof, stairwell entrance, interior courtyard, photo ca. 1980.



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19 Friedl-Engels-Platz-Hof (XX), mitchewski, Rudolf Perco architect, photo 1985.

20 Wiederhofhof (XVII), corner balconies, Josef Frank architect, photo 1997.

21 Sebastian-Kalch-Gasse, 1-3 (XIV), at corner of Cervantesgasse, Josef Frank architect, photo 1997.

22 Sebastian-Kalch-Gasse, 1-3, at corner of Druchaler-gasse, photo 1997.



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23 Sandsteinhof (XVI), interior courtyard above Rosenackerergasse, Siegfried Thales and Hans Jaksch architects, photo 1979.

24 Philippgasse 8 (XIV), Siegfried Thales and Hans Jaksch architects, photo 1982.

25 Liebbrechtshof (XII), Karl Krat architect, photo 1979.

26 Sebastian-Kalch-Gasse 4-6 (XIV), Heinrich Vene architect, photo 1979.



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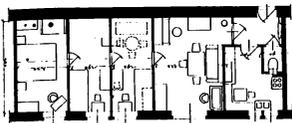
DAS NEUE WIEN

27 View of *Löchererbauung* along *Sebastian-Kalch-Gasse* (XIV), photo 1979.

28 *The New Vienna*, exhibition panel of the GWA, showing the old city center replaced by the building of "New Vienna," c. 1926.



28



linked *Spülküche*, wash area, and toilet that had been a feature of many of the early apartments was also dispensed with. In the new plans, the toilets all opened off the small entrance hall.

The most plausible explanation for these changes, and in particular for the elimination of the identifying feature of the Gemeinde-Wien-Type proletarian dwelling, as characterized in 1923, is that the housing authorities in Vienna were influenced by contemporary planning research and particularly by new plan types being developed in Frankfurt by Margarete Lihotzky and others, working under the direction of Ernst May.⁸¹ According to Lihotzky, the objective at Frankfurt was to keep the area of the apartment as small (and therefore as inexpensive) as possible by efficiently planning its interior spaces. The Frankfurt design team, principally Lihotzky and Ernst May, had concluded that the traditional *Wohnküche*, in which wood- or coal-burning stoves functioned as both cooker and living room hearth, was an anachronism since the stoves at Frankfurt (as in Vienna after 1926) were gas fired and could be turned off when not in use for cooking; the double use therefore no longer represented a fuel economy.⁸² The *Kochnische* or *Spülküche*—a refinement of the traditional *Wohnküche* that Lihotzky had developed earlier in Vienna—also no longer had currency in Frankfurt. Since the Frankfurt apartments were centrally heated, there was no need for the kitchen to open onto the living space of the apartment at all. The ideal solution and most efficient use of space, Lihotzky and May concluded, was to separate

the cooking area from the living area; to make the kitchen and living room into discrete though interconnected spaces, divided by a sliding door. The new kitchen developed by Lihotzky in 1926 was now a “working kitchen” (*Arbeitsküche*) for meal preparation and related tasks, but not for eating or other domestic or recreational purposes. In the development of the new kitchen designs, as well as the type plans for the Frankfurt apartments (which, aside from the inclusion of bathrooms, differed little in terms of layout from the post-1926 Viennese types), Lihotzky employed Taylorist methods of time-motion study. The design development drawings for both are covered with notations and calculations of distances between sink, stove, dining table, and so on and are criss-crossed with directional patterns mapping the principal routes traveled between these domestic landmarks.⁸³

The *Arbeitsküche* was the core of Lihotzky’s fully developed “Frankfurt kitchen,” which was mass-produced and built into 10,000 apartments in ten *Siedlungen* in Frankfurt in the late 1920s (figure 6.18). The fully equipped Frankfurt kitchen was fitted with a range of labor and space-saving innovations, including built-in canister-scoops for flour, rice, sugar, and the like; a warming oven; dish drainers; a movable lighting fixture; a foldaway ironing board; and a cutting table with waste catcher. Though the Viennese kitchens were neither so well equipped nor always as directly connected to the living/dining room of the apartment as in the Frankfurt plans, the concept of discrete working kitchen and adjacent living room was certainly the same.⁸⁴

The Viennese efforts to “Westernize” the domestic space of its working class by introducing new apartment plan types was greeted with censure on both sides of the council chamber. As *Stadtrat* Siegel had predicted, the opposition was quick to point out that though the new Westernized apartments had more rooms than the earlier types, the rooms themselves were actually smaller than those in the Gemeinde-

6.17 Apartment plan, Karl-Seltzhof, by Hubert Gaszner, 1926. Illustrated by Josef Frank, “Der Volkswohnungsplan: Eine Rede, anlässlich der Grundsteinlegung, die nicht gehalten wurde,” *Der Aufbau* no. 7 (1926): 107.

6.18 "Frankfurter Küche," designed by Margarete L. Schudy, 1928. [Küster-Wulfson, *Die Deutsche Wohnung der Gegenwart* (1930): 26.



Wien-Type apartments built before 1927.⁵⁵ The socialist critique was more nuanced, focusing less on the size of the rooms than on their new organization. In August 1926, Josef Frank published a satirical article in *Der Arbeiter* titled "The People's Housing Palace: A Lecture Presented on the Occasion of a Groundbreaking That Never Took Place" ("Der Volkswohnungspalast: Eine Rede, anlässlich der Grundsteinlegung, die nicht gehalten wurde").⁵⁶ Frank's argument was not with the dimensions of the rooms but with how the new plan dismantled the working-class home. The separation of kitchen and living room, Frank argued, was a pointless functional differentiation of space that destroyed the traditional proletarian dwelling typology: "Domestic culture is not a matter of the number and size of inhabited rooms, but the way in which the means at hand [the spaces themselves] are used. . . . It is the comprehensive layout of a dwelling, the determination of the rooms, that is the fundamental mark of such a culture" (109).

For Frank, the signifier not only of the working-class dwelling but of contemporary domestic life in general was the *Wohnküche*. "We know," he wrote, "that the greatest proportion of civilized humanity lives in the kitchen; not in our little kitchenette, but in the so-called *Wohnküche*. . . . Yet, the new apartments . . . are described to us as . . . 'a progressive development' . . . [and we are told that] an entirely new apartment type is gaining currency. It represents a complete rejection of the live-in-kitchen system [*Wohnküchen-system*]. Even the smallest apartment will have an entrance hall and its own kitchen." In other words, Frank warned, "The *Wohnküche*, the greatest achievement of our settlement time, is being dismantled and we are calmly returning to our old standard of the speculatively built dwelling, from which the essence of this 'entirely new apartment type' is derived" (109).

The working-class dwelling before 1920 had in fact always been little more than a corridor, divided by walls into rooms. In the usual Viennese *Kleinstwohnung* (tenement apartment), consisting of kitchen and one room, the kitchen was the room in which the family actually spent time; the room itself was reserved for sleeping and representation, since "one could not, of course, show anyone into the kitchen" (108–109). This attitude, along with the corridor-like plan of the dwelling, was borrowed from the bourgeoisie (which itself had copied the enfilade arrangement of rooms in palace apartments of the aristocracy in its own housing), and represented the aspirations of that class. The return to such a spatialization of bourgeois domestic ideology in the new municipal apartments, Frank charged, was itself an embourgeoisement of proletarian living space. Frank's charge is worth considering. So too is the relationship, in terms of spatial organization, between the new proletarian dwelling and both the traditional Viennese working-class dwelling and the typical bourgeois apartment plan.



THE POLITICS OF THE PLAN The Gemeinde-Wien-Type plan can in many ways be read as an inversion of the traditional Viennese working-class *Kleinstwohnung* or tenement plan (see figures 2.14 and 2.15). Its principal objective was to eradicate the most oppressive features of the old tenement: the long corridors, shared tap and basin, shared toilets, and indirectly lit rooms. These features were also the typological signifiers of the proletarian tenement, the identifying features by which these tenements were known as "Gangküchenhäuser" (kitchen-corridor houses) or "Bassenhäuser" (water basin houses). In the Gemeinde-Wien-Type apartment each of these markers of type and class was systematically erased from the plan, and the old *Gangküchenhaus* or *Bassenhäuser* type replaced by the new Gemeinde-Wien-Type (see figure 6.5).

Yet it is important to note that in the development of the Gemeinde-Wien-Type, the Social Democrats also drew on the housing reforms of earlier generations. More than two decades before, the famous Jubilee Houses, built in 1898 to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Emperor Franz Josef's accession to the throne (see chapter 2), had eliminated the long single-loaded corridor from their plans. The apartments, like those in the *Gemeindebauten*, were stacked, with four or five units on a landing. Each apartment also had its own toilet, though these were located outside the apartment on landings flanking the stairs.⁸⁷ Of course the *Jubiläumshäuser* as they were called, were a unique effort at housing reform during that period.⁸⁸ But they also targeted the identifying features of the speculatively built tenement. So too did the prewar housing built for railway workers in the *Betriebsbahnhof* in Speising; these units were still ranged along single-loaded corridors running the length of the building, but all the rooms were directly lit and most of the apartments had both a small entrance hall and toilet within the compass of the apartment itself.⁸⁹

Considered in this context, the Social Democrats' Gemeinde-Wien-Type apartment was little more than a synthesis of the vertical organization of the Jubilee Houses and the internalized toilets, entrance halls, and directly lit rooms of the *Betriebsbahnhof* housing. But the similarities in the projects ultimately derive from their common root: the type-model for both the earlier housing reforms and the new proletarian dwelling, as Frank and others pointed out, was the typical Viennese bourgeois apartment. Indeed, just as the shared water tap, external toilet, and long single-loaded corridor were identifying features of the working-class tenement, so the vertical organization of stairwells and landings, internal water supply, and internal toilet were identifying features of the middle-class apartment block in Vienna.⁹⁰

But there are telling differences between the reformed proletarian Gemeinde-Wien-Type dwelling and the typical Viennese middle-class apartment. A characteristic feature of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century upper-middle-class apartments

6.19 Plan of late-nineteenth century upper-middle-class apartment building on the Reichsratstrasse (I), showing *piano nobile*. [Kortz, *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, II (1906): 423.]



(e.g., those built along the Ringstrasse) was an enfilade of the principal rooms of the apartment, with each opening into the next. Thus occupants could traverse the entire length of the apartment through these rooms, which were typically ranged along the front of the building and faced onto the street (figure 6.19). The rooms themselves were generally undifferentiated as to function. As Josef Frank noted, such an enfilade of grandly proportioned rooms was characteristic of aristocratic spatial organization and had been borrowed from baroque palace planning.⁹¹ Behind these principal rooms of the apartment, opening onto small back courtyards and airshafts, were the service areas: backstair, kitchen, bathroom, and servants' quarters. These two zones within the apartment were at once separated from each other and interconnected by a long corridor, which functioned as a circulation spine; it offered an alternative parallel passageway through the apartment, from which the main suite of rooms could be serviced and along which servants could pass without intruding into the family living spaces. The corridor, therefore, functioned both as a channel providing access to all rooms and as a social divider, physically and visually separating the rooms in which the bourgeois owner or tenant lived with his family from the spaces in which the servants labored and lived. The apparent openness of the suite of interconnected rooms and parallel corridor was an illusion.⁹² In fact, the corridor split the building internally along class lines into two distinct zones; a privileged public and representational middle-class front of the house and a subordinate, utilitarian working-class back of the house.

The distinctive mark of the traditional proletarian tenement building in Vienna—the long corridor along which were ranged the small passage-like apartments of the working class—was therefore embedded in the bourgeois apartment plan. More precisely, the long corridor of the proletarian *Gangküchenhaus* had been extruded from that plan. In the context of the

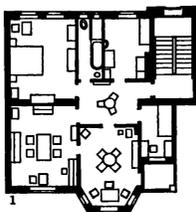
Gangküchenhaus, however, the corridor ran not parallel to an interconnected suite of rooms but perpendicular to the one-room proletarian dwellings that were themselves little more than passageways attached to its spine. Thus the interior space of the traditional Viennese working-class tenement consisted almost entirely of directional space, of corridor.

The Gemeinde-Wien-Type breaks significantly with this pattern: even in its later “Westernized” version, the corridor disappears entirely from the plan. The designated circulation space that remains—for example, the stairwell landings and the small entrance halls—is both multidirectional and multiuse, with the character more of a *Platz* (a place or a city square) than a street. Eliminating the long interior corridor also eradicated the qualitative and class difference between the front and back of the building. The most common arrangement in the new blocks was to have four apartments on a landing; two facing the street and two facing the internal courtyard (figure 6.20). But since the rear-facing apartments looked out onto large garden courtyards rather than narrow air shafts, the street-facing dwellings were no longer privileged and the back, courtyard-facing apartments were no longer disadvantaged or considered undesirable.⁹³ In fact, the new proletarian blocks, unlike the traditional apartment houses of Vienna, no longer had a back but rather two fronts; one facing the street and one facing the courtyard. The urban implications of this arrangement will be considered in the next chapter.

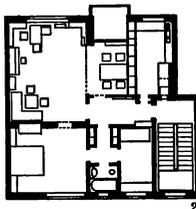
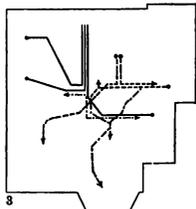
Removing the corridor from the proletarian dwelling also had important consequences inside the apartment. While movement through the apartment was certainly directional, the absence of designated circulation space gave it a particular character. The typical entry sequence advances from threshold to small entrance hall, from hall to *Wohnküche*, from *Wohnküche* to bedroom and/or *Kabinett*. Movement, in other words, is from room to room. Instead of being channeled by means of a corridor, traffic within the



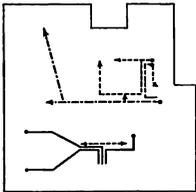
6.21 "Functional housing for frictionless living," flow diagrams by Alexander Klein, prepared for German Reichsforschungsgesellschaft, 1929. (Bauer, *Modern Housing* (1935): 203).



A. Bad Example



B. Good Example



organization of space within the small dwelling. In a famous example published in 1927, Klein demonstrated—by means of diagrams showing the “necessary movements” of occupants within differently configured spaces—the efficiency of the new functional apartment plans developed under the auspices of the Rfg, compared to the typical late-nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century apartment plan of approximately the same size (figure 6.21).⁹⁷ In the new economically and efficiently planned dwelling there is, as in Vienna, almost no dedicated circulation space. But the routes through the spaces—the patterns of use and occupation—are rigidly prescribed. And in Klein’s flow line diagrams, circulation is both channeled and clearly inscribed in the plan. Bathroom and kitchen activities are carefully separated from each other; bathroom activities are linked (by flow lines) to the bedroom, while kitchen activities are connected only to the living/dining room. There is no intersection, overlap or friction, between them. By contrast, if one were to plot the circulation and use patterns of the typical Viennese *Gemeindebau* apartment, the plan (like the old “Bad Example” used by Klein) would be overlaid with a tangled web of intersecting, overlapping lines.

The objectives of the Viennese housing authorities were clearly different from those of the German *Reichsforschungsgesellschaft*. The latter sought, as part of a larger effort to modernize and rationalize the national economy, to produce a “Functional House for Frictionless Living” by means of Taylorist time-motion studies. Space in the Taylorized living environment was shaped by movement, by the execution of prescribed tasks performed within it. These, Klein’s studies suggest, were most efficiently performed, and generated the least amount of friction, if the bedroom/bathroom functions were physically separated from the kitchen/living room functions.⁹⁸

Indeed, the organizational principles of the “Taylorized” plan reject type in favor of function. Conven-

tional notions of public and private, of front and back, of representational street-facing living rooms and utilitarian rear-facing service areas (kitchen, bathroom, etc.) are thrown out in favor of dwelling space conceived as a series of functionally differentiated operational zones. The principal domestic workstation obviously was the kitchen, where the housewife was envisioned—and in fact often also portrayed in photographs and film footage of the time—as the expert operator of the efficiently planned and outfitted “working kitchen.”

Feminist historians have shown that the German effort to Taylorize the domestic interior was part of a larger project to redomesticate the German housewife; to remove her from the workplace, which she had first entered during World War I and where she competed for jobs with men, and to resettle her in the home, where she would be provided with a well-equipped, technologically advanced workstation for performing her domestic tasks.⁹⁸ The housewife, thus accommodated, could be reintegrated into the workforce to perform essential—though of course unpaid—national service by providing her family with a healthy orderly home, “the source from which new, healthy and strong forces continually stream into our [German] industrial enterprises.”⁹⁹ “Rationalized house work,” as Mary Nolan has pointed out, “was not only central to the economic well-being of Germany but also to women’s roles as both mothers and citizens.” As Marie-Elizabeth Lüders, a German expert in the new science of home economics, argued at the time, it was “a state-political task of the greatest importance, a cultural duty.”¹⁰¹ The ideology of household rationalization, therefore, was but one of the many facets of German nationalist ideology. Such rationalization, as Charles Maier and Jeffrey Herf have pointed out, was as readily embraced by Social Democrats as by bourgeois conservative groups in Germany for its promise of economic recovery and prosperity.¹⁰²

The Viennese Social Democrats were also concerned with the new role for women created by the reform of the proletarian home, but in Vienna it was not to be played out within the domestic space of the individual household. Reducing the domestic burden of the housewife, as Otto Neurath and Margarete Lihotzky explained to the Women’s Committee of the Social Democratic Party in 1924, would give proletarian women more time for political work.¹⁰³ Images of the interiors of the new Viennese apartments published by the municipality in the 1920s are in fact very different from contemporary images of German apartment interiors. Rather than depicting housewives at their workstations competently operating the domestic machine, the Viennese illustrations show interiors either unpeopled or occupied by a family at rest—reading the newspaper, sitting at the *Wohnküche* table, daydreaming at an open window or balcony door. Girls in particular are shown engaged in intellectual pursuits; reading, studying, lost in thought (figures 6.22 and 6.23). Such activity as benefited party or state took place elsewhere, outside the home.

Indeed, the city produced and published a far greater number of images of the communal laundries, libraries, clinics, child-care facilities, kindergartens, public baths, gardens, parks, playgrounds, swimming and wading pools, theaters, lecture halls, and the like, emphasizing that the new political and economic life of the proletarian city was to be shaped not in the private space but in the public and communal space provided in the new buildings. Not only are the laundries, clinics, and other communal facilities shown in full operation, but they are also depicted as the sites of technological, sociological, and scientific innovation in the new socialist city.¹⁰⁴ These are the areas in which the Social Democrats concentrated innovative technological equipment: steam-powered washing machines (*Kauffdruplexkessel*), centrifugal spinners, mangles, electric drying apparatus, ironing rooms with steam

6.22 Top: Apartment in
underrated Gieselerbau,
photo 1924-1925.

6.23 View of gift working at
table in Wohnfläche of an
apartment in the Fuchsen-
feldhof (XII), Heinrich
Scheid and Hermann Abt-
inger architects, 1922-
1925. [Fuchs, *Der Fuch-
senfeldhof* (1923): 3].



024 Laundry, Am Tivoll
(XII), Wilhelm Peteris archi-
tect, 1927, photo ca. 1931.



6.25 Ironing room, Am Tivoli, photo ca. 1931.

6.26 Opposite: Plan of communal laundry facility, Karl-Maria-Hof, by Karl Moser, 1927-1930. [Der Karl-Maria-Hof. Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien auf der Hagenwiese in Heiligenstadt (1930): 10].



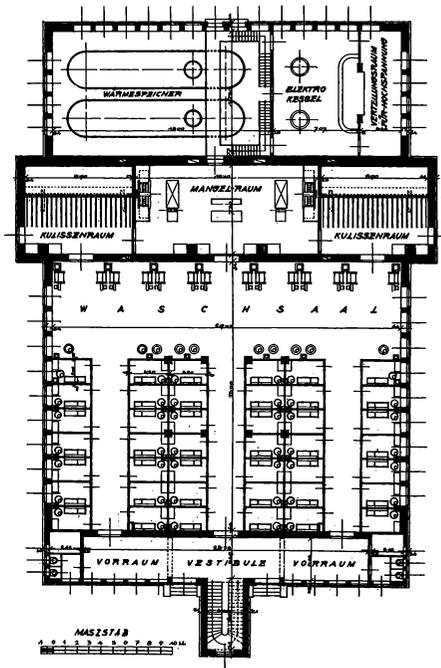
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irons in the laundries (figures 6.24–6.26); tubs and showers with molded aluminum stalls in the bathing facilities; the newest dental and medical equipment in the clinics (see figure 1.5); innovative teaching tools and furnishings, as well as library and workshop facilities in the kindergartens; toilet, changing room, washing, and cooking facilities in the child-care centers; climbing apparatus, wading pools, sandboxes, benches, and pergolas and trellises for shade and shelter in the playgrounds. The public areas were also the principal sites of artistic and other embellishments: sculptural ornament, decorative metalwork, flower boxes, and other plantings.

The public areas in the German *Stedlungen* built outside Frankfurt and Berlin during this time were also carefully considered and provided with landscaped parks, gardens of different kinds, and—for example, at Niederrad outside Frankfurt and Zehlendorf outside Berlin—also with ponds and wading pools.¹⁰⁵ But it was the private, not the public spaces, that were the focus for research in the new German housing developments of the 1920s. This difference may reflect something observed by Ernst May: the character of the new minimum-cost housing would be determined by the “detriments of the present dwellings” it was designed to correct.¹⁰⁶ In Germany, where neither the prewar nor the postwar housing shortages had been as acute as in Vienna, the concern of housing authorities was with the density of building in cities like Berlin and Frankfurt, where speculative tenements were tightly packed into back lots. Lack of privacy, along with the absence of light and air, were seen as the principal evils of the traditional working-class dwelling in German cities. The emphasis in the new housing, therefore, was on providing “living income earners,” as they were called, with hygienic—light- and air-filled—private space in units that, ideally, could be inexpensively built and efficiently operated.¹⁰⁷

In Vienna, where historically the working class had led a nomadic life and had been marginalized first

WOHNHAUSANLAGE - XIX. BEZ. - HEILIGENSTÄDTERSTRASSE WÄSCHEREI-UND-BADEANLAGE ERDGESCHOSS



6.27 Detail of entrance facade, Herreghof IV, Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger architects, 1925–1927, photo ca. 1928.



outside the city walls, and then behind the stucco-ornamented facades and back courtyards of the outer-city tenements, the issues were not only privacy and hygiene, but also identity and place. The concept of type—as historically evolved building form associated with place—thus played a key role in the Social Democrats' conceptualization of the new proletarian dwelling in Vienna.

Because of the new vertical dimensions of the Gemeinde-Wien-Type dwelling and because all rooms, including the toilets, had windows, with all of the windows in any given unit facing either the street or the courtyard, the facades of working-class dwellings for the first time in Vienna gave the full measure of the working-class home. And since the windows in the new buildings not only had different dimensions from those in the privately built structures around them but also were standardized, they created a distinctive pattern on the facades that was both new to Vienna and particular to the *Gemeindebauten*—and was therefore a mark both of difference and of identity. Distributed throughout the city, the *Gemeindebauten* therefore for the first time gave the proletariat a public identity and distinctive presence on the streets of Vienna (figures 6.27 and 6.28).

One of the more curious aspects of this was the sudden and unprecedented appearance of small toilet-room windows. Toilets had never faced onto the street in either working-class or middle-class apartment buildings in Vienna. Their windows—already distinctive because of their size, and often further emphasized by grouping, clustering, or exotic shape—became identifying features of the new buildings.¹⁰⁸ The street-facing toilet windows became the target of antisocialist jokes regarding the “ugliness” of the new buildings, which were described as “large chamber pots” because of them.¹⁰⁹ More ominously, the small toilet-room windows were ascribed a defensive function by opposition politicians, who charged that the buildings themselves were designed as fortresses, sited

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6.28 Am Fachsenfeld (XII),
Schmied and Aldinger archi-
tects, 1924-1925, photo
1925.



strategically throughout the city, and that the small toilet windows were intended to serve as gun emplacements.¹¹⁰ Though the belief was ridiculed by Social Democrats—as well as by Werner Hegemann, who wrote satirically in 1937: “The real purpose of these small openings, so the ‘Christians’ maintained, could obviously be no other than to serve as machine gun portals from which the ruthless laborers planned to pour death into the hearts of Christian owners of depreciated old tenements”—it was nevertheless widely held.¹¹¹ As the events of February 1934 proved, the *Gemeindebauten* provided little protection against the instruments of modern warfare deployed by the *Heimwehr*. But they did create a distinctive and unprecedented proletarian presence in the city that both acknowledged the political significance of those who lived in them and visibly laid claim to the public domain of the street.

Yet it would be inaccurate to suggest that the Viennese succeeded, where the Germans had failed, in establishing conditions that made possible the self-realization of the proletarian subject. As Helmut Gruber and others have shown, the Social Democrats in Vienna were as incapable as their counterparts in Germany of conceiving an autonomous proletarian subject, or even of imagining nontraditional roles for women within their program. Despite party rhetoric lauding the creation of a new active role for women in political work, the liberating power of salaried work, and the possibilities for transforming the traditional proletarian marriage into “an erotic-comradely relationship of equals,” the primary role of the socialist woman in Red Vienna was homemaker, wife, and mother.¹¹² Her task was to provide comfort and support, a home where her husband could recover his strength after work and could find peace and refreshment so that he would “no longer feel the need to go out” in search of comfort and recreation.¹¹³ In particular women were the principal guardians of the next generation. Motherhood—to nurture, support, and

educate the young—was the primary social and political role of their gender. Rationalization of the household was promoted in Vienna, as it was in Frankfurt and Berlin, as the primary way to reduce the working woman’s triple burden of job, household chores and child rearing. But, as Helmut Gruber points out, “the time gained . . . was not to be at [her] own disposal[.] . . . the socialist reformers had already allocated it.”¹¹⁴ Rather than freeing women to pursue their own interests, relief from housework would enable them to better perform their domestic-familial duties as mother and wife. Gruber and other historians of Red Vienna have shown that women gained neither status nor increased leisure through paid work, since women’s salaries (50–65 percent of men’s salaries for the same work) afforded them neither free time nor the financial wherewithal to hire professional help or acquire labor-saving appliances.¹¹⁵

The modern apartments apparently did little to change this. As Pirhofer and Sieder discovered, many women gave up jobs outside the home once they moved into the new buildings, partly because they no longer needed the income, but also partly because of social pressure to devote time and energy to “home-making.”¹¹⁶ Research has also shown that the social services provided in the buildings did not relieve the domestic burden of housewife and mother in quite the way they were intended to, or were portrayed as doing in the city’s official literature. Kindergartens, for example, only accepted children at age four, so younger children needed alternative care; some opened at 8:00 A.M., though the average workday began at 7:00 A.M.; some did not provide lunches; and most closed for extended holidays and when there were outbreaks of contagious childhood diseases. The communal laundries required housewives to complete the entire family washing within the single washday allocated each family per month (as noted earlier, though the supervisors were all male, men were not allowed in the laundries—ostensibly to protect the modesty of



women who removed their outer clothing to do the washing.¹¹⁷

In general the Social Democrats in Vienna can be (and have been) faulted for not having explored alternative, less traditional forms of socialized living.¹¹⁸ Proposals were made, but never followed up. In 1919, for example, Otto Bauer had proposed a revolutionary form of communal housing that would include "central kitchens and laundries, . . . play- and classrooms for children, common dining rooms, reading and game rooms for adults, and the cooks, laundresses, and child-care specialists required for the functioning of these communal facilities." In 1924 Josef Frank's associate, Oskar Wlach, described a scheme for such an establishment in *Die Neue Wirtschaft: Siedlung* row housing could be built around a central courtyard space in which community facilities were located.¹¹⁹

But the only attempt to realize such a program, the *Einküchenhaus* (central kitchen house) Heimhof built in 1925 to 1926, never really worked because it was unsuited to families with children. The project itself had originated as a prewar residence for single professional women, which had been built by the middle-class housing association "Heimhof" in 1912.¹²⁰ In 1922 it was expanded to include families in twenty-four units with central kitchen and dining room. In 1923 the Heimhof association requested a subvention from the municipality to enlarge the facility. Finally in 1925 funding was approved, the project was taken over by the municipality, and Otto Polak-Hellwig, the architect who had designed the first apartments equipped with Libotzky's new *Wirtschaftsküche* in 1924, was commissioned to design it. Completed in 1926, with 352 one- and two-room units, a central kitchen, and a dining-room that between meals converted to a café (which, like the traditional Viennese *Kaffeehaus*, was provided with current magazines and newspapers), the Heimhof was a luxuriously appointed facility. The kitchen offered a selection of four different menus per day (including one vegetarian),

meals could be taken in the dining room or in one's apartment (dumb waiters were provided to transport meals), and cleaning and laundry were done by house staff. In addition, there were reading rooms, hot-water baths and showers, and a roof terrace.¹²¹

But the labor-saving services and installations introduced in the Heimhof did little to benefit working mothers. Most obviously, the residence itself was not suited to proletarian families with children. The units were small (270 of the 352 apartments consisted of one room only), and the rent and service costs were beyond the means of most working-class families. In general the tenants in the Heimhof were either single adults or working couples with no children. And as Helmut Gruber has pointed out, the municipality also did little to promote this new housing form, or explore ways in which it could be adapted to the needs of families with many children. An article by Otto Neurath in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in June 1923 did promote the central kitchen house as the socialist housing form of the future; at the same time, he noted that in its current manifestation the *Einküchenhaus* was only "outwardly communal," since it lacked child- and youth-care facilities, and was better suited to middle-class intellectuals with no children and good incomes than it was to large proletarian families. Indeed, the ideal form for such communal housing, Neurath proposed, would be the combination *Siedlung-Einküchenhaus*, where each family lived in its own small row house but took its meals and shared child-care and domestic chores with the rest of the community (*Gemeinschaft*).¹²²

In general, the idea of the centralized kitchen house (regarded with suspicion by conservatives, despite its middle-class roots) was dismissed by working-class housewives as not meeting their needs and, in any case, beyond their means.¹²³ Ambivalent about such labor-saving schemes to professionalize and rationalize housework, many working-class women were intimidated by the machinery provided in the *Gemein-*

debauten laundries; they worried that bringing labor-saving machines or professional help into the home would have an alienating effect and would deny them individuality and control over their own private space.¹²⁴ For most working-class women in Vienna it was a moot point, since such services and appliances were generally unavailable and unaffordable.

Yet revisionist histories of the building program by Pirhofer, Sieder, and Gruber, among others, have argued that working-class women were actually disadvantaged by the move into the new housing, since it meant living without the support of extended family members and without the “building family” of the traditional working-class tenement—the network of female companions (since neither men nor children were expected to help, or did) with whom domestic chores and child care had been shared in the old *Bassena-* and *Gangküchenhäuser*.¹²⁵ It is true that the individual dwelling unit in the Viennese *Gemeindebauten* was small, prescriptively so, providing sufficient space for only a small nuclear family. (As an English architecture student remarked, “the families . . . must boil themselves down to the standard size flats, or take the consequences.”)¹²⁶ Large families with many children (“kinderreiche Familien”) could only be accommodated with difficulty, extended families not at all. Thus, Pirhofer, Sieder, and others point out, the new proletarian dwelling helped dismantle the traditional loosely constituted working-class household, without reconstituting the network of support and association it had supplied.¹²⁷ The basic social unit in Red Vienna, as in Weimar Germany, was the nuclear family. In large measure this reflected the persistence of nineteenth-century bourgeois attitudes among the party leadership, but it also corresponded to the Social Democrats’ larger purposes—to replace the traditional bonds of the extended proletarian family and household with new class-based political filiations.¹²⁸

The necessary demythologizing of Red Vienna in the revisionist histories of the last two decades has

brought to light the many shortcomings of the Social Democratic housing program, which earlier historians either overlooked or refused to acknowledge.¹²⁹ But these histories have tended in turn to romanticize the happy female subculture of gossip and support that sustained working-class families in the old tenements; in so doing they have reinforced gender codes and belittled the hardship endured by the women who lived and labored under those conditions. The new history has also given insufficient consideration to the spatial aspect of women’s lives and its qualitative improvement in the *Gemeindebauten*. Women’s space in the traditional working-class tenement of the *Bassena*haus or *Gangküchenhaus* type was concentrated in the kitchen-corridor nexus, pushed deep into the interior and back of the tenement building. This is where women labored and where, in the course of their labors, they socialized with neighbors and the extended “building family” of traditional tenement life. For the most part, women lived well behind the stucco-fronted street facades of the tenements, far removed from public view, from male society, and from the life of street and city. By erasing the corridor from both the building and apartment plans of the *Gemeindebauten*, the new housing broke apart the embedded space of women’s domestic and community life in the tenements. But it also relocated the activities that had taken place within that space to courtyard, balcony, and communal workplace. In the *Gemeindebauten* the sphere of female activity within the dwelling was pushed out to the periphery of the building where it became both visible and sighted. And although the working-class woman who lived in the *Gemeindebauten* continued to perform domestic tasks largely unaided by labor-saving appliances, professional help, or spouse, she no longer labored hidden from public view. Her kitchen was bright and airy, supplied with water, gas, and electric light; its spaces were often extended by a balcony that looked out on the public space of street or courtyard. Similarly, the washing of laundry (the heaviest domes-

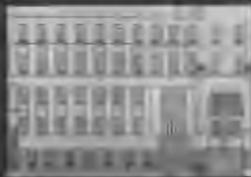


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tic labor) was no longer a task performed in isolation and unseen. To be sure, there were restrictions and sometimes intimidating supervision; but laundry was removed from the private space of the apartment to a communal space outside the home—a space, moreover, that was configured like the shop floor of a factory (figure 6.26), that was shared with other women, and that was bright, centrally located, and actually equipped with labor-saving machinery.

The *Gemeindebauten* thus did more than qualitatively improve the living and working conditions of the proletarian housewife. By blurring the boundary between public and private living space, between housework and work performed outside the home, between family and larger community, it also extricated women from the service zone hidden from public view and deeply embedded in the bowels of the old tenement, moving them into the privileged and highly visible public space and communal society of courtyard and collective workplace.

The new dwellings in the *Gemeindebauten* provided each proletarian family with its own hygienic, private living space. But that unit was not, as the architects of CIAM would have it, an urban “cell,” the fundamental dwelling unit, which needed only to be multiplied to constitute the larger social aggregate of settlement or town. Rather, the individual dwelling, as Otto Neurath described it, was like a brick in a building, a component part of a highly differentiated whole that was much more complex than the sum of its parts.¹⁹ The provision of private living space did not fulfill Red Vienna’s own mandate to house its working-class population, nor was the single-family home considered to be the full extent of the new proletarian dwelling. Instead that private space was embedded in the larger socio-spatial matrix of the *Gemeindebau*, inserted into the fabric of the city, which in Vienna represented the full measure of the new proletarian dwelling.



7

THE RED HOF: SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM
AND WAGNER SCHOOL PRACTICE





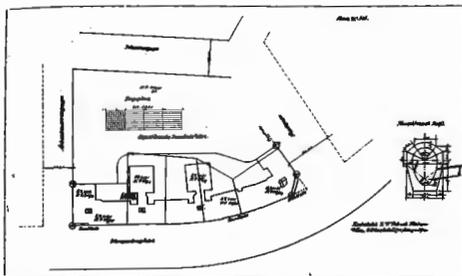
THE INDIVIDUAL APARTMENT BUILDING IS NOT THE OBJECT, BUT RATHER THE LARGE
BLOCK WITH HUNDREDS OF DWELLINGS. THAT IS THE OBJECT TO ORGANIZE.—Franz Siegel,
Der Tag (1924)

Like the private dwelling space, the communal space of the *Gemeindebau* emerged out of practice and was shaped by policy rather than by a precise architectural program. Indeed, programmatic descriptions of the new socialist housing blocks, before the city began to build, tended to be both vague and utopian. Beyond noting that the new housing would “encompass not only individual building lots, but entire city blocks” and would have “spacious courtyards with extensive lawns and play areas for children” the Social Democrats had no clearly articulated architectural program for the new buildings. Instead, the architecture of the *Gemeindebauten* evolved gradually in that early gestation period between 1919 and 1923, before the post-war inflation subsided and full-scale municipal building operations could begin.

But whereas the Gemeinde-Wien-Type apartment plans were developed by city housing authorities, the *Gemeindebau* as a distinctive urban building typology was shaped in a few key buildings by a small number of architects—most of them students of Otto Wagner—who played a central role in the architectural conception of Red Vienna. This chapter will examine in detail the relationship between Wagner School practice and the Social Democrats’ building program, along with the question of why the Social Democrats entrusted the conception of such an important aspect of their program to these architects. But if we first look at the buildings, aspects of that relationship will already become clear.

HUBERT GESSNER AND THE METZLEINSTALER-HOF: FROM BLOCK TO GEMEINDE-HOF In the previous chapter, Robert Kalesa’s building at Margaretengürtel 90–98 was examined as the original site of the Gemeinde-Wien-Type dwelling plan—the first building in which the municipal apartments conformed to the new standards, dimensions, and organization established by the city for worker housing. But there was another way in which the structure was groundbreaking. Margaretengürtel 90–98 comprised five building lots along the Gürtelstrasse.¹ Yet in Kalesa’s building the five parcels and the building itself are treated as a single unit with much of the ground-level space, outside and inside, as well as the attic story treated as common area in which facilities for the general use of tenants are located (figures 7.1 and 7.2). Kalesa’s plans for the building, dated 25 June 1919, show a child-care facility with playrooms, washrooms, a small kitchen, a sandbox, and other play structures at ground level in one of the rear courtyard tracts; in the attic were clothes washing and drying rooms, atelier space, and storage areas, alongside three roof gardens (figures 7.3 and 7.4). The designation of the courtyard and parts of the ground floor, attic, and roof of the building as communal areas for the use of all tenants was unusual in Vienna; even in middle-class apartment buildings, where the courtyard space was often quite extensive, such areas were reserved for the exclusive use of the owner-landlord and not generally accessible to tenants. The collectivization of this space in the Margaretengürtel building, therefore, marked a radical departure from conventional practice. It also established a new relationship of part to whole, and

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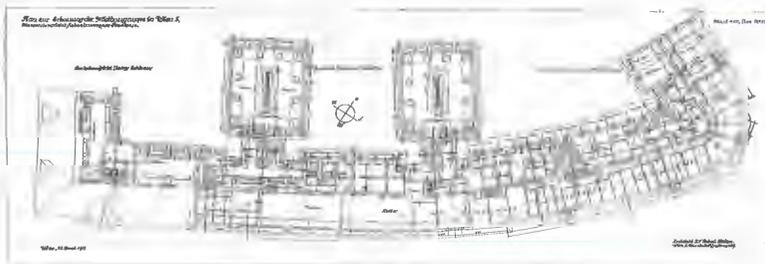


7.1 Top: Site plan, Mergentheimstr. 90-98 (V), by Robert Keiser, 1919.

7.2 Mergentheimstr. 90-98, view from Gürtelstrasse, photo ca. 1928.



Chapter 7



7.3 Top: Ground-floor plan, Margareten Gürtel 90-98, 1919.

7.4 Roof plan, Margareten Gürtel 90-98, 1919.



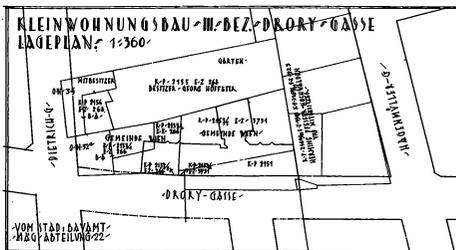
THE RED HOF

between individual dwelling unit and collective apartment block. Each tenant in the new building was provided not only with private living space (which in all probability was of higher quality than any he or she had known before), but was also allocated space outside the unit, in communal, shared spaces designated for collective use.

The spatial innovations introduced in the Margaretengürtel block were adopted in other municipal housing blocks built before 1923, including the Erdbergerhof (III) by Karl Schmalhofer, Balderichgasse 27 (XVII) by Karl Ehn, and Enenkelstrasse 36, known as "Haus im alten Ort" (XVI), by Hugo Mayer.² Located in traditionally working-class neighborhoods throughout the city, most of these early buildings were designed by the Stadtbauamt's own architects. Generally small, with eighteen to seventy-one units, the new buildings occupied between two and five standard building lots and contained four or five floors of standardized apartments. Though few of these early buildings were as well provided with communal facilities as the Margaretengürtel block or the later *Gemeindebauten*, each nevertheless had a limited amount of communal space in the basement, attic (where clothes washing and drying facilities were usually located), and small courtyard area behind the building.

But it is in their footprint that these first *Gemeindebauten* differ most strikingly from speculative building practice in Vienna. Encompassing several lots, the new buildings occupy their sites in a way clearly indicating that the underlying property lines of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century lot division inscribed in the *Regulierungsplan* no longer signify (figures 7.1 and 7.5). Superimposed on the old *Regulierungsplan*, the ground plans of these buildings show emphatically that it is the municipality building at large scale for itself, not the speculative builder developing the urban terrain lot by lot.

Kalesa's Margaretengürtel building, the first of the city's large apartment blocks, therefore established



7.5 Site plan, Erdbergerhof (III), by Karl Schmalhofer, 1922.

both a new internal organization and a new scale of residential building in the city. It also gave form to one of the fundamental principles of the socialist housing: that the new proletarian dwelling encompassed more than the living space of the individual unit and comprised not only private but also public space in the city. In the second phase of building on the site—in which the Margaretengürtel block was expanded to become the Metzleinstalerhof—this principle helped transform not only the traditional scale and organization of urban building in Vienna but the urban morphology of the city itself.

In 1919 the municipality had acquired the remainder of the block behind Kalesa's building, between the Margaretengürtel and the Johannngasse (see map, figure 6.1, section DE-3). This area, on the escarpment, fosse, and counterscarp of the old Linienwall, was sharply graded terrain that had been parceled into blocks and building lots, but not built on, before World War I. By the end of 1922, when the Austrian currency finally stabilized, the municipality had funds to build and engaged an architect, Hubert Gessner, to design a large, 141-apartment extension onto Kalesa's building.

Hubert Johann Karl Gessner (1871–1943), one of the principal architects of Red Vienna, played a key role in forging the link between Red Vienna and the Wagner School. Yet despite his importance he has remained virtually unknown outside Vienna.¹ Gessner was the only Wagner pupil with known connections to the Social Democratic Party. Born in Wallachisch-Klobouk near the Moravian capital of Brünn (Brno), Gessner studied building at the *Höhere Gewerbeschule* (trade high school) in Brünn from 1885 to 1889; in his final year, one of his classmates was Adolf Loos (Josef Hoffmann, two years behind, attended the school from 1887 to 1891). From 1889 to 1894 Gessner worked, first as a draughtsman and later as *Baumeister* (project architect), for a series of builders and architects in Moravia. In October 1894 he matriculated at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, where he was admitted (along with fellow [though Czech] Moravian Jan Kotěra and Slovene Josef Plečnik) to Otto Wagner's first master class or *Spezialschule für Architektur*. According to Rudolf Perco, another Wagner pupil who later worked in Gessner's office, Gessner was not one of Wagner's "so-called favorite pupils" (*sogenannten Lieblingsschüler*). The reason, Perco explained, was that Wagner, as a great builder-architect (*Nurarchitekt*), was not drawn to pupils of a similar bent; rather, he favored those "whose talents complemented his own artistic ego," who were theorists and artists rather than builders.⁴ Nevertheless, Wagner did take Gessner on in his atelier after the latter had graduated from the Academy in 1898. Gessner worked in Wagner's office from early September 1898 to late October 1899, a period during which Wagner was working on the Linke Wienzeile houses, the Nussdorf Lock, and of course also the *Stadtbahn*—projects on which Gessner might have worked.⁵

After leaving Wagner's office, Gessner first received an "artist's grant" (*Künstlerstipendium*) and then, through Wagner's influence, a position in the Moravian provincial building office (*Landesbauamt Mähren*)

in Brünn, which he held for two years. From 1899 until 1918, Gessner, who had opened a private practice around 1900, divided his time between Brünn and Vienna. In 1905 he formed a partnership with his younger brother Franz (1879–1975) that lasted until 1912, when they separated, apparently for personal reasons.⁶

An early project of this period was decisive for Gessner's subsequent career. In 1901 Gessner won a competition for a workingmen's home or labor club (*Arbeiterheim*) in Favoriten (X), a working-class district of Vienna. In the course of the work on the project he became acquainted with Viktor Adler, leader of the newly founded Austrian Social Democratic Party, who had also founded the Verein Arbeiterheim Favoriten (Favoriten Workingmen's Home Association).⁷ This friendship earned Gessner the lifelong support of Adler and the patronage of the Social Democratic Party. (After 1934 Gessner had virtually no work, and in 1938 his license to practice, or *Zivilarchitekt Befähigung*, was revoked.) Even before World War I, Gessner, who apparently never officially joined the Social Democratic Party, became known as the "party architect."⁸ In addition to the Arbeiterheim Favoriten, the significance of which will be considered later, Gessner designed a number of other buildings for Social Democratic Party organizations, including warehouses, administrative offices, factories, and bakeries for the socialist-run cooperative societies (*Konsumvereine*). The bread factory was a building type in which Gessner became something of a specialist. Between 1908 and 1921 he built ten large bread factories throughout Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia. Gessner's most spectacular bakery of the period was the Hammerbrotwerke in Schwechat (figure 7.6) outside Vienna (1908/1909), a massive complex that included factory, mill, silo, and administration buildings; in both its scale and abstract classicism it prefigured Peter Behrens's AEG High Tension Materials Factory in Berlin-Wedding of 1910.⁹ In 1910 Gessner also de-





7.6 Hammerbrotwerke, Schwechat, near Vienna, Hubert Gessner architect, 1908–1909. (Hubert Gessner, *Zwischentitel* (1931)).

signed a building on the Wienzeile (on the opposite side from Wagner's apartment blocks of 1898/1899) for the socialist publishing house "Vorwärts" (Forward)—publisher of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the newspaper founded by Viktor Adler. In 1912 Gessner was responsible for a major addition onto the Arbeiterheim Favoriten. During this period he also built apartment houses, a small number of freestanding houses, and provincial hotels for private clients.

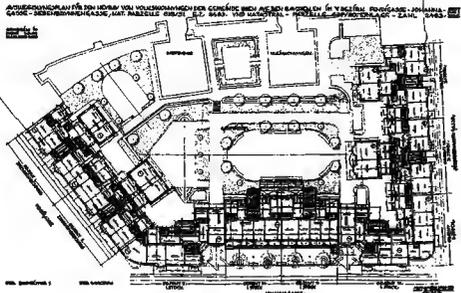
Gessner continued to build during the war: housing for factory workers and railway employees, an electrical engineering plant garage (*Elektrogarage mit Einfriedung*), and in 1917 an accumulator factory. Unlike most architects in Vienna, Gessner had work immediately after the war. Between 1919 and 1922 he built bread factories in Vienna (Floridsdorf), Linz, and Morava-Ostrava (Moravia), offices and workshops for the Wiener Eisenbahn AG (Vienna Railway Co.), a branch of the Arbeiterbank (Workingmen's Bank), and an apartment for Karl Renner, first chancellor of the Austrian Republic.¹⁶ Most of Gessner's factory buildings were powerfully massed and classicizing, though the provincial bakeries (e.g., the *Arbeiterbäckerei*, or "workers' bakery," in Rosenthal, 1910, and Spatenbrotwerke in Linz, 1921) tended toward a neo-

Biedermeier, vernacular classicism—the style of "around 1800" (*Um 1800*) popular at the time.¹⁷ His urban office and apartment buildings, in contrast, followed the urbane model of the Wagner's *Miethäuser* (apartment houses) of the 1890s (see figure 7.2B): rational disposition and clear articulation of parts, facades animated by ornamental metal- and brickwork, glazed tiles, and geometric surface patterns etched into rendered cement wall facing. It is not surprising—in view of his connection to the Social Democratic Party leadership, and given his prewar portfolio of large-scale urban and industrial buildings—that Gessner would receive one of the newly elected Social Democratic city administration's first large housing commissions.

Gessner's addition onto Kales's Margaretenürtel building extended it around the three remaining sides of the city block to create a perimeter block enclosing a large central courtyard or *Hof*. The addition also provided a new arched entrance facade (figure 7.7) on the Johanngasse (parallel to the Margaretenürtel). With the new entrance front Gessner choreographed a new entry sequence (figures 7.8 and 7.9). Instead of gaining access to the individual apartments from stair-

7.7 Top: Matzleinstorhof
(N), Hubert Gasser architect,
1922-1923, photo ca.
1924.

7.8 Plan, first floor above
ground, Matzleinstorhof,
by Hubert Gasser, 1922.
[Matzleinstorhof, Wohn-
hausanlage der Gemeinde
Wien 1925]: 21.



7.10 Courtyard, Metzleinstalerhof, photo ca. 1924.



interior of the district to define a new public square. At the same time the Metzleinstalerhof opened the interior of the block to the street, thus turning the traditional urban perimeter block of Vienna itself inside out to create a new form of semipublic space in the enclosed courtyard. In this way a new pattern of entry was structured, as residents and visitors moved from the public space of the street, through the semipublic space of the courtyard, to the private space of the individual apartment.¹²

Typologically, the Metzleinstalerhof recovered the open courtyard of the traditional Viennese *Hofhaus*. By connecting the interior courtyard space of the block to the street (figure 7.10), the Metzleinstalerhof recast what would normally have been the private space of the property owner into the public space of the city. And although this space (as critics of the socialist building program have often pointed out) was subject to the surveillance of residents and building superintendents, it was—and remains today—freely accessible to all. In other words, by embedding the Sirtresque square within the building block itself (see figure 8.4), Gessner changed the relationship and value of both courtyard and street—blurring the distinction not only between front and back, but also between inside and outside.¹³ The courtyard is both freely accessible from the street and enclosed within the private space of the building. It is thus simultaneously part of the public space of the city and part of the private (or at least semiprivate) space of the *Hof*.

The spaces of the Metzleinstalerhof have many uses and, like Robert Musil's modern urban citizen in *Der Mann Ohne Eigenschaften* (*The Man without Qualities*, written during this period and published in 1930), also many characters.¹⁴ The courtyard is park, circulation space, place of assembly, play area, and garden. The building itself houses dwelling space, commercial space, and space for a range of cultural and social institutions. The character of these spaces is multipurpose and pluralistic, as they integrate rather than separate

functions. They also mediate the passage between the public and private dimensions of urban life; in the process, they destabilize traditional concepts of boundary, not only between inside and outside but also between insider and outsider. The effect of the multifunctional spaces of the Metzleinstalerhof is, therefore, to undermine the spatial order of turn-of-the-century "engineer's planning" in the service of speculative development of the urban terrain.

The planning authorities who laid out the expansion plan for this area in the 1890s had sought to order urban space by precise classification of the constituent elements of urban form—streets, blocks, squares, public parks, infrastructural systems—according to function (circulation, recreation, residence, commerce, industry, and so on), so that they could be rationally reassembled and the future growth of the city precisely planned.¹⁵ Rather than analytically subdividing the terrain according to the functions of its component parts in order to parcel out those parts for private development, the new "red" *Gemeinde-Hof* (municipal courtyard) merges and weaves together a variety of functions to create a spatial fabric that has neither fixed character nor set use.¹⁶ This quality of the *Hof* and the spatial organization of the Metzleinstalerhof generally—from the planning of the apartments to the carefully modulated progression from public to private space (figure 7.11), as well as the designation of the courtyard as a shared, social space in which the communal facilities were located—became hallmarks of the new communal housing blocks and were gradually codified into design guidelines or "principles" for the new *Gemeindebauten*.¹⁷

TYPOLICAL ORIGINS OF THE "RED" GEMEINDE-HOF The Metzleinstalerhof was hailed by the Social Democrats as the first realization of a radical new form of proletarian dwelling space in Vienna. Featured in all the party's early propaganda literature as a "type-model" for the new housing the

7.11 Entrance front, Metzleinstalerhof, photo ca. 1924.



7.12 **Opposite:** Ground-floor plan, Arbeiterheim Favoriten, by Hubert and Franz Gessner, dated January 1912. The original building of 1901, facing the Loebenburgerstrasse, is at the top of the sheet.

municipality planned to build in its five-year program, “hundreds of thousands of images” of the original Margaretengürtel block were distributed to voters during the 1923 election campaign.¹⁸ Opposition politicians criticized the socialists for touting as exemplary of the new housing principles a structure that had been substantially built during the previous Christian Socialist administration. This was, of course, not true.¹⁹ But the relationship of the Metzleinstalerhof to existing Viennese building typologies is an important issue, and it has never been satisfactorily addressed.

Just how original or innovative was the Metzleinstalerhof? Typologically, neither the *Hof* nor the perimeter block was new to Vienna. Both had deep roots in the medieval court- and coachyards of Vienna’s outlying villages and in the seventeenth-century inner-city *Hofbau*, the distinctive urban housing typology of Vienna’s burghers. The most direct line of descent was from the *Klosterhöfe*, the large apartment blocks built by monastic orders in the early nineteenth century.²⁰ These buildings—like the Schottenhof (1831–1834) (see figures 2.4, section C-6, and 2.12) designed by the famous Biedermeier architect Josef Kornhäusel (1782–1860)—were monumental neoclassical structures, built around large interconnected courtyards; the apartments were accessible from either street or courtyard, depending on their location.²¹ The *Klosterhof* was the antecedent of both the late-nineteenth-century *Nobeliethaus* (grand apartment house, as built on the Ringstrasse) and the turn-of-the-century *Stiftungshof* (philanthropic housing project) like the Emperor Franz-Josef Jubilee Houses of 1898 (see figures 2.24, 2.25), which were the direct antecedents of the socialist *Gemeinde-Hof*.²²

But for all the similarities between the Metzleinstalerhof and the Jubilee Houses—which contained a large, landscaped courtyard, bathing facilities, laundries, shops, a public library, a lecture hall, and a health and welfare center—there are important spatial and typological differences. In the *Stiftungshof* the

boundary between city and *Hof* is clearly demarcated. The courtyard, though larger and more pleasant than the traditional tenement courtyard, is the same typologically. But the Metzleinstalerhof courtyard is different, or rather it is two things at once: both building courtyard and public place, just as the Metzleinstalerhof itself is a hybrid, part dwelling place and part civic institution. It is this plural aspect of the new socialist *Gemeinde-Hof*, as well as the distinctive spatial sequence (from public space of the street, to semiprivate communal space of the courtyard, to private space of the apartment) that distinguishes the *Gemeindebau* as an urban building typology, both from the traditional residential *Hof*-types of Vienna and from the courtyard and perimeter block forms of housing built during this period in Holland and elsewhere in Europe.²³

Programmatically the Metzleinstalerhof differed from traditional Viennese residential architecture in key particulars: the mix of public institutional facilities and workers’ dwellings, the scale and density of building, organization (courtyard access to communal as well as private spaces), direct ventilation and lighting of all rooms, and equipment of the individual apartments with water, gas, and toilets. These all had been determined by the municipal Housing and Welfare Departments and were prescribed in the city building office guidelines. Indeed, in its program the Metzleinstalerhof would seem to have a different lineage altogether from that traced by most architectural historians who have addressed the issue. Rather than looking to the late-nineteenth-century *Stiftungshof*, one might turn instead to a relatively new early-twentieth-century building type, the *Arbeiterheim*: a hybrid institutional structure and residence, in which socialist party cultural organizations were incorporated with workers’ apartments. Hubert Gessner, who (with his brother Franz) designed the first *Arbeiterheim* built in Austria, the Arbeiterheim Favoriten (1901–1902), played a key role in shaping the type.²⁴

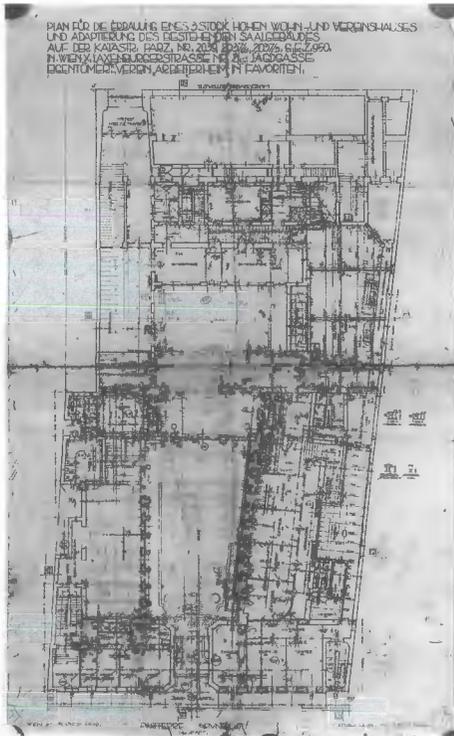


THE RED HOF

Nicknamed "Das Rote Haus" (the red house), Gessner's *Arbeiterheim* fronted onto the Laxenburger Strasse, one of the main arteries of Favoriten (X). At ground and mezzanine level were two assembly halls for "meetings, festivities, concerts, theatrical productions, public readings, lectures," together with a restaurant, classrooms, offices, a reading room, and library (figure 7.12). On the upper floors were forty small apartments (*Kleinwohnungen*) for workers.²² This organization was clearly articulated on the facade (figure 7.13), where the public rooms at street level were distinguished by tall windows and red walls, and where the white walls of the apartments above were inlaid with a geometrical pattern of glazed red tiles.²⁴ The *Arbeiterheim* was further decorated with sinuous *Jugendstil* wrought-iron balconies and entryway gates shaped into plant and animal forms. (According to a contemporary review, the wrought-iron entrance gates depicted a red fighting cock.)²⁷

Typologically, Gessner's *Arbeiterheim* combined the domestic spaces of the working-class tenement with the public rooms of the workers' union (*Arbeiterverein*), a turn-of-the-century building type that had taken shape along with the unions and other institutions of the fledgling labor movement in Austria-Hungary. *Arbeitervereinshäuser* were built throughout the Habsburg lands and Germany around 1900. According to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, that year there were union buildings under construction in Pilsen, Brünn, Prague, and Budapest, as well as in Berlin, Pütrch, and other German cities.²⁸ But the most famous example of the type was the *Maison du Peuple* in Brussels designed by Victor Horta (1861–1947) for the Belgian Worker's Socialist Party, completed in 1899, a year before the *Arbeiterheim Favoriten* competition. Gessner clearly knew Horta's innovative building and especially its top floor assembly hall, which he later evoked in his own assembly hall in Favoriten.²⁹

Like the *Maison du Peuple*, the *Arbeiterheim Favoriten* was, in Viktor Adler's words, "a building of



the [class] struggle" (*ein Haus des Kampfes*). Its forms and spaces were designed to evoke and further that struggle: to be "a fortress of solidarity, the material consciousness of power turned brick and stone."¹⁰ As Josef August Lux wrote, describing the project in *Der Architekt* in 1903, this posed a particular problem for the architect.

To design a building for the modern proletariat is an interesting and difficult task that is seldom encountered by architects, and that is a modern challenge of exceptional

significance. . . . A rigorous discipline is required in order to find the proper dimension; to give the impression of grandeur, without being brutal; to be simple without appearing impoverished; to be rigorous without becoming severe or austere. However class-conscious and filled with party feeling such a building must be, the household gods of comfort and hospitality must not be neglected. . . . An exact knowledge of the needs of a modern worker organization is a prerequisite, and beyond this purely factual knowledge is the necessary ability to give visible expression to the social ideas that such a building should embody.¹¹

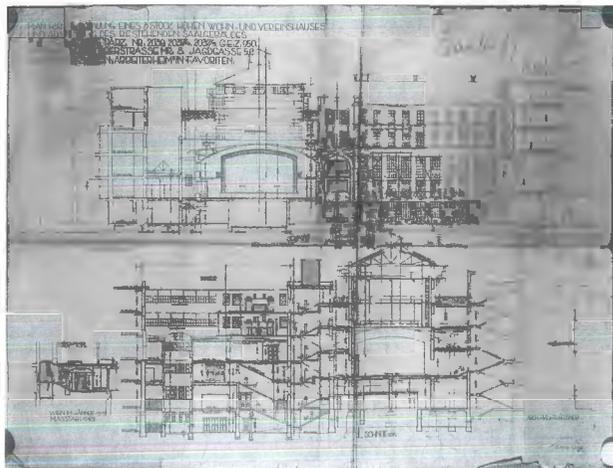
7.13 Facade facing Luxemburgerstrasse, Arbeiterheim
Focillon, Hébert and Franz
Gessner architects, 1901.
[*Der Architekt* 9 (1903): 16].



THE RED HOF

In 1912, when Gessner was commissioned to design an extension to the *Arbeiterheim*, he had a much clearer conception of the type itself. The addition (figure 7.14), directly behind the original building, fronted onto the *Jagdgaſse* and housed socialist union offices, club and association rooms, dance and lecture halls, a large gymnasium, and three additional floors of small “worker” apartments. These new facilities were grouped around a large open courtyard through which the assembly rooms, party offices, cultural facilities, and apartment floors in the complex could be reached. The new facade (figure 7.15) was considerably more

monumental and expressive of the public character and political significance of the building than the earlier one had been. Centered on the concave curve of a recessed entrance bay, it had a massive civic base (in which the double-height public rooms were located) and a more intimately scaled domestic zone above. Instead of smooth cement rendering and elegant linear surface ornament, the facade was clad in exposed red brick. This was as revolutionary a material and treatment in the context of late imperial Vienna as Horta’s light metal structure was in turn-of-the-century Brussels.¹² Like the *Maison du Peuple*, the *Arbeiterheim*



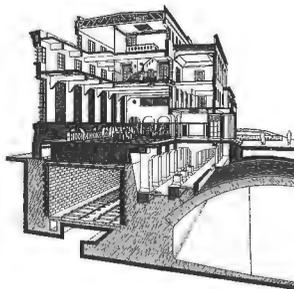
7.14 Section of 1912 addition, showing courtyard, meeting hall, and apartment floors, *Arbeiterheim Favoriten*, dated January 1912.

THE RED HOF

began practicing while still at the Academy of Fine Arts.

Their early student work consisted of small villas and town houses in Aichinger's home province of Upper Austria. In 1912/1913 they designed a garden suburb, "Ostmark" in Hietzing, Vienna's district XIII. The picturesque siting and vernacular stylism of the eighty one-, two-, and four-family houses were typical for *Städtebau* and garden suburb design of the prewar period. During World War I Schmid and Aichinger began to receive larger, government-sponsored commissions. In 1914/1915 they designed a troop hospital, the Rainer-Spital, a large complex with 530 beds. Built in Hietzing, it was a grand neobaroque composition with four linked pavilions set in a formal garden. The buildings themselves were in the then-popular neo-Biedermeier style of "around 1800," with broad hipped roofs, round-arched arcades, and plain surfaces except for a small amount of classicizing ornament.¹³

The most important building of Schmid and Aichinger's early career before the Fuchsenfeldhof was the central office of the Österreichische Verkehrsbureau (Austrian Travel Bureau) in Vienna. Built in 1922 to 1923, though designed earlier, the Verkehrsbureau was strategically sited directly opposite Josef Olbrich's Secession building on the edge of the Karlsplatz just outside the Ringstrasse. On a plot of land between the Linke and Rechte Wienzeile, at the head of Vienna's famous open-air street market (the Naachmarkt) and at the hub of several radiating streets, it was a traffic island, exposed on all sides and visible in many directions from a considerable distance. The site was also directly above one of Otto Wagner's major feats of structural engineering and urban design: the integrated tunnel and covered waterway of the *Stadtbahn* and Wien River Canal (see figure 2.23). It was a site, therefore, that was filled with significance for the central office of the Austrian travel bureau; centrally located for both foreign and local travelers in the city, it also literally rested on the complex interlocking sys-



tems of the urban infrastructure that bound the city of Vienna itself together.

Schmid and Aichinger's design, mindful of both the spatial and temporal dimensions of the site, demonstrates the skill in dealing with complex urban conditions that would distinguish their *Gemeindehäuser*.¹⁴ Structurally, the building was hung between the long walls of the double-height central booking and ticket hall, the foundations of which sat on pylons on either side of the *Stadtbahn* tunnel directly beneath it (figure 7.16). The pylons also supported the entrance hall and two floors of offices above it, which were cantilevered out over the arched roof of the Wien Canal and faced Olbrich's Secession building. The exterior massing of interlocking red and white stucco-faced cubes is perhaps a nod to that famous landmark of the Wagner School, but it also reflects the interior organization of the Verkehrsbureau itself: a central booking hall with offices wrapped around three sides and two more floors of offices above. Such clarity, as well as the intricate interweaving of building structure and space with the larger spatial and infrastructural order of the

7.15 Opposite: Facades facing Jagdgraben and courtyard, Auhofstrasse, Fuchsenhof, dated January 1912.

7.16 Österreichische Verkehrsbureau (Austrian Travel Bureau), by Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger, 1922-1923. Section showing interlocking structure of Stadtbahn, Wien River Canal, and building. (Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger: *Zwischenbauten* (1921): 10).

7.17 Below: Plan of mezzanine and site, Fuchsenfeldhof (XII), by Schmid and Aichinger, dated March 1922.

7.18 Opposite, top: Ground floor plan showing courtyard, public (communal) spaces and commercial spaces, Fuchsenfeldhof, dated March 1922.

7.19 Street end and courtyard facades and section, Fuchsenfeldhof, dated March 1922.

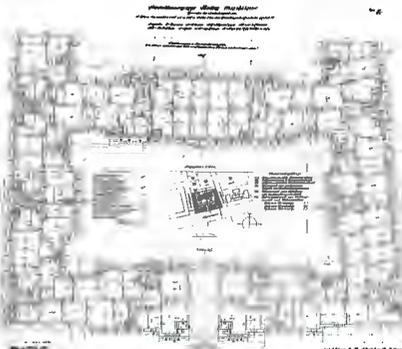
city—reinforcing and inflecting it at the same time—is reminiscent of Otto Wagner's *Stadtbahn* stations and came also to characterize Schmid and Aichinger's subsequent housing designs. In the case of the Verkehrsbureau, the building was literally bound into the underlying infrastructure; the *Stadtbahn* line underneath the building was used to transport construction materials to the site. These were unloaded from drays and moved by electric elevator to the particular location in the building where they were needed.³⁷

Equally predictive of Schmid and Aichinger's later work was the tendency to cloak such *Grossstadt* conceptions in a *Völkisch* (regional) mantle; in this case, the red and white stucco and neo-Biedermeier details, which combine the "national" colors of the Federal Republic's new flag (and its railway cars) with the ornamental details of an indigenous architecture, in an attempt perhaps to root it in place and imbue its forms with a national character. The result, particularly in

the cosmopolitan context of the site—flanked by Ojbrich's Secession, Wagner's Karlsplatz *Stadtbahn* stations, and Loos's Café Museum, as well as by Fischer von Erlach's *Karlskirche*—seems provincial and belies the structural complexity, rational clarity, and underlying urbanity of its spatial conception.

Fuchsenfeldhof: Phase I The Fuchsenfeldhof, built in two phases during the same period as the Verkehrsbureau (April 1922–February 1923), was likewise clear and rational in its organization and intricately woven into the urban fabric of its site.³⁸ The site (see figure 6.1), in one of Vienna's outer districts (XII) known as Meidling (derived from "Murlingen" or "by the walls," a reference to Roman walls in the district), had belonged to the Monastery Klosterneuburg since the eleventh century; for much of that time, it had been used for agricultural purposes. Like other outlying parts of Vienna, Meidling became increasingly industrialized through the nineteenth century. Brickworks (including the Wienerberger company), textile, and later metalwork and machine-building factories located in the area. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, worker hutsments of the most inferior kind were built around the brickworks and factories.³⁹

The city block on which the Fuchsenfeldhof was sited had been partially built upon before the city acquired it in 1922. A building originally intended for the commercial market had been abandoned (at the *Parterre*, or ground-floor level) when the Austrian monetary crisis brought construction in Vienna to a halt in 1919. When the city took over the site, Schmid and Aichinger, who had designed the original building, were commissioned to redesign it in conformity with the Social Democrats' new guidelines for municipal housing.⁴⁰ The new building, which contained 212 apartments, several shops and workshops, a large area for one of the city's cooperative stores, a child-care facility (*Kindergarten*), a central steam-powered laundry, and communal baths, occupied the wider, eastern end

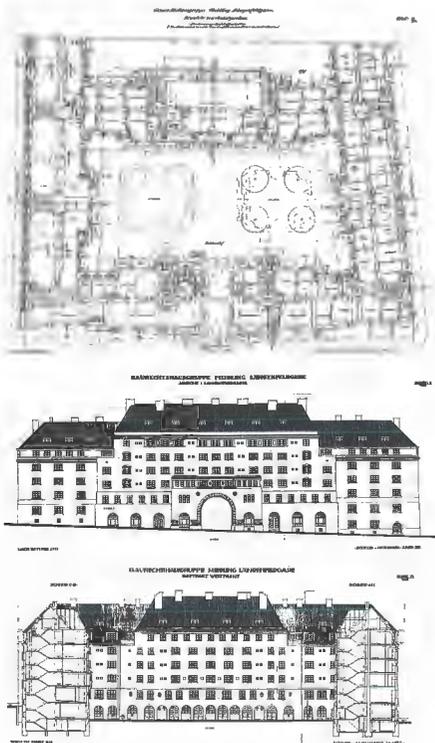


THE RED HOF

of the long trapezoidal city block (figures 7.17 and 7.18).¹⁴ A fully integrated mix of institutional facilities and living spaces, it bore the hallmarks of the new socialist *Gemeindehaus*: large enclosed courtyard, common entryways, courtyard access to communal facilities and private living quarters, stack (as opposed to corridor) circulation, Gemeinde-Wien-Type apartment plans with rooms facing either courtyard or street, distinctive standardized fenestration (figure 7.19), and new vertical proportions (which in this case allowed for the insertion of an additional story, while still adhering to the zoning restrictions regarding building height). Indeed, the Fuchsenfeldhof can be read as a direct transcription of the *Gemeindehaus* program.

Schmid and Aichinger's achievement was to shape that program with an expressive logic that makes both the organization and purposes of the complex, multifunctional spaces of the *Gemeindehaus* immediately apparent. Though fully integrated in plan and section, the public, private, and communal zones in the building are easily distinguished from each other by changes in massing, surface texture, color, and fenestration. This legibility extends as well to the organization of the highly articulated courtyard space (figure 7.20), where a covered arcade, pathways, plantings, changes in surfacing materials, benches, and play structures encode the many different uses to which the communal outdoor spaces can be put.

Organizational clarity in the Fuchsenfeldhof results from a conception of the parts in terms of the whole. Each element in the multipurpose complex is conceived in relational rather than absolute terms, as contingent upon rather than distinct from the others. Like Robert Musil's "man without qualities," the many characters (or qualities) of the *Gemeindehaus* spaces (public, private, institutional, domestic, recreational, commercial, etc.) coexist, overlap, interpenetrate, and together constitute a complex multifaceted and constantly shifting identity. At different times one or the other function may dominate, but none alone charac-



7.20 View of courtyard looking towards Kindergarten, Fuchsenfeldhof (Österreichs Bau- und Werkbund (1924–1925): 17).

terizes the whole. Both inside and outside, the spaces of the Fuchsenfeldhof are filled with possibility—not because they are undifferentiated as to function, but precisely because they accommodate so many functions and encode so many different uses.

Fuchsenfeldhof: Phase II In its expanded form (figure 7.21), the Fuchsenfeldhof added another, urban dimension to the relational multivalent spatial logic of the *Gemeindebau*. It would seem from the contract drawings of the original building that the Fuchsenfeldhof was intended (perhaps from the beginning) to encompass the entire city block.⁴ Phase two, which began construction in 1923, encompassed the remainder of the city block except for the southwest corner, which was occupied by two prewar apartment buildings. Grouped around three courtyards, the new structure added 267 apartments, four shops, two workshops, an instructional workshop (*Lehrwerkstätte*), a kindergarten, a reading room, additional laundry and bathing facilities, playgrounds, a wading pool in the

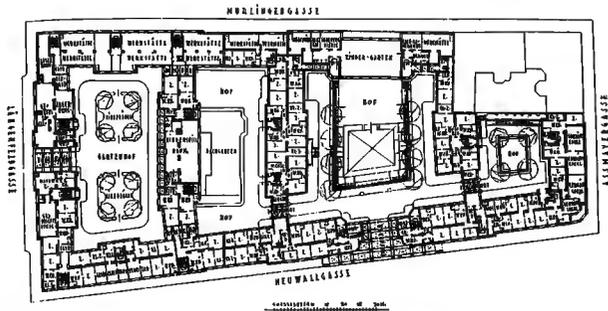
largest of the new courtyards that converted into an ice skating rink in the winter, and a new monumental entrance front on the Neuwallgasse.

Aside from increasing its size and amenities, the extension added a new urban dimension to the Fuchsenfeldhof's program. The original design had connected interior courtyard and street, opening up the spaces of the *Hof* to public view and use. In the second phase of building, the interior space of the entire city block, now a series of linked courtyards, was connected to the street. Linked courtyards were not new to Vienna. One nineteenth-century tenement type, known as the "Durchhaus" (literally, "through" or "passage house"), was a long, narrow building with linked courts that extended the width of the city block and had facades on parallel streets. But the linked courtyards of the *Durchhaus* were internal passages that had neither a distinctive presence nor a significant impact on the street (see map, figure 2.4, section E-7 for figure-ground plan). The Fuchsenfeldhof, in contrast, is a perimeter block with a powerful presence on four streets; through its monumental gateways and linked courtyards, it not only cuts a passage through the center of the city block but also connects the public spaces around it in a new way. The entrance facade on the Neuwallgasse (figure 7.22), for example, projects forward from the building line appropriating the public space of the pavement within its arcade and merging the communal space of the courtyard with the public space of the street. And though the park across the street (see site plan, figure 8.46) remains public, it too is visually appropriated by the monumental new entrance front that dominates it. As a consequence its relationship to the Fuchsenfeldhof becomes unclear.

The same is true of the parklike spaces inside the courtyards (figure 7.23). Are these interior or exterior, public or private spaces? Their uncertain character was remarked on by a contemporary reviewer: "When one looks toward the Fuchsenfeldhof from across the [Wilhelmsdorfer] park . . . one stares, astonished, and



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7.21 Top: Ground plan, Fuchsenfeldhof Phase II, by Schmid and Aichinger, 1922-1925. (Bilmar, Neubourten (1926), 1:29).

7.22 View of Fuchsenfeldhof from across the Wilhelmsdorfer Park. (Das Neue Wien (1926), 1:206).





7.23 Mein courtyard of expanded Fuchsenfeldhof looking toward entrance from on Neulerdiggasse. (Birnau, Neubauten (1926), 1, plate 26).

asks oneself in wonder: Is this the enormous palace of a millionaire, is it a castle, or a museum or what else could it be? . . . On striding through the gateway, a new surprise follows. One stands before an overwhelming garden courtyard, and is again thrown into confusion; Is this the jousting court of a fortified castle, or the market square of a medieval town, framed by houses of uniform height?²⁴

While remaining firmly within the strictures of the *Regulierungsplan*, the Fuchsenfeldhof calls into question the relationship between building and public space that the *Regulierungsplan* defines. Is the Fuchsenfeldhof a public or a private building? Is it residential or institutional? Is its central courtyard an enclosed private space or an open civic space? And how does it relate to the spaces around it? Is it a building in a park, set within its own grounds, or is it a park enclosed by a building? The codes are not clear, or more precisely, the building encodes so many characters, and its

spaces accommodate so many uses, that its identity is continually shifting and unstable. The Fuchsenfeldhof is in fact both public and private, domestic and civic; its courtyard spaces are both open to the city and enclosed within its walls.

How much of the effect of the Fuchsenfeldhof was the intended result of program? As we have seen, the Social Democrats' design guidelines purposefully departed from established building practice in Vienna. The new *Gemeindebau* was both larger and less densely built than the traditional Viennese apartment blocks; the organization, proportions, and ascribed uses of its interior spaces, including the public nature of its courtyard spaces, all represented significant departures from standard building practice in Vienna. But beyond the dynamics of type and program there was something else in play: the way in which those spaces were shaped, the way in which they related to each other and to the spaces of the city around them—the "rigorous discipline" by means of which the new buildings gave "visible expression to the social ideas" embodied in their program.²⁵ That factor was neither specified in municipal guidelines for the new housing nor, it seems, even imagined by the municipal authorities who were responsible for drawing up those guidelines. Instead, the architectonic character of the early *Gemeindebauten* derived from practice, and it was shaped by the architects—students of Otto Wagner—who were first commissioned by the city to give form to the social contents of its program.

THE ROLE OF PRACTICE: THE WAGNER SCHOOL

The role of Wagner School practice in shaping the building program of Red Vienna raises important questions that have never been satisfactorily answered: Why did Wagner School architects play such a key role in the Viennese building program? And why did the Social Democrats entrust the conception of their building program to these architects?

The reasons are still a matter of conjecture, though they were generally architectural rather than political. On the whole, the Wagner School architects were not socialists. Only Hubert Gessner was associated with the party leadership, and even he was not actually a member of the party. A number of other Wagner students were employed in the Stadtbauamt. Karl Ehn (who designed the icon of Red Vienna, the Karl-Marx-Hof, in 1927) was the most prominent, but there were several others as well: Engelbert Mang, Gottlieb Michal, Konstantin Peller, Karl Schrittwesler, Karl Stoik, and Josef Ludwig.⁵⁸ But aside from Gessner and Ehn, the Wagner School architects who dominated the program, and designed the largest and most significant buildings of Red Vienna—Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger in particular, but also Emil Hoppe and Otto Schönthal, Franz Kaym and Alfons Hetmanek, Rudolf Perco, Josef Hoffmann, Leopold Bauer, Ernst Lichtblau, Alfred Chalusch and Heinrich Schopper, Camillo Fritz Discher, and Paul Gützl—had no known connections to the Social Democratic Party or political ties to city hall.⁵⁹ To explain their preeminence in the city's program we must look to their Wagner School training and professional formation.

Architecturally, the Wagner School architects had been the progressives of the prewar period. Wagner's "Special School for Architecture" (*Spezialschule für Architektur*) at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna was itself considered to be the best architecture school in the Danube monarchy.⁶⁰ Admission was competitive and highly selective. Few architects of the many who applied were accepted (usually six or seven students each year out of a pool of applicants ten times as large). It would appear that the only criteria for admission were talent and merit. "I want to teach a superior minority, not an inferior majority," Wagner is said to have declared.⁶¹ Social or other connections had little currency with Wagner, who reportedly turned down the sons of a number of prominent families.⁶²

The three-year course of study in Wagner's *Spezialschule* was rigorous, intensive, and required full commitment to the principles upheld by the master.⁶³ Wagner's opening address to the Academy in 1894 stated his position clearly:

I am the representative of a certain *practical trend* [Wagner's emphasis]. . . . The realism of our time must pervade the developing work of art. It will not harm it, nor will any decline of art ensue as a consequence of it; rather it will breathe a new and pulsating life into forms, and in time conquer new fields that today are still devoid of art—for example, that of engineering. Only thus can we speak of a real improvement in art. I would even maintain that we must force ourselves in this way to reach a characteristic style representative of us. You see therefore that I, in proceeding from such principles, do not preach anything like giving up your ideal goals, but, on the contrary, consider it my task to train you to become children of our time, among whom I also count myself. There you have, as it were, my credo.⁶⁴

The architect's first consideration, when solving architectural problems, must be practical: "ask yourself this: how will this solution relate to modern man, to the assignment, to the *genius loci*, the climatic conditions, the materials at hand, and the financial means? Only thus can you hope to elicit true appreciation, and only then will the works of architecture that today are met for the most part with incomprehension or a certain tentativeness become generally understandable, original, and even popular."⁶⁵ It was the architect's task to elevate these facts, these "conditions of life of our time," to art—to give shape to time itself by creatively interpreting the purpose, necessity, means, and characteristics of the historical moment. "IT IS . . . CERTAIN," Wagner emphasized two years later in *Moderne Architektur*, "THAT NEW PURPOSES MUST GIVE BIRTH TO NEW METHODS OF CONSTRUCTION, AND BY THIS REASONING ALSO TO NEW FORMS."⁶⁶

The principal problem facing the modern architect, in Wagner's view, was the new scale of the metropolis. Wagner School training accordingly focused on urban architecture, and in particular on the problem of building in the existing city at a scale commensurate with the new social character and economic organization of the modern metropolis. This architectonic problem—of reconciling the old with the new—preoccupied Wagner throughout his career and was central to the Wagner School curriculum both in the early years of Wagner's master class, when Hubert Gessner was at the Academy (1894–1898), and in the later years when Schmid and Aichinger were students (1907–1910).

The problems assigned to students in each of the three years of the program actually varied little in the nearly twenty years that Wagner taught at the Academy (from 1894 to 1912).⁵⁴ In the first year students were assigned projects similar to the first “task they will face when they enter into professional life, namely, [the design of] a simple Viennese apartment house [*Wiener Mietsbau*],” in order to give them a sound training in building and a full appreciation of the problems involved.⁵⁵ The students were forced to grapple with the need to combine dwelling and commercial space on urban blocks of different sizes and to respond to a variety of site conditions.⁵⁶

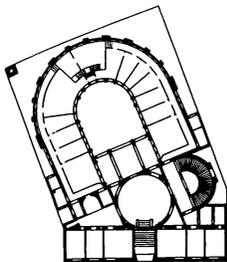
The second year focused on the design of “a public building, with all its complicated interior planning and characteristic exterior organization.”⁵⁷ In the third year students were given “exotic problems,” design assignments for imaginary buildings “that [they would] probably never encounter in [professional] life”—fantastic projects, usually conceived at equally fantastic scale, “for the training of the aspiring artist's imagination,” in order “to ensure that the divine spark of imagination that must always be alight in an architect become[s] a luminous flame.”⁵⁸

Like the Social Democrats' *Gemeindebauten*, therefore, the Wagner School design projects were

generally large buildings with complex functions and urban site conditions. The problem in the design of such buildings, as Wagner expounded in *Moderne Architektur*, his apodictic instructional handbook on architectural practice first published in 1896, was compositional.⁵⁹ Though “there is no recipe for architectural composition,” Wagner stated at the beginning of his chapter on the subject, there is certainly a methodology that can be prescribed. “After the conception of the basic idea, it is proper to define the needs of the building program, to organize them simply and clearly, and thus to produce the skeleton of the work. This organization must coincide with the development of the floor plan, since the latter above all involves creating the clearest and simplest axial solution for a building by shifting the spaces and spatial forms in an empirical way until a so-called academic plan, a building type, emerges” (82). Later on Wagner states that “A simple, clear plan in most cases requires the symmetry of the work. In a symmetrical arrangement there is some measure of self-containment, completeness, balance; an impossibility of enlargement; even self-assurance.” Yet, “where the shape of the site, purpose, means, or reasons of utility in general make compliance with symmetry impossible . . . an asymmetrical solution [is] justified” (86).

It is easy to relate the method prescribed here—beginning with the “expansive idea” (86) and proceeding through an analysis of program to a spatial organization in which the symmetrical figure of the plan is empirically modified according to the particular demands of site, purpose, means, and utility—to the contained monumentality and skewed symmetries of Wagner's own buildings, such as the Länderbank of 1882–1884 (figure 7.24) and the Neumann department store on the Kärntnerstrasse and Anker building on the Graben, both of 1895.⁶⁰ It is a method of design that proceeds from a unified conception of the whole to a clear articulation of relationships among parts; it encompasses not only the spaces inside the building





but also the spaces outside and around it. Wagner explains, "More often than not the scale of composition must be extended to include the total picture that will emerge; then the architect has the surely welcome opportunity to use his ability to influence and determine those things that will heighten the effect, prepare the view, create visual resting points, etc." (83).

Developed in plan, the building is visualized in perspective. "When composing," he continues, "the architect has to place great importance on the effect of perspective; that is, he must organize the silhouette, the massing, the projections of the cornice, the distortions, the sculptural line of the profile and ornaments in such a way that they appear properly emphasized from a SINGLE VANTAGE POINT [Wagner's emphasis]. This point will, of course, be that location where the work can be viewed most frequently, most easily, and most naturally. Nearly all monuments show what great value their designers placed on this condition" (86).

This was part of what Wagner termed "the strategy of architecture" (84)—the adjustment to site and control of vantage point, the relation between architecture and artistic effects. Wagner depicted his own projected buildings in elaborate perspectives that not

only conveyed the three-dimensional form of the buildings but also carefully situated them within the context of their urban sites (e.g., figures 2.21 and 9.3). As we have seen, four such "strategic" representations, showing projected *Stadtbahn* stations on four significant sites in and around the city center won Wagner the *Stadtbahn* commission in 1894.⁴¹

In *Moderne Architektur* Wagner elaborates further the significance of vantage point in the composition of urban buildings. In general, he notes, "Buildings on narrow streets . . . must be profiled very differently and present flatter ornaments and a more delicate structure than buildings on broad streets and squares, or those in which a distant effect is fitting" (87).⁴² But more often than not, the situation is more complex than this, particularly under current conditions in which "the demands of the unprecedented concentration of people in large cities . . . account for a certain grandness that often pervades modern works" (83). Under such (modern) conditions, where both the spaces and buildings are large in scale, architecture must be "composed for two viewing distances. Many buildings with domes and towers, triumphal arches, and the like demonstrate this fact. With the exterior of such buildings, therefore, the aim was certainly twofold: the facade with its details was to satisfy the person on the square or the street, while the high, richly silhouetted superstructure was either an integral part of a *veduta* or resonated harmoniously with the cityscape in order to become a characteristic landmark visible from afar" (87). In other words, because of the increased scale of spaces and buildings in the modern city, urban structures are generally seen from many vantage points, near and far. The implications for architectural composition are clear. If buildings are to function visually at two or more viewing distances within the city, they must (with these perspectives in mind) incorporate several scales in their design.

In Wagner's own work this intensely visual, perceptual understanding of composition, which accom-

7.24 Österreichische Länd-
erbank, ground plan, by Otto
Wagner, 1882-1884. [Kortz,
Wien am Anfang des XX. Jah-
rhunderts, II (1906): 360.]



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modates the constantly shifting vantage point of the urban viewer, is carefully calculated. In the Postal Savings Bank, his largest urban building (built between 1904 and 1906, and 1910 and 1912), middle, near, and distant viewing points are meticulously considered. From across the Ringstrasse (figure 7.25), the central pavilion of the main facade is crowned by an enormously tall decorative superstructure, which gives it both a pronounced vertical emphasis and a powerful presence on the Ringstrasse. This superstructure is all but invisible from the square directly in front of the building (figure 7.26). From that point, however, the long lateral wings flanking the central pavilion are visible, and the dominant impression is horizontal rather than vertical. This effect is reinforced by the channeling of the rusticated base at street level, a detail that is not visible from the more distant vantage point across



7.25 Opposite, top: Postal Savings Bank, Otto Wagner architect, 1904-1906, 1910-1912, seen from across the Ringstrasse, photo 1980.

7.26 Postal Savings Bank, seen from Dr. Karl-Lagerplatz, photo 1980.

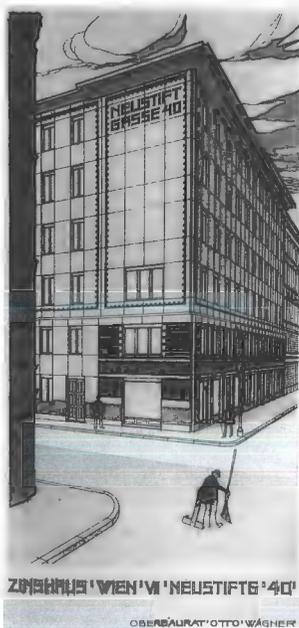
7.27 Left: Postal Savings Bank, corner of Billrothstrasse and Rumpelstilzstrasse, photo 1980.

7.28 Below, left: Apartment blocks on the Linke Wienzeile, Otto Wagner architect, 1898-1899, photo 1997.

7.29 Linke Wienzeile apartment blocks, seen from the corner of Kollengasse, photo 1997.



7.30 Neustiftgasse 40, by
Otto Wagner, 1909.



the Ringstrasse. On the rear and side facades, which front onto narrow inner-city streets, the dominant horizontality is more emphatic: the surfaces are tauter and flatter, the detailing more restrained, its effects concentrated at street level. Only at the corners (figure 7.27), where more distant views present themselves, is the eye led upward to the decorated projecting cornice line.

Wagner's less monumental buildings, particularly his apartment blocks of the 1890s and early 1900s, show a similar engagement with both the spatial and temporal contingencies of their urban sites. The apartment blocks on the Linke Wienzeile and Köstlergasse (IV) of 1898–1899, for example, are contained discrete apartment blocks when viewed from across the low stalls of the open market (the Naschmarkt) in the middle of the Wienzeile (figure 7.28). The one visible facade of the midblock Majolica House is gathered together under a low hipped roof. Köstlergasse 3 is also contained laterally, in this case between giant ornamental pilasters. At the corner (figure 7.29), where the building is visible from a great distance, the profile becomes more active and the surfaces more plastic. At close range both buildings rigorously maintain a pedestrian scale, and their surfaces dissolve into a transparent wall of shop windows at street level along the Wienzeile. The continuous glazing stops at the corner of the Köstlergasse, a secondary, less heavily trafficked street than the Wienzeile, where business is mostly local and conducted in small shops and workshops. Here the more modest scale of trade is accommodated by modestly scaled doors and shop windows. The same pragmatism that imparts such clarity to the facades of the buildings also makes the disposition of their internal spaces—shops below, four floors of apartments above, served by elevators and therefore equivalent in scale and status—clearly legible from the street.⁶⁴

In one of his last apartment blocks of 1909, on the corner of Neustiftgasse and Döblergasse (VII), this

THE RED HOF



7.31 Aerial view of Strothbachstrasse, Josef Strohmeisterstrasse (Görresstr.), photo 1994.

legibility becomes explicit as Wagner literally inscribes the internal organization and topographical significance of the building on its facades (figure 7.30). Along the street fronts commercial and private zones are demarcated by horizontal bands of black glazed tiles set into the rendered cement walls at mezzanine level. The four apartment stories above this line are themselves bound together by a narrow dotted outline of black glazed tiles. Aside from the boldly projecting coffered cornice, ornamental effects are concentrated at street level, where, as Adolf Loos observed, "architecture has to strike its greatest chord" since "modern

man, who hurries through the streets, sees only that which is at his eye level."⁶⁴ But Wagner in this building made a further concession to the busy urbanite, who, it would seem, is envisioned traveling by automobile or streetcar along the Neustiftgasse. High up on the facade, in letters and numbers large enough to be read from a distance and while moving at considerable speed, Wagner inscribed his building with its street address: "Neustiftgasse 40." He thereby not only acknowledged the temporal dimension of spatial perception in the city but also introduced a new dimension to the notion of legibility, whereby the urban building

functions as a sign, marking its own location and that of the viewer precisely on the street map of the city. The city and its cartographic representation thus merge, making explicit one of Wagner's fundamental tenets: the architect who builds in the city participates in its interpretation. To build is to represent and through representation to remake, to combine the dynamics of history and type with the facts of modern life.

The work of Wagner's that most clearly demonstrates this position, and at the same time also exhibits the urban qualities that distinguish the *Gemeindebauten* of Gessner as well as those of Schmid and Aichinger, is the *Stadtbahn*. Considered briefly in chapter 2, this was a project that occupied Wagner and his office—in which many of his students, including Hubert Gessner, were for varying periods of time employed—for more than eight years. An enormously complex undertaking, the *Stadtbahn* program called for the integration of the metropolitan railway system with the new ring road (Gürtelstrasse) and regulated waterways running through the city. Its construction involved the insertion of thirty-six metropolitan stations, as well as viaducts, tunnels, bridges, embankments, and other large-scale structures throughout much of Vienna. One of the Lueger administration's major modernization projects of the 1890s, it provided Vienna with its first municipal railway and regulated waterway system.

The *Stadtbahn* stations, though unrelated programmatically to the *Gemeindebauten*, are closely related in terms of the urban architectural problem they presented. Like the *Gemeindebauten*, the *Stadtbahn* was an architectural program that involved the insertion and integration of a great number of large, socially significant new structures into the existing fabric of the city. The railway buildings, like the socialist housing blocks, were new building types with significant urban organizational functions. The design problem in each case was to create a repeatable type for a group of buildings that were related by purpose but often differed significantly in their specific architectural pro-

gram, their size, and the historical and topographical conditions of their sites.

The *Stadtbahn* stations configure the city as a complex spatial network where movement is constant and conceived in three dimensions. The proportions and tectonics of the structures simultaneously anchor the *Stadtbahn* in place and detach it from the traditionally conceived spaces around it (figure 7.31). The monumental, classicizing masonry buildings, viaducts, and bridges architectonically echo the proportions and scale of the buildings around them, thereby rooting each structure to the particular context of its immediate site. Yet each structure is also penetrated, and linked to the next, by a tensile filigree of iron railings, canopied galleries, and railway tracks that threads through the city—sometimes above, sometimes below, sometimes at grade—linking stations, viaducts, and tunnels into one continuous structure conceived at the scale of the city itself.

The *Stadtbahn* thus relates to the city at both local and metropolitan scales. The stations, which link city and railway, mediate the passage from street to train, as well as the transition from pedestrian to metropolitan pace and scale. Vertically they bridge the distance between elevated viaduct or underground tunnel and ground level. Often sited at the intersection of major traffic routes, as for example along the Gürtelstrasse or Danube Canal, they both connect and mark the points of overlap between old and new systems and patterns of circulation in the city (figures 7.32 and 7.33).

The metropolitan railway system also transforms existing spatial relationships. While retaining the underlying structure of the historical space of Vienna, the *Stadtbahn* superimposes a new scale and order upon that structure to recast it in the metropolitan image of the train itself. Places separated by great distances are brought into contact, while others that are geographically proximate become estranged because of the absence of direct railway connections between them. Locally, however, the individual station build-



7.32 Stadtbahn station, Währingerrivueue at intersection of Gürtel and Währingerstrasse, showing integration of old and new and the convergence of bus, streetcar, and elevated railway line, photo 1926.





7.33 Plan showing South-bahn viaducts bridging Gumpendorfer Zeile and leading into Gumpendorfer-Strassen station (Südbahnhof), by Otto Wagner, 1894. (Wagner, *Einige Skizzen* [1896], 2-Blatt 57).

ings and viaducts reinforce the existing scale and patterns of their surroundings and mediate the passage between city and railway, local and metropolitan scale. Inscribed with street and district names, these structures function as an elaborate system of signage throughout Vienna, marking points of intersection and interweaving old fabric and new. According to Wagner's paradigm, therefore, the *Stadtbahn* reinterprets the city, connecting past and present to shape the historic moment.

Like the *Stadtbahn*, the two *Gemeindebauten* we have looked at so far, in particular the Fuchsenfeldhof, also function as both metropolitan and local scale.

Contained, monumental, and symmetrical in its massing, the Fuchsenfeldhof, for example, has a public, civic presence that dominates the park and streets around it. But this larger scale and monumental presence are predicated on distant viewing from Wagner's prescribed "single vantage point." Viewed from close by, or as one moves around and through the building, the monumental presence recedes and the facades, with their distinctive fenestration and vertical proportions, become a register of the proletarian dwellings and community life contained within. At close viewing, therefore, it is the local scale of dwelling place and daily life that dominates.

This shifting back and forth between near and distant viewing points, between a perception of the building in its entirety from a stationary vantage point and in its details from a moving vantage point, and the double register of metropolitan and local presence impart what Wagner described in one of the most evocative passages in *Moderne Architektur* as a "sensuous intensity" to the Fuchsenfeldhof.

One of the attributes peculiar to human perception is that in examining any work of art the eye seeks a point of rest or concentration; otherwise a painful uncertainty or aesthetic uneasiness occurs. This will always prompt the architect to design a focal point where the rays of attention combine or organize themselves. . . . An important human characteristic having an even stronger influence on the architectural composition is the need and desire to intensify sensuous effects. When these are gratified, a higher contentment is achieved.

The sensuous apprehension of the impression made by a great monumental design, for example, can perhaps be explained in the following way. First the general image is indistinctly grasped, and only some moments later the eye and impression slowly concentrate on a point, during which time the silhouette, distribution of color patches, border, and total arrangement continue to have an effect.

The resting of the eyes has occurred.

Only then does the need appear to apprehend the effect of the individual parts and details by constantly shifting the viewpoint.

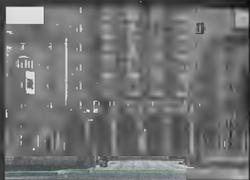
The satisfaction of such human demands through artistic creation is to be counted among the most difficult tasks of architecture. . . . The laws according to which such tasks are to be solved form an integral part of the main ideas of the composition and frequently act like a revelation to the creator of such works. They are, as it were, the counterpoint of architecture. (87–88)

This passage, so evidently informed by turn-of-the-century German aesthetic theories regarding the perception of form, is clearly indebted to Adolf Hildebrand's distinction (in *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* [1893]) between "visual" and "kines-
thetic" perception; the former occurs when the eye is stationary and takes in an object from a distant vantage point; the latter, a "near view," occurs when the eye is forced into motion in order to grasp the object in its entirety.⁶³ But Wagner seems to combine Hildebrand's essentially optical understanding of perception with August Schmarsow's exactly contemporary phenomenological, empathetic conception of kinesis, according to which perception of the particularly architectural attribute of *Raumgestaltung* (spatial forming) involves the body as well as the eye in the perceptual process.⁶⁴ For Wagner (as for Schmarsow), it is not only the eye but the "viewpoint" that shifts, the body that "perceives" architectonic form as it moves through constructed space. In *Moderne Architektur*, therefore, it would seem that Wagner has assimilated the perceptual theories of Hildebrand and Schmarsow to the broad spatial matrix of the city, transforming these theoretical conceptions of the way in which objects are perceived simultaneously as wholes and as fragments, as figure and ground, in terms of "point" and "counterpoint," into a theory of architectural composition in the city.

This was a formal dialectic upon which a design method could be based. The "sensuous effects" of this perceptual, intensely visual conception of architectural composition are the plurivalency, complex multiple codings, and shifting identity of the *Gemeindebauten* observed earlier. It is a formal dialectic in which the relationship between point and counterpoint can be easily translated into an architecture of social relations between collective and individual, city and dwelling. And it is thus that the Fuchsenfeldhof reveals its social contents (dialectically) through carefully calibrated shifts between point and counterpoint.

Though over the next ten years the 400 *Gemeindebauten* built by the municipality of Red Vienna were individually and eclectically shaped by more than 190 architects and by the conditions of each site and building program, the relationships of scale and organization integral to the type remained constant. Like the iron tracks and railings that had literally bound together Wagner's *Stadtbahn* stations, viaducts, and bridges a generation before, the distinctive proportions and spatial hierarchies of the *Gemeindebauten*—as well as their standard window sizes, and the inscriptions printed in bold red letters on their facades: "Erbaut von der Gemeinde Wien in den Jahren . . ." (Built by the municipality of Vienna in the years . . .)—were a continuous thread that bound each building to the Social Democrats' political purposes, identifying it as part of a larger architectural program that encompassed the entire city of Vienna.

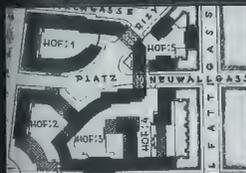
As we will see in the next chapter, the relationship between that program and the city establishes a dialectic at the level of the city plan between building and city, between the old spatial order of the nineteenth-century *Regulierungsplan* (development plan) and the new spatial order of the socialist *Gemeindebauten*—a dialectic that destabilizes while seeming to reinforce the old and that posits a new order of relationships among public and private space, identity, and ownership of the urban terrain.



8

BUILDING AND CITY: THE POLITICS OF THE PLAN





By the time the Fuchsenfeldhof was nearing completion, the Social Democrats' first five-year building program was well underway. More than fifty private architects had been hired, and in 1924 construction began simultaneously on more than forty sites throughout Vienna. The commencement of large-scale building operations also marked the beginning of a new planning strategy. The new building sites, though located (as before) in relatively dense urban areas, were to be larger than hitherto, and the blocks themselves were to be bigger, comprising only "large building groups." Each was to contain as many dwelling units as possible, while still adhering to the Social Democrats' guidelines regarding density, organization, and program.¹

The new buildings were also to be brought "into line with existing and projected building as specified in the city's *Generalsregulierungsplan*" (general development plan) of 1893.² This was a complicated process requiring reciprocal adjustment:

It was necessary on the one hand to align the new building projects with the general development plan, and on the other to modify the *Generalsregulierungsplan* itself to accommodate new traffic and transportation requirements, new town planning concepts, as well as the very particular building standards [imposed by the municipality] for the new municipal housing blocks. The result was a profusion of novel, and sometimes difficult to master, problems. Often the existing configuration of city blocks and building lots, based on the speculative system [under which the development plan itself was originally drawn up], and the new building standards were incompatible.³

The problem was thus an urban one: to reconcile the programmatic and spatial requirements of the new structures with the existing development plan; to contravene without violating the legal building code. The new buildings therefore established a dialectic between the old spatial order of the city plan and the new order of the *Gemeindebauten*.⁴

SITE CONDITIONS According to city officials, there were four typical site conditions with which architects commissioned in 1924 had to contend. The first was "a complete city block . . . bordered on all sides by existing streets. As a rule the type which emerged was a simple perimeter block [*Randverhausung*] with spacious

courtyards in the interior." Often, however, a few lots had already been built upon. In such cases, "it was seldom possible to find a solution using the simple system of perimeter block construction. The existence of buildings in the interior of the built up lots required a planning strategy [known as] *Lückenverbauung* [infill building]. . . . In such cases it was necessary to deploy the building masses in a way that would mask the firewalls and airshafts of the old buildings, and at the same time yield a satisfactory garden/courtyard solution."⁵

A third site condition offered considerably greater possibilities. "Where the municipality owned several adjacent city blocks, the intervening streets could be closed to vehicular traffic, circulation redirected, and the blocks linked in such a way that a large building complex [*Grosswohnanlage*] spanning two or more city blocks could be accommodated." In such cases "it was possible, despite the constraints of the existing street plan, to break free of the usual pattern of development, and to give the architect free rein; an opportunity previously only afforded by monumental, public building commissions in Vienna."⁶

A fourth condition existed only in the so-called expansion zone, on the periphery of the city, where it was not necessary to consider the prescriptions of the development plan. Here, aside from "taking into account major traffic routes, zoning restrictions regarding building height, and elastic guidelines regarding building type, designers had a free hand" to design entire landscaped "residential quarters" (*Wohnviertel*). Often, "in order to explore all possibilities, commissions for many of these larger planning projects were awarded by competition."⁷

Each site-dependent solution to the problem of reconciling new building standards with the existing *Regulierungsplan* implied a different relationship between building and city.² When we examine these various solutions, the spatial politics of those relationships and the organizing function of the *Gemeindebauten* themselves become clear.

THE PERIMETER BLOCK: BUILDING AGAINST THE CODE In terms of its building footprint, the perimeter block remains firmly contained within the city plan, but (as city officials also noted) it allows the architect considerable “freedom in the development of the plan.”⁹ Indeed, the problem of accommodating as many units as possible on the site, while maintaining the low density, stack organization, and courtyard access specified in the building office guidelines, was resolved in a variety of ways.

One of the most coherent groups of large *Gemeindebauten* was built alongside Hubert Gessner’s original *Gemeindebau*, the Metzleinstalerhof, on the Margareten­gürtel. This area (see map, figure 6.1, sections DE-3 and 4), where the Gürtelstrasse, following the line of the old Linienwall, curved southeast around the district of Margareten, had early on been targeted by the socialists for large-scale development.¹⁰ Demolition of the outer defense line in the 1890s had freed large expanses of open land for development. The area had been regulated, and street and building line plans drawn up. But the blocks had not yet been parceled into building lots. Indeed, much of the land that had previously abutted the inside wall of the old defense line was still agricultural and had been used during World War I for allotment gardening.

The core of the Margareten­gürtel development, the work of Hubert Gessner and the firm of Schmid and Aichinger, was built between 1924 and 1927.¹¹ The first building to follow the Metzleinstalerhof on the site was Hubert Gessner’s Reumannhof, built in 1924. It was named after the first mayor of Red Vi-

enna, Jacob Reumann (who had retired in 1923), and was intended to be the centerpiece of the new development.¹²

One of the largest *Gemeindebauten* to date, the Reumannhof comprised 485 apartments, 22 stores, a child-care center and kindergarten, several meeting rooms, and central laundry facility; it occupied 6,603 square meters on the Margareten­gürtel just north of the Metzleinstalerhof.¹³ Gessner’s original design (figure 8.1) was unusual and became immediately controversial. Spanning two blocks, it had at its center a twelve-story tower set back from the street and flanked by two six-story perimeter blocks enclosing courtyards. The tower, Gessner explained, was to be 40 meters tall, “approximately . . . twice the height of a contemporary Viennese apartment building.”¹⁴ Its base was to cover an area of 550 square meters and to contain six three-room apartments on each floor, for a total of seventy-two apartments in all. Heralded as “the first skyscraper in Vienna,” Gessner’s Reumannhof design sparked furious public debate regarding the appropriateness of high-rise housing, and tall “skyscraper” construction for any purpose, in Vienna.¹⁵ The general consensus among professionals and non-professionals was that Vienna did not need skyscrapers. Unlike the island of Manhattan, the argument went, Vienna was neither congested nor circumscribed in area. There was still plenty of building land available outside the old city center; and even in the center there were many single-story buildings with large courtyards in the inner districts that had survived since the eighteenth century, offering possibilities for development. High-rise housing, particularly in the absence of elevators (which were not provided in the Reumannhof tower, though space was provided for them to be added later—once the city could afford to install and run them), was considered to be not merely an inconvenience but an imposition on the inhabitants of such buildings.¹⁶



8.1 Reumannhof "skyscraper" schema," by Hubert Gessner, January 1924. From *Der Topf*, 11 January 1924, 6.

Gessner offered a contextual defense of his design. The building was not a skyscraper at all, he claimed. "Just because a building has six more stories than another isn't cause for designating it a skyscraper," he wrote.¹⁷ Its height was in fact a function of its site and was calculated, he argued, according to the width of the street onto which it faced. The street in this case, the Gürtelstrasse, was not only extremely wide but also had a large public park on the other side, so that the Reumannhof fronted onto an open area approximately 120 meters across.¹⁸ The site was therefore appropriate, even particularly well-chosen, for a building of extraordinary height.

But Gessner's design was in fact less a response to site than to developments outside Vienna, and to the search that engaged Europeans as it did Americans in the 1920s for a new scale and system of building in the metropolis. After World War I, European enthusiasm for the skyscraper was newly associated with the idea of the "specialist city" or business core of the modern metropolis.¹⁹ In German-speaking countries, a number of well-publicized competitions—Berlin Friedrichstrasse (1921), and Hamburg Messehaus (1924–1925), as well as the international competition for the Chicago Tribune building, which attracted thirty seven German entries (1922)—focused attention on the tall building as both a new office type and an architectonic solution to inners-city congestion.²⁰

In Vienna, two other highly publicized projects for skyscrapers on prominent sites were under consideration in 1924. The first was a twenty-four-story office building on the grounds of the *Rossauerkaserne*, adjacent to the Danube Canal on the Ringstrasse. The second, a proposal of Leopold Bauer, was for a twenty-five-story office building on the site of the old *Naschmarkt* adjacent to the *Karlsplatz*.²¹ Like the German competitions, they were for office buildings only and did not include housing or any other residential component. Neither did the slightly earlier (1922), and likewise unrealized, design by Adolf Loos for a multifunctional high-rise complex, intended to be a cultural "forum" with theater, restaurant, café, hotel, and other recreational facilities grouped around open courtyards, sited on the grounds of the former *Palais Modena* (later the *Modenapark*) in district III.²²

The international discourse regarding the skyscraper as a modernizing instrument of urban land reform in the 1920s culminated in Raymond Hood's proposal, "A City under a Single Roof," published in 1929 (just before the stockmarket crash) in *The National Business*.²³ In that article Hood suggested gathering together commercial, residential, cultural, and professional premises in large multiform complexes, each occupying several city blocks. Such microcities "under a single roof" would solve transportation problems in metropolitan centers by eliminating commuter traffic, thus reintegrating urban functions and civic life.

European Social Democrats—and, it seems, Viennese building authorities in particular—were favorably inclined towards the new American megastuctures, not so much to solve traffic problems in the city as to provide an integrative model of urban social and infrastructural organization. It is not without significance that Franz Musil, before he became director of the Vienna *Stadtbauamt* in 1925, traveled to the United States "to study the spirit of world citizenship in its living workshop" in Boston, New York, and other major cities. "This kind of Americanism" wrote



the Viennese critic Max Eisler, who interviewed Musil for the German journal *Moderne Bauformen* in 1925, “can only have a positive impact on the mature development of Viennese building.”²⁴

Not only building officials but also architects in Vienna evinced an interest in the synthetic forms of American urbanism in the 1920s. Gessner himself suggested that “in a metropolis . . . dwelling (or residential, floors) should only really begin on the fourth or fifth floor above ground since at that level big-city dwellers are offered what they so urgently need: sun and fresh air. If church spires and cupolas tower over the sea of inner-city buildings, why should not dwelling and office towers be admissible, so long as they do not deprive their neighbors of light and air? Once the first tall building [*Hochhaus*] is built in Vienna, its advantages will be grasped. For Vienna a new era will begin, as it did when the old city walls came down.”²⁵ Here Gessner was echoing arguments put forward a few years earlier by the German architect and advocate of high-rise housing Bruno Möhring, who in 1921 suggested placing residential towers in landscaped parks.²⁶ But the image evoked by Gessner—of tall buildings with a business base and residential superstructure—can be related more directly to August Perret’s similarly organized “Avenue of residential towers,” published in *L’Illustration* in 1922; it was part of a theoretical project, “Tower Cities,” which occupied Perret and Charles Lambert, an architect in his office, in the early 1920s.²⁷ Certainly, the towered housing block that integrated work and living space in the city was part of the socialist conception of the modern metropolis, figuring in Neurath’s “Städtebau und Proletariat” as well as Ludwig Hilberseimer’s “Hochhaus Stadt” (high-rise city), developed in the same year as Gessner proposed his *Hochhaus* scheme for the Reumannhof.²⁸

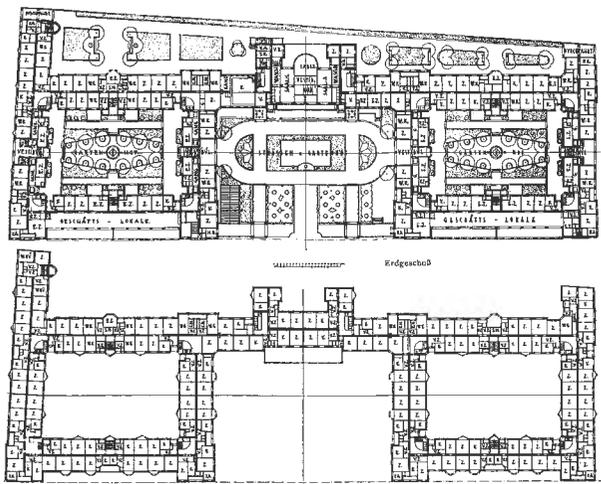
And despite the controversy over the height of the Reumannhof tower, it appears that the Social Democrats endorsed Gessner’s scheme. “Until now such

projects were not feasible,” *Der Tag* reported in January 1924, “because they violated the regular building code. The current city administration, however, taking into account the housing crisis and prevailing conditions has reserved the right to approve such projects if they meet with general approbation and can be architectonically integrated into their sites. Thus the execution of this project has been approved by the city, and is moving ahead.”²⁹ But the municipality subsequently withdrew its support. Franz Siegel announced on 10 January that “The project of architect Gessner, like a whole range of other skyscraper projects, . . . is not being considered; we will in this year . . . build a large [housing] complex on the Margareten Gürtel, but it will not be over normal height.”³⁰ Gessner was forced to redesign the Reumannhof, reducing the tower to six stories of apartments capped by two “penthouse” floors of artists’ ateliers with terraces and balconies. The new design was presented to the city council and approved on 30 May 1924. Construction began two weeks later.³¹

Even with the tower reduced to eight stories, Gessner’s executed design (figure 8.2) was scaled to the larger context of its site.³² The 180-meter-long facade fronting onto the Margareten Gürtel dominated not only the boulevard but also the 20,400 square meter Haydn Park beyond it. This was one of the Social Democrats’ largest new public gardens, designed in 1925 by Josef Joachim Mayer; it was located on the site of the former Hundstürmer Cemetery, where the composer Josef Haydn (after whom the new park was named) had at one time been buried.³³ At the northern end of the park was a playing field of approximately 6,000 square meters for outdoor sports and gymnastics. The remainder of the park was furnished with benches, paths, playgrounds, changing rooms, public toilets, and a milk bar.

The revised Reumannhof design resembles another popular multifunctional American building type that had gained currency in Europe before World War





8.2 Opposite: Reumannhof across Hoyth Park, Gesaner architect, 1924-1925, plans ca. 1925.

8.3 Reumannhof, ground- and first-floor plans 1924. (Bittner; Neubauten (1926), 1:71.)

l; the grand hotel, open to the street and furnished with a wide range of social and physical amenities.¹⁴ But the baroque composition of the new scheme (figure 8.3) is also filled with cultural memory and local associations. The large central pavilion and the forecourt with flanking wings and side courtyards, as well as the palette of the Reumannhof's red and yellow stucco facades (see plates 2 and 3), recall Vienna's eighteenth-century garden palaces—including Schönbrunn, just a few miles west of the Reumannhof itself. But, as was so often the case in Red Vienna, the historical and

typological reference is evoked only to be subverted by its new context. Unlike the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century garden palaces of baroque Vienna, including the Palais Belvedere and Schwarzenberg (see Wieden district IV, figure 2.4, sections I-9 and I-10), which are close to the city center and extend the order of the internal spaces across vast gardens that unfold behind them, the Reumannhof has neither landscape nor gardens but rather the untidy proletarian district of Margareten stretching out behind it (figure 8.4). Yet the Reumannhof does project forward and, like the

8.4 Top: Aerial view of Reumannhof and Metzleitnerhof just after completion (before Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger's Herweghof, Poppohof, and Mottehof were built behind and adjacent to the Metzleitnerhof), photo ca. 1927. [Das Neue Wien (1927), 3-84].

8.5 Reumannhof, central pavilion, photo ca. 1925.



buildings on the Ringstrasse, is oriented toward the grand boulevard in front of it (figures 8.5, 8.6, and plate 4). Gessner's accomplishment in the Reumannhof is to combine this larger presence with a local presence, provided by shops, cafés, clinics, park spaces with benches, and trellises along the street, that are scaled to the pedestrian and the daily life of the district.

The Reumannhof is the defining monument of the Margaretengürtel development, which was soon dubbed the "Ringstrasse of the Proletariat" (figure 8.7). But unlike its namesake, the Proletarian Ringstrasse did not demarcate a boundary; it served instead

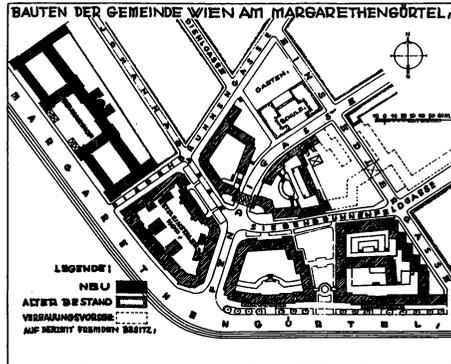
to link together districts that had been separated by a wall and fosse for more than two centuries. These connections were reinforced by the three large *Gemeindebauten* designed by Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger, built alongside the Reumannhof and Metzleinsalerhof between 1925 and 1927 (figure 8.8). The first two, the Herwegghof and the Julius-Poppohof, front onto the Margaretengürtel.¹³ Conceived as a pair, the facades facing the boulevard mirror each other in terms of massing and ordonnance, even though the Poppohof, with 400 apartments, is almost twice the size of the Herwegghof. Inside, however, the courtyards of the two buildings are



8.6 Reumannhof, street facade along Margaretengürtel, photo ca. 1925.

8.7 Top: "Ringstrasse of the Proletariat." From *Die Unzufriedene*, 30 August 1930: 1.

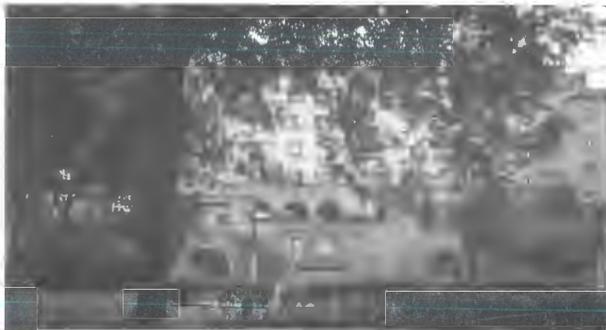
8.8 Plan showing new Gemeindebauten along Margareten Gürtel (north and east of Matzleinstalerhof) by Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger, ca. 1925. [*Das Neue Wien* (1927), 3:65].



remarkably different. Since both were built on the escarpment of the old Linienwall, they had to accommodate dramatic shifts in grade. In the Herweghof (figure 8.9), this is done by means of broad terraces linked by a central T-shaped staircase with flanking pergolas that gives the courtyard space the quality of a Renaissance palace courtyard, reinforced by the concrete pilasters and imbricated columns that flank the Siebenbrunnenfeldgasse entrance inside the courtyard. By contrast, the Poppohof courtyard spaces are tall and narrow (figure 8.10), intricately woven around an internal block that bisects the courtyard and mediates the dramatic drop in grade from the Margareten-gürtel to the Siebenbrunnenfeldgasse. The feeling of the spaces, reinforced by the jagged profile of the stepped gable ends along the Einstiedlergasse, evokes the town square of a medieval hillside village rather than the terraced garden of a Renaissance palace.

Begun somewhat later, the Matteotihof can be understood as a response to the urban conditions cre-

ated by the two earlier blocks. Set back from the Margaretengrütel, it provides a link between the new edge and the old interior of Margareten. Correspondingly the Matteotihof has two entrance fronts, one facing a narrow park between the Herweghof and Poppohof (figure 8.11), the other straddling the Fendigasse, which at the time was a significant access route connecting the area outside the Gürtelstrasse to the interior of Margareten. This is the principal entrance front of the Matteotihof (figure 8.12), a monumental gateway that functions as the entryway into its courtyard and the district behind it. The *parti* is not unusual in itself. Bruno Möhring, for example, published a series of designs in 1921 for monumental buildings bridging streets, which he proposed for various sites in Berlin.³⁶ Magazines of the 1920s are filled with designs for megastructures straddling city streets, few of which were actually built.³⁷ But the significance of Schmid and Aichinger's monumental entrance piece on the Matteotihof is that it does double duty as



8.9 Herweghof courtyard, photo 1980.

8.10 Poppohof courtyard,
photo ca. 1927.

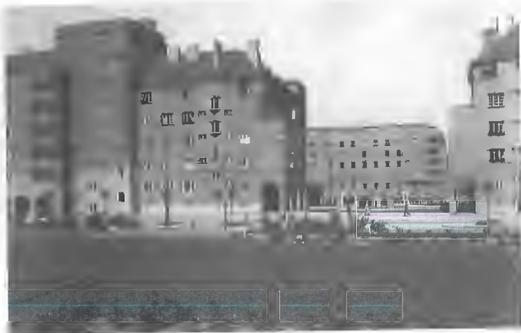


courtyard entry and city gateway; it provides access to both the interior of the *Hof* and the public space of the district behind it, merging city street and *Gemeindehaus* courtyard.

Collectively, the Herweghnhof, Julius-Poppohof, and Matteottihof perform several urban operations. Exploiting the irregular topography of the site and existing street patterns, they bind together and mediate the passage between the broad "Ringstrasse of the Proletariat" and the old fabric of Margareten, creating a spatial environment that is both intimate and grand. Every transition from open to enclosed space, from terrace to street, from courtyard to entryway is carefully considered; mediated by connecting stairs and views (figures 8.13 and 8.14), facilitated by inscriptions, lamps, illuminated signs, and other markers of place embedded in the fabric of the buildings themselves. The effect, described by a contemporary observer, is "an odd air of invitation . . . [that] compels the stranger to wander through the courtyards, and under archways: unexpected . . . lights and shadows beckon him on," and almost imperceptibly merge the spatial order of the historic city with that of the new socialist *Gemeindehaus*.¹⁸

Between 1927 and 1932 the "Ringstrasse of the Proletariat" extended northward along the Margaretengrütel (figures 8.15 and 8.16). During these years other *Gemeindebauten* were built on both sides of the Grütelstrasse, as well as schools, a bus depot, and an employment office.¹⁹ Individually, each new *Gemeindehaus* performed the same sociospatial function of opening the interior space of the city block on which it was built by means of one or more open courtyards, embedding the municipality's new public facilities in the courtyard space, and connecting the new communal space to the public space of the street. In each case, the existing spatial grid of the city remained intact, but the way in which the spaces in that grid were apportioned and used was radically different from before. Together, the *Gemeindebauten* that constituted the Ringstrasse of

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8.11 Top: Hærvagthof (left), Pappshof (right), Mattheusthof (center back), photo ca. 1928.

8.12 Mattheusthof, entrance bridging Fændiggasse, photo ca. 1928.



8.13 *Right: Mattenstadel, view of courtyard across Fendlgasse, photo ca. 1928.*

8.14 *Mattenstadel courtyard, passage under laundry, photo ca. 1928.*

8.15 *Opposite: Aerial view of Gemeindebauten along the Margaretenärzel, photo ca. 1960.*







8.16 Map of Margareten-
district area showing new
buildings (crosshatched),
June 1929. [General-Stadt-
Plan, VIII-5, 1929].

the Proletariat allocated not only private but also public living space to a social class that had previously had access to neither. Often the allocation of public space was achieved by careful siting, by disposing the masses of the new buildings so that they enclosed or otherwise forged connections to existing squares, parks, and streets around them. Though they left the underlying spatial organization of the city essentially unchanged, by their presence they changed its significance.

Karl Ehn and the Logic of Type No architect conceived the transformational potential of the *Gemeindebau* as an urban building typology delimited by the city plan more clearly than Karl Ehn. Best known as the architect of the Karl-Marx-Hof, Karl Edmund Ehn (1884–1959), along with fellow Wagner students Hubert Gessner and Schmid and Aichinger, played a central role in the Social Democrats' building program.

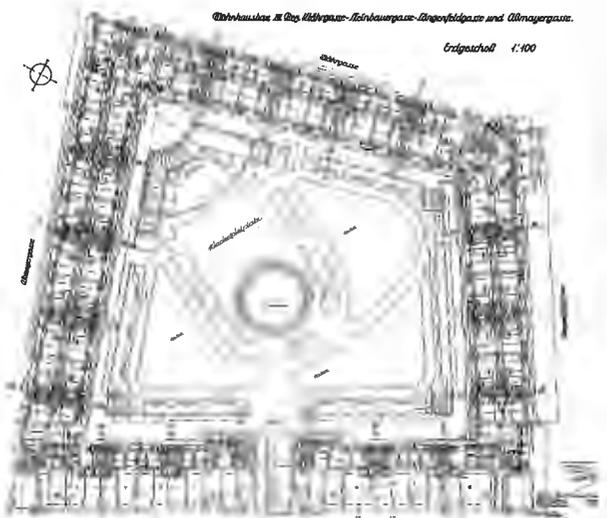
Thirteen years younger than Gessner and a year older than Schmid and Aichinger, Ehn completed the three-year course of Wagner's master class just before Schmid and Aichinger entered the school in 1907.⁴⁰ After graduating, Ehn worked briefly as site architect (*Bauleiter*) for the firm of Badstieber & Reiner and then as project architect for the Slovenian Max Fabiani (1865–1962), one of Wagner's best-known early assistants, who worked in Wagner's office from 1894 to 1898. Around 1900 Fabiani had designed several important apartment buildings in Vienna, with glazed commercial space below and tile-faced apartment floors above (including Portois & Fix, 1899–1900; see figure 9.2), which advanced the direction of Wagner's famous apartment buildings of the 1890s on the Wienzeile. Later (1905–1914) Fabiani was architectural advisor to Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Habsburg throne, and built throughout the empire in Slovenia, Trieste, Gorizia, and Vienna. Fabiani was working on one of his most famous prewar Viennese buildings, the neobaroque Urania Cultural Center (1905–1909),

while Ehn was in the office.⁴¹ In 1908 Ehn left Fabiani for the Vienna Stadtbauamt, where he remained until his retirement in 1949.

As a person Ehn has remained enigmatic. The son of a joiner or cabinetmaker (*Tischler*), he appears to have been the perfect civil servant, rising steadily within the ranks of the Stadtbauamt. In 1927, the year after he received the commission to design the Karl-Marx-Hof, Ehn was promoted to *Ober-Stadtbauamt* (senior architect).⁴² In 1950, following his retirement, he received the honorary title *Senatsrat* (senator). Evidently proud of his academic qualifications, Ehn signed his drawings "Karl Ehn, Akademischer Architekt" (academic architect), something that fellow Wagner students Gessner, Schmid, and Aichinger never did. By his own account (given in 1959), Ehn belonged to the Social Democratic party briefly from 1927 to 1929; but otherwise he remained politically unaffiliated throughout his long career. Yet as a city employee who began service in the empire, who achieved professional recognition and acclaim for his work in the service of Red Vienna in the 1920s and early 1930s, who continued to work through the 1930s and 1940s during the Austro-fascist Dollfuss and Schuschnigg years, on through the Anschluss with Nazi Germany, World War II, and into the Allied occupation of Austria after the war—without loss of status—Ehn would appear to have been able to please many masters. Ehn's personal affiliations are unknown; he never married and appears to have lived by himself, latterly in district XIX not far from the Karl-Marx-Hof.

Ehn's second large *Gemeindebau*, the Bebelhof of 1925–1926, is an archetypal perimeter block (figure 8.17; see also map, figure 8.16, section A-3 and 4).⁴³ Built around the circumference of a trapezoidal city block, it contained 301 apartments, eighteen shops or other commercial premises, five ateliers or workshops, a large meeting hall, a tuberculosis clinic, a youth-care facility, a playground, and a wading pool. All these facilities were accommodated with absolute clarity

8.17 Bebelhof, ground-floor plan, by Karl Ehn, dated May 1923.



and control: the shops on the street at the base of the main facade; the residential zone above, set back from the street and separated from the public zone by a balcony extending the entire length of the facade (figure 8.18); and the two zones pulled together into a monumentally conceived street frontage where battered pylons and cylindrical projecting bays topped by flag poles flank the entrance and seven-story towers contain the corners. Except for the clinic on the northeast corner, which has its own entrance on the Längenfeld-

gasse, the Bebelhof is entered from a single entryway at the center of the Steinbauergasse.⁴⁴

The courtyard (figure 8.19), which occupies the entire interior space of the block, is large and open. But its spaces are highly articulated. Movement through the courtyard is precisely choreographed. Circulation and service areas are demarcated by paths and paved walkways that skirt the central garden space and the city's new "Colonia System" garbage containers housed in roughcast reinforced concrete enlo-

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8.18 Top: Bebelhof (XII),
Karl Moser architect, 1925-
1926, photo 1926.

8.19 Bebelhof, view of court-
yard, photo 1926.



sures. Concrete pergolas originally framed the wading pool and playground in the center of the courtyard. Other parts of the courtyard, planted with grass and provided with park benches and other garden furniture, indicate their designation for adult use.

The highly programmed organization of the Bebelhof courtyard spaces is best understood in light of the observation by city building officials in 1926 that the courtyards were not always used or valued by residents of the new buildings, because they were a type of space—part public, part private, enclosed yet freely accessible—that was unfamiliar to those for whom they were provided.⁴⁵ The issue of estrangement is significant. Though familiar in its forms and even its organization—which did not differ much from the public parks in all Vienna districts—the new garden/courtyard was *verfremdet*, or made strange, by enclosure within the courtyard of the building, that transformed the public park into an ambiguous public/private courtyard.⁴⁶

A similar ambiguity exists between the Bebelhof and the city block it occupies. By following out the center of the block, the Bebelhof and other *Gemeindebauten* like it transform territory that was private, and traditionally occupied by building, into space that is both public and freely accessible, though contained within the built-up perimeter of the city block.⁴⁷ While in its footprint the building and city block are one, the traditional ratio of mass to void has been reversed; as a result, in plan the Bebelhof looks like a figure-ground inversion of the traditional city street and block.

In the Lindenhof (figures 8.20 and 8.21) designed in 1924 and sited on a long narrow block in Vienna's district XVIII, Ehn internalized not only the city park but also the street and flanking sidewalks around it. Exploiting the topography of the site, Ehn created a series of stepped terraces in which the public facilities of the *Hof* are located.⁴⁸ In the middle terrace is the linden tree (from which the complex derives its name),

a day-care center with large meeting hall, and a playground; on the lower level is a youth center and library; on the upper level is a park with benches, paths, flowerbeds, and fountains. Open at both ends, the Lindenhof appropriates the public space of the Sitte-esque city square for its communal courtyard.

The Lindenhof was planned in conjunction with the more or less contemporary Pfannenstielhof across the Kreuzgasse, designed in 1924 by Erich Leischner, also a Stadtbaumeister architect.⁴⁹ This block was actually designed to bridge a new street and tram line that were to pass through it (see figure 8.21). In the end the street was not built, but a new semienclosed public space was created in the center of what would otherwise have been an impenetrable city block.

Perimeter Block Variations The need to provide as many housing units as possible on a given site without compromising the city's standards of hygiene, building density, light, air, and space led to a wide variety of different planning solutions. A common one, particularly when a block was long and narrow, was "to pull the front of the building back from the building line [*Baulinie*] and place a forecourt or garden courtyard in front of it."⁵⁰ A good example is the Simonyhof (figure 8.22) built in 1927 to 1928 in district XII, where, because of the availability of land with good railway connections and other urban infrastructure, a large number of *Gemeindebauten* were built. Unique among *Gemeindebauten*, the Simonyhof was named after its architect, Leopold Simony (1859–1929), who was an "elder statesman" of worker housing and housing reform in late imperial Vienna. Together with Theodor Bach, Simony had designed the Kaiser Franz-Josef I-Jubiläums-Stiftung (Jubilee) houses in 1898.⁵¹

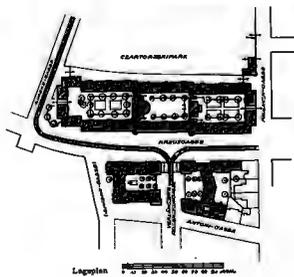
Open on one side, the Simonyhof courtyard is configured as a large forecourt fronting onto the Kopperreitergasse.⁵² Such generous forecourt spaces, and the resulting break in the building line, were unusual for Vienna, particularly in buildings of *Klein-*





8.20 Top: Lindenhof (XVIII), Karl Ehn architect, 1924–1925, photo 1926.

8.21 Site plan of Lindenhof by Ehn and Pfannenstielhof by Etich Latschvat, 1924–1925, showing projected (unexecuted) street and tram line. [Börner; Messelcuter (1926), I: 16].





8.23 Simonyhof (XII), Leopold Simony architect, 1927–1928, photo ca. 1930.

wohnungen (small apartments). Simony emphasized the novelty by a dramatic buildup of forms at the points where the building line is broken and the courtyard opens out to meet the street. In a slightly later *Gemeindebau* of 1929, on the corner of the Angeliggasse and Neireichgasse (X), Simony highlighted the cut in the building line even more dramatically by making the building look as if it had been literally sliced and a portion of its fabric surgically removed—leaving raw stucco wall and sheared gable profile—to create the forecourt.¹⁷ Another example of a forecourt/courtyard is the Fröhlichhof (XII, 1929) (see map, figure 8.16, section B-4 and 5) by Engelbert Mang.¹⁸ Like Simony, Mang focused the “effects” of his building on the street, exploiting the irregular profile and break in the building line resulting from the open, street-facing courtyard to draw attention to the low density of building on the site.

The Eberthof (XV) and Thuryhof (IX), by Viktor Mitrag and Karl Hauschka (built 1925–1926), are striking earlier examples of this treatment.¹⁹ Both

buildings, which use a rich palette of colors, materials, and vernacular architectural forms, dramatically open up the block to the street, displaying the parks, playgrounds, and other facilities within them. The Thuryhof (figure 8.23) even draws the street through one of its courtyards, slicing a diagonal pathway across it from the Marktgasse to the Fechtgasse. Perhaps the most dramatic example of this willful opening of the courtyard to the street is the Liebknechtshof (XII, 1926–1927), by Karl Krist (see map, figure 8.16, sections B-2 and 3).¹⁶ Here the building meanders through the center and along the peripheral corners of a triangular site to define a series of enclosed, semi-enclosed, and open courtyards that connect its spaces to the surrounding streets.

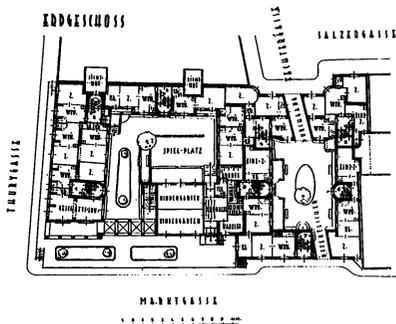
Another solution to the problem of fitting as many units as possible on a shallow site, while maintaining low density, was to insert a low, single-story wing along the south side of the block. This option, used by Siegfried Theiss and Hans Jaksch in the Quarinhof (X, 1924) and by Emil Hoppe and Otto Schönthal in the Züricherhof (X, 1928–1930), solved many problems.²⁰ It maximized use of the site yet allowed light into the courtyard; at the same time, it maintained the building line and gave the structure a continuous street front along a major thoroughfare. This method of completing the perimeter block became a relatively standard technique for dealing with long narrow sites—particularly on busy streets, where the low street-fronting wing could be used to house the public facilities of the *Gemeindebau* and to shield the courtyard from street noise and dirt. Such was the case in Hoppe and Schönthal’s Züricherhof, where the low screen provided a continuous commercial street front along the busy Laxenburgerstrasse. In the Quarinhof, Theiss & Jaksch used a similar *parti*, although there the low block containing the kindergarten was located at the narrow end of the rectangular block, probably because it both faced south and fronted onto a public garden across the street.²¹



Often, as in the Hanuschhof (II), begun in 1923, in which the two strategies we have just looked at were cleverly combined, the most difficult sites brought forth the most ingenious solutions. The architect, Robert Oerley (1876–1945), one of the most prominent members of the profession in interwar Vienna, had no formal training as an architect. Instead he had studied painting and drawing at the Kunstgewerbeschule (from which he graduated in 1896), and subsequently trained as a cabinetmaker in his father's workshop. It was apparently while he was working for his father on the family house that Oerley decided to become an architect. He subsequently acquired a masterbuilder's and then an architect's licence, became a member of the Vienna Secession (from 1907 to 1939) and a founding member of the Austrian Werkbund, and from 1915 on served as vice-president of the Zentralvereinigung der Architekten Österreichs (Central Association of Austrian Architects). Before World War I he had built a few large factory buildings, but he had specialized in single-family houses and built several villas in Vienna's middle-class suburbs.⁴⁷ He worked best at small scale with a rich palette of materials, and he was known especially for his interiors and furniture designs. This work, as well as the plans and surface ornament of his later *Gemeindebauten*, including the Hanuschhof, shows a fondness for complex geometric figures and patterns.

The Hanuschhof (figures 8.24 and 8.25) was built on a narrow triangular piece of land between the Danube Canal and a major service station of the municipal *Strassenbahn* (streetcar).⁴⁸ Oerley's plan for the Hanuschhof made maximum use of the available area by zigzagging the building in a meander pattern of setbacks around the perimeter of the block. The idea of the setbacks—or street courtyards (*Strassenhöfe*), as they were called in Vienna—was perhaps informed by Eugène Hénard's famous proposals for "boulevards à redans" in Paris, published between 1903 and 1906 in *Études sur les transformations de Paris*, which Le Corbu-

KLEINWONUNGSBAU IN DER MARKTGASSE ZWISCHEN DER THURYGASSE



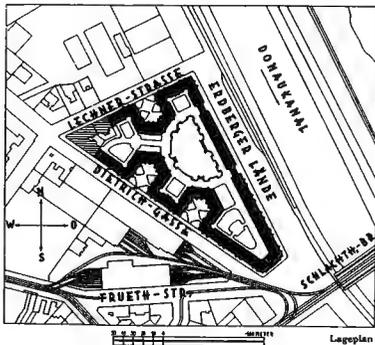
sier assimilated into his "immeuble villas" designs during the same period.⁴¹ Oerley's *Strassenhöfe* combine Hénard's simple rectangular setbacks with the latter's "boulevard à redans triangulaire." But a more likely model for Oerley's scheme existed closer to home. In the last years of the empire, some of the most advanced housing (in terms of physical planning) was that provided by the municipality for its employees. One notable example, built in 1913 for municipal tram workers (across the Danube Canal from the Hanuschhof site), had a distinctive meander plan and made use of similar setbacks.⁴²

Inside, the Hanuschhof frames a semicircular courtyard with garden and playground oriented toward the canal, along which Oerley placed a low, two-story structure containing the bathing and laundry facilities, library, kindergarten, and custodian's apartment.⁴³

8.23 Thuryhof (IX) ground plan, by Viktor Mittag and Karl Hauschke, 1925. [Thuryhof. Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien im IX. Bezirk (1926): 7.]

8.24 Top: Harnischhof (III), site plan, by Robert Curjel, 1923. (Illner, Neubourgen (1926): 26).

8.25 Harnischhof, from across the Danube Canal, photo ca. 1926.



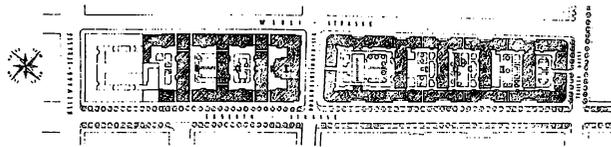
This low block brought light and air into the courtyard and afforded the apartments in the other blocks extended views across the canal to the Prater, Vienna's largest public garden and amusement park. In the Hauschhof, therefore, Oerley combined a series of forecourts with a large central courtyard and low, southeast-facing screening block. Yet there is an integrity to Oerley's scheme that derives from a consistent use of the site's own triangular shape, which is carried through the scheme at every level of the design: in the setbacks, projecting bays, and even the corner stair plans.

Other, more commonly used perimeter block typologies derived directly from traditional Viennese urban housing types. One in particular, a reinterpretation of the nineteenth-century *Durchhaus* (passage house), was a serial arrangement of linked courtyards. Two examples are the Janeczekhof by Wilhelm Peterle and the Beerhof by Karl Schmalhofer, two interrelated blocks in district XX.⁶⁴ Aligned end to end, the two *Höfe* (figure 8.26) were designed in concert in 1925. As in the prototypical *Durchhaus*, the serial courtyards in both are linked together internally by passageways that cut through the center of the block. Also like the original *Durchhaus*, the Janeczekhof has large arched entryways at either end. But whereas passage through

the *Durchhaus*, as the name implies, is linear, along a single directional axis, circulation in and through the linked courtyards of the *Gemeindebauten* is multidirectional and dispersed, since the courtyards open not only onto each other but also out to the streets around them. Once again, the typological form, in this case the *Durchhaus*, is transformed by its new context. Transposed from midblock infill building to free-standing perimeter block, the linked courtyard building assumes a curiously contradictory aspect. Though the monumental boundary walls of the perimeter block appear massive and contained, they are in fact a completely porous membrane through which the daily life of city and *Hof* filters as it flows back and forth between street and courtyard.

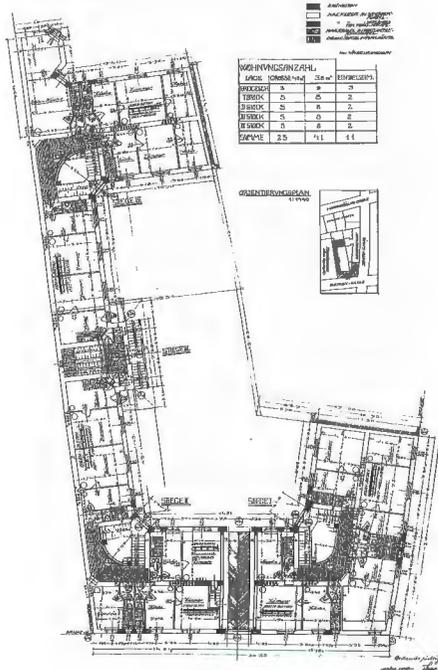
Another perimeter block composition with firm typological roots in Vienna was the baroque ordonnance of large central court flanked by smaller side courts, adopted by Gessner to monumental effect in the Reumannhof. Leopold Bauer, in the Vogelwiedhof (XV) of 1926, an overtly historicist neo-Renaissance design, reversed the syntax of Gessner's *parti* by enclosing the central courtyard and flanking it with open side courts.⁶⁵

There were many other permutations of the perimeter block. Each of the variations we have looked at so far—blocks with open courtyards, with a low



8.26 Site plan of Janeczekhof (XX), by Wilhelm Peterle, and Beerhof (XX), by Karl Schmalhofer, 1925. [Die Wohnhausanlagen der Gemeinde Wien im 20. Bezirk etc. (1926): 7].

PLAN ZUR ERBÄUUNG DES VOLKSWOHNHAUSES DER
GEMEINDE WIEN IM I. DISTRIKT DIETRICHGASSE 2/3/4.
v. 52A. IZ. 266/268. K.R. 2153/54/55.
ERDGESCHOSS.



screening block on one side, with setbacks or with structures housing communal facilities inserted into the courtyard; a series of linked courtyards; or a combination of forecourt and side courts—had its own variants. In each case the plan was developed by reconciling the programmatic and spatial requirements of the *Gemeindebauten* to the existing conditions of the site. And in each case the determining characteristics of the site were themselves changed by the solution they brought forth.

But there were other ways in which the underlying organization of the city plan was actually transformed by the *Gemeindebauten*. One of these was through a type of construction called *Lückerverbauung*, interstitial or infill building.

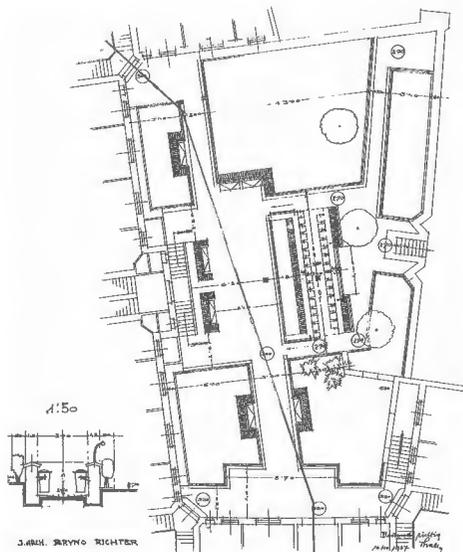
LÜCKENVERBAUUNG AND THE SPATIAL POLITICS OF HINEINWACHSEN Translated literally, *Lückerverbauung* means “building to fill in the gaps.” A type of building that is often overlooked, it nevertheless accounted for approximately half of the new buildings constructed by the municipality, particularly in the city’s older and more densely settled districts. Like the new “red” *Hof*, the *Lückerverbauung* was also strategic, but it usually functioned incrementally and its impact was cumulative, apparent only gradually over time.

The city’s *Lückerverbauung* was done in a deceptively unobtrusive way. In built-up areas, where large parcels of land were not available, the municipality would acquire small clusters of vacant lots and use them to reconfigure the existing urban fabric. Sometimes this was done incrementally, sometimes in a single building operation.

An example of the former is the construction around one of the earliest *Gemeindebauten*, the so-called Erdberghof in district III. The original structure, built in 1922 (discussed briefly in chapter 7), occupied two midblock lots on the Drurygasse (see figure 7.5). Though it was entered from the street, it also had two small courtyards at the back. In 1925 a

second building (figure 8.27) was built on a vacant lot at the northeast end of the block. This later building, designed by another architect (Bruno Richter), fronted onto the Dietrichgasse, where a large portal gave access to its internal courtyard. In the interior of the city block this courtyard (figure 8.28) was joined to the neighboring courtyard of the Erdbergerhof. The older building was reconfigured so that its internal spaces could be accessed from the courtyard, and the two buildings were merged to constitute a single unified *Gemeinde-Hof* with a communal entrance on the Dietrichgasse.

In the mid-1920s other *Gemeindebauten* of the early 1920s were added onto in this way, transforming them from traditional street-fronting buildings into communal *Gemeinde-Höfe*.⁶⁶ Occasionally this kind of internal transformation was achieved in a single building operation. Three examples will suffice. In each, two or more sites on a city block, fronting onto different streets and therefore without any visible connection to each other, were joined internally at the center of the block. Here, as elsewhere, the available sites were midblock parcels, left over after the prime corner lots (usually snapped up first) had been developed privately before World War I. The Franz-Silbererhof (III), by Georg Rupprecht, named after a socialist union leader and built in 1927 not far from the Erdbergerhof, has three facades, each facing onto a different street (figures 8.29 and 9.22). In the interior of the block they are joined by a narrow internal wing and a large central courtyard from which all of the 152 apartments in the complex are accessible. From the streets it is not evident that the buildings are spatially connected. The same is true of the Schüttrauhof (II, now XXII), designed by Alfred Rodler, Alfred Stutterheim, and Wilhelm Tremmel and built on the north bank of the Danube in 1924.⁶⁷ The Schüttrauhof (figure 8.30) has two facades, each five or so midblock lots long, that face onto parallel streets on opposite sides of the block. The facades, quite differently articulated,



8.27 Opposite: Dietrichgasse 34 (III), site and ground-floor plan, by Bruno Richter, dated October 1927.

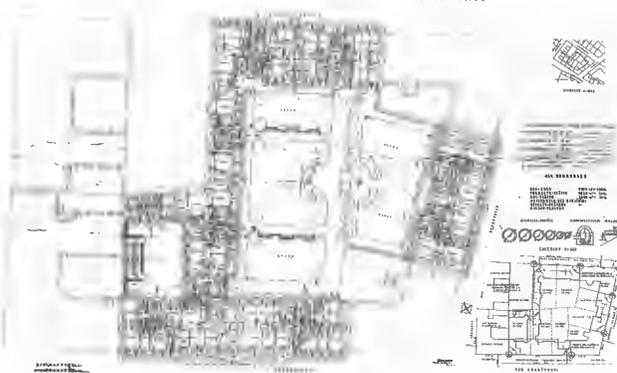
8.28 Plan of courtyard garden linking earlier Erdbergerhof, Karl Schmalhofer architect, to new building, Dietrichgasse 34, Bruno Richter architect. Plan by Richter, dated October 1927.

8.29 Right: *Prinz-Silberhof (III), site and ground-floor plan, by Georg Rupprecht, 1927.*

8.30 Schüttauhof (I), new XXII), site plan, by Alfred Rudler, Alfred Schusterhan, and Wilhelm Trimmel, 1924. (*Die Wohnbauanlage der Gemeinde Wien im II. Bezirk Kaiserinmühlenturm Schiffmühlentrasse etc.* [1925]: 71.

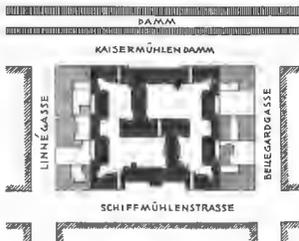
8.31 Opposite: Aerial perspective of Pragerstrasse 56-58 (XXI), by Felix Augenföld, Hans A. Vetter, and Karl Hofmann, 1925.

PLAN ZUR ERBAUUNG EINER VOLKSWOHNBAUWERKE IN WIEN IN DER ERDBENKELSTRASSE



appear unrelated from the street, but they are connected internally by the shared courtyard that occupies the entire central portion of the block between them.

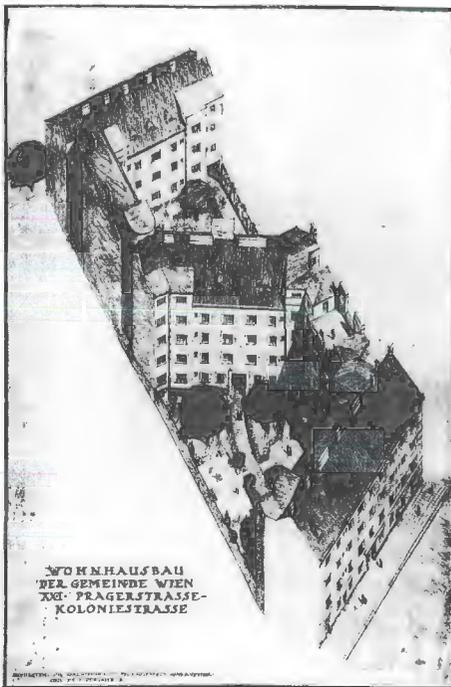
The third example of this kind of interstitial building, and the most interesting because of the difficulty of the site, is Pragerstrasse 56-58 (XXI) (figure 8.31). It was designed by three architects, Felix Augenföld, Hans A. Vetter, and Karl Hofmann, and built in 1925.⁴⁶ Like the Schüttauhof, it cuts through the block and has facades on the Pragerstrasse and Koloniestrasse. In this case, however, the cut, though deep, is narrow; and in order to maximize the available space, light, and air, the building zigzags through the site—carving out two courtyards and an internal world only visible, as in the architects' drawing of the building, from an aerial perspective.



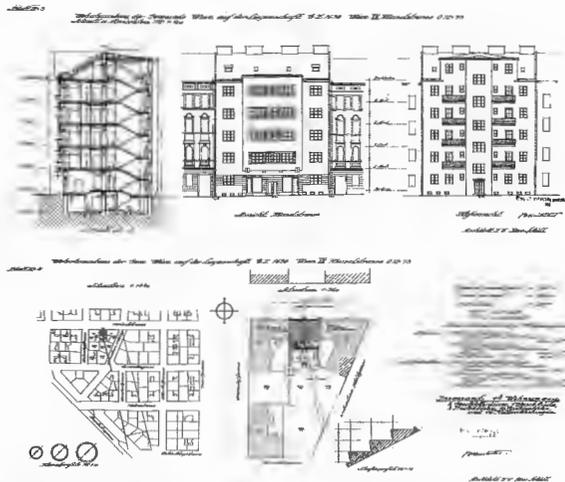
The significance of this kind of internal transformation is made particularly clear by a cluster of small *Gemeindebauten* built incrementally in the late 1920s (another period during which there was a great deal of *Lückenverbauung*) in Penzing (XIV), one of Vienna's already densely built old working-class districts.⁶⁹ Here, on six adjacent blocks, in an area bordered roughly by the Hütteldorferstrasse, Drechslergasse, and Gurkgasse, sixteen separate buildings, varying in size from 13 to 247 units and designed by seventeen different architects, were built over a period of five years.⁷⁰

Facing onto different streets, the new buildings (figures 8.32 and 8.33) appear unrelated. In the interior of the blocks, however, they are linked together by common courtyards, which are the access points to the apartments and to the communal facilities provided in the different buildings. Without actually breaching property lines, the parklike spaces of these courtyards also serve the privately owned older tenements abutting them, supplying them with air, light, and greenery and, significantly, also opening them up to view. By exposing the hidden backlands of the old tenements, as the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* pointed out, the new buildings guaranteed that "the difference between the old building standards of private capitalism and the new standards of the [socialist] *Gemeinde* can be studied" in situ.⁷¹ They also ensured that working-class misery could never again be hidden behind stately street facades.

This kind of *Lückenverbauung* was a method of intervention with considerable resonance not only at the time but for the future as well. Without destroying anything or displacing anyone, *Lückenverbauung* steadily transformed the living conditions of Vienna's working population by opening up the existing living space in the city to air, light, and view. In many ways, such construction is the spatial correlative of the Austro-Marxist concept of *hineinwachsen*, the slow growth toward socialism from within capitalist society

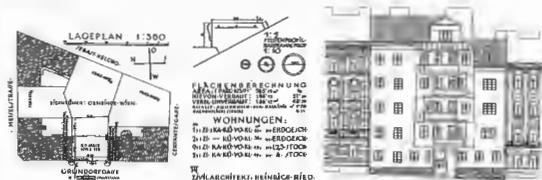


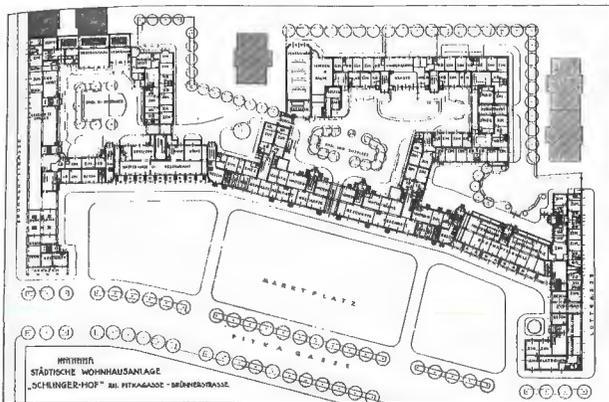
8.32 Lückenbauung:
Mehlsbrosse 73 (now XIV),
elevation, section, and site
plans, by Theo SCHÖL, 1928.



8.33 Lückenbauung:
Gründergasse 4 (now XIV),
site plan and front elevation,
by Heinrich Hiesl, 1928,
showing courtyard abutting
Mehlsbrosse 73.

AUSWEGELNOSPAN.
WOHNHAU-BAU DER GEMEINDE WIEN, WIEN, XIII GRÜNDERGASSE





8.34 Schlingerhof (DKX), ground-floor plan, showing courtyards and marketplace, by Hans Glaser and Karl Scheffel, 1925-1926. (Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien im XXI. Bezirk "Schlingerhof" etc. (1926): 8).

(discussed in chapter 1). Externally, from the street nothing substantial has changed (see plate 27). New buildings have been inserted into the city block and gaps in the building line have been filled, but otherwise the physical aspect of the street has remained the same. Inside, however, the spatial character of the block has been radically transformed and its spaces appropriated for new social uses.

PLANNING IN THREE DIMENSIONS So far we have looked at the relationship between the *Gemeindebauten* and city in terms of the immediate relationship between building and site. But the impact of the *Gemeindebauten* built after 1923, particularly those which occupied an entire city block, extended far beyond the boundaries of their sites and engaged the city not only in plan but also in elevation.

Often the new large *Gemeindebauten* were used explicitly to reconfigure the existing urban topography and infrastructure. The Schlingerhof (figures 8.34 and 8.35) in Floridsdorf (XXI) is a case in point. Built from 1925 to 1926, on the site of an old gasworks in the heart of Vienna's industrial zone, it was designed by Hans Glaser and Karl Scheffel to frame and provide storage facilities and support services for a new district market, the Floridsdorfer Markt, which would replace the old (no longer tenable) market at Am Spitz.²² The site had many advantages for both the market and the Schlingerhof. It was near the Floridsdorf railway station and adjacent to a major north-south traffic artery, the Brünnerstrasse (the old road to the industrial center of Moravia), as well as to the largest concentration of nineteenth-century workers' housing in Vienna, most of it built in the 1870s and 1890s for factory and railway employees.



8.25 View of Schlingerhof and Floridsdorfer market, photo 1926.

8.36 Opposite, top: Herderplatz (X), site plan showing four *Gemeindebauten* built around the square between 1923 and 1929. (Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien im XI. Bezirk Lanystrasse, Meckelgasse, Herderplatz etc. (1929): 7).

8.37 View of Herderplatz development with Friedrich Engelhofer, Fritz Kaym and Alfons Hainwieser architects, 1925 (foreground); Alois Perakshof, Adolf Stöckl architects, 1923 (background), photo ca. 1928.

The Schlingerhof forecourt, which embraces the marketplace, is fronted by a continuous row of shops surmounted by four stories of apartments and a clocktower. Behind it are four more enclosed and semi-enclosed courtyards. The Schlingerhof had many of the standard services provided in the larger *Gemeindebauten*: child-care center, kindergarten, youth center, public library, central laundry, restaurant, and *Kaffeehaus*, in addition to 477 apartments and thirty-one shops. The basement, however, was given over to mar-

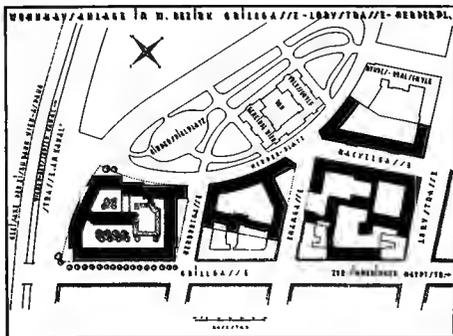
ket and city. It housed several workshops and branch facilities of the Department of Sanitation (responsible for street cleaning and sewers), as well as offices, storage, and two freight elevators for the market. The Schlingerhof was thus a strategic insertion into the existing fabric of Floridsdorf that provided this neglected working-class district with a major new commercial, social, and cultural hub around which the district itself would gradually be transformed from a factory zone into new socialized urban quarter.

BUILDING AND CITY

Often such larger-scale transformations were effected by grouping together or clustering *Gemeindebauten* into "neighborhoods."²⁹ In district XI around the newly created Herderplatz (figure 8.36) a group of discrete buildings, designed by different architects, was built around one of the first municipal housing blocks, the Altons-Petzoldhof, built in 1923. Yet the idea for the development originated even earlier than this. The elliptical Herderplatz first appears (projected, but not yet built) on the *Regulierungsplan* of 1907.³⁰ During and immediately after World War I, the trapezoidal area bordered by the Lorystrasse, Grillgasse, Dirschützgasse, canal, and railway tracks had been planted with "wild" allotment gardens. In 1922 a school was built in the center of the square; apparently, the idea to develop the area into a residential quarter had already taken shape.³¹

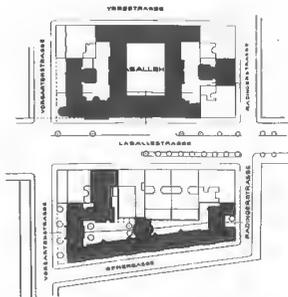
Between 1924 and 1929 five large *Gemeindebauten* were built around the square. Each added a range of social services and other public amenities to the area: a dental clinic, child-care and bathing facilities, workshops, ateliers, a workers' health insurance office, and a pharmacy, as well as a number of commercial premises. Together, the cluster of *Gemeindebauten* around the Herderplatz (figure 8.37) created a socialized urban enclave in an area that had formerly had little urban character of infrastructure and few, if any, amenities. Like the Schlingerhof, therefore, the Herderplatz was a strategic implant on the city's urban edge, intended to function as the germ of a new residential quarter, which it was anticipated would develop around it. More *KleinStadt* than *Grossstadt* in its forms and spaces, this was urbanism conceived locally, in terms of the public space of everyday life—focusing on neighborhood, community, and the city's edge rather than its center.

Elsewhere, however, in areas where the scale and order of the big city were more firmly established, the generative *Platzschöpfung* of the *Gemeindebauten* was conceived not only locally but also more broadly, tak-



8.38 Top: Site plan of Lassallehof (I), 1923 and Heilmenschenhof (II), 1925, by Hubert Gessner. (*Die Wohnhausanlagen der Gemeinde Wien im II. Bezirk Margaretenhaus, Lassallehofhaus* [(1926): 7].

8.39 Lassallehof seen from the corner of Lassallestrasse, and Vangerlosestrasse, photo 1926.



ing into account the larger structure of the city.⁷⁶ Hubert Gessner's Lassallehof, built in district II on a commanding site at the crossing of two major streets a few blocks from the Prater and the Reichsbrücke (which connected the center of Vienna to the extremely popular new "worker's beaches" on the upper Danube), is a good example of this.⁷⁷ One of the earliest large *Gemeindebauten* planned, the Lassallehof was also the first building for which a design competition was held. Gessner, who won second prize, was awarded the commission together with a team of younger architects in his office: Hans Paar, Friedrich Schlossberg, and Fritz Wasge.⁷⁸

Like the other large *Gemeindebauten*, the Lassallehof (figures 8.38 and 8.39) embedded the municipality's new public services deep within its internal courtyards. But it also carefully wove these facilities,



which were accessible from the street as well as the courtyard, into the existing urban infrastructure. The building itself had a monumental presence on the street; a row of shop fronts and a public library along the main street, as well as an eight-story tower with two floors of artists' studios at the top. The tower both dominated the Lassallestrasse and commanded a broad prospect from the Reichsbrücke to the Praterstern. A beacon visible from a great distance, it made the Lassallehof a landmark of the district and the focal point for further Social Democratic development of the area, including another *Gemeindebau* by Gessner directly across the Lassallestrasse. This building, the Heizmannhof, which housed not only 213 apartments, a kindergarten, central bathing facilities, and artists' studios but also a fire station, was even more than the Lassallehof, intricately interwoven with the sociotechnical infrastructure of its surroundings.³⁹

SMALL-SCALE "TINKERING" WITH THE URBAN FABRIC Throughout Vienna small interventions, often in the form of modest corner additions onto existing buildings, had an impact that extended far beyond the parameters of their sites. Many of these buildings were designed, like the clusters of larger perimeter blocks we have just examined, to redefine the edge of existing city blocks and function as connective tissue, mediating and negotiating the distance between divided or hitherto unconnected urban areas. It seems plausible that the typological origins for this kind of intervention are to be found in Haussmannian urbanism. Certainly in Haussmann's modernization of Paris in the 1860s and 1870s, corner buildings were frequently used to mediate the transition from taller buildings on the main streets to lower buildings on the side streets.⁴⁰

A particularly effective intervention of this kind is the Pestalozzihof (XIX) of 1926 by Ella Briggs, the only woman architect other than Margarete Lihotzky to receive a commission from the municipality of Red

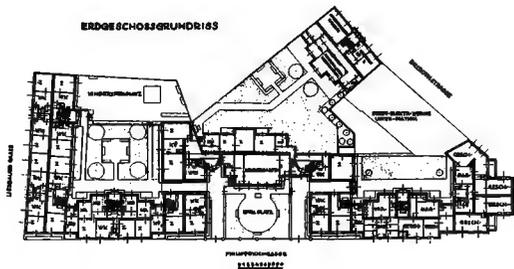
Vienna. Briggs appears to have been exceptional in many ways. Married before World War I (possibly to an American),⁴¹ she was born Ella Baumfeld in Vienna in 1880, and studied painting at the Kunstgewerbeschule from 1901 to 1905/1906. She subsequently studied architecture at the Technical University in Vienna (from 1916 to 1918) before transferring to the Technische Hochschule in Munich, where she completed her training and received the degree of *Diplom-ingenieur* in 1920. Between 1920 and 1923 Briggs worked in architectural firms in Vienna, New York, and Philadelphia. From 1923 to 1936 she practiced independently in Vienna and Berlin, where she built a number of apartment buildings and small houses. In 1936 Briggs, who was Jewish, emigrated to England; she continued to practice in London, where she lived until her death in 1977.⁴²

The Pestalozzihof (figures 8.40 and 8.41) occupies a corner site in an area in district XIX that at the time was without basic urban infrastructure such as paved streets and sidewalks. The building itself was a multifunctional complex. It housed a kindergarten, dedicated to the pedagogue after whom the Pestalozzihof itself was named, and 119 standard Gemeinde-Wien-Type apartments, as well as a *Ladigenheim* or residence for single tenants, ateliers, shops, and a substation of the municipal electrical works. Though not a large building, the Pestalozzihof had considerable impact on the area, creating an urban condition and commercial nexus where none had existed before.⁴³

Generally the architects commissioned to design such small corner buildings tended to exploit the high visibility of their sites by infusing their designs with an eye-catching, dynamic plasticity. Frequently these corner interventions became what Fritz Neumeyer has called "polemical islands of modernism" in the historical city—fragmentary insertions that introduced a new and intentionally dissonant syntax of modern "streamlined" or mechanistic forms.⁴⁴ These included curved bands of strip windows, such as Erich Mendel-

8.40 Top: Pestalozzihof (XXI), ground-floor plans, by Elia Brilla, 1925. [Die Wohnungsfrage der Gemeinde Wien Pestalozzihof im 19. Bezirk etc. ([1926]): 10]

8.41 Pestalozzihof, photo 1926.



sohn was building in Berlin and Stuttgart at the time; in some cases constructivist sculptural masses fragmented the corner itself into an abstract composition of boldly projecting balconies and deep voids.⁸⁵ An example of an emphatically "modern" treatment of the corner is Fritz Judtmann and Egon Riss's block of 1928–1919, at Diehlgasse 20–26 (V) (see figure 9.21), where balconies at the corner and the entire wall along the Brandmayergasse dissolve into deeply undercut horizontal planes, joined vertically by broad planes of mullioned glazing that enclose small verandas.⁸⁶

The masterpiece of small-scale tinkering to large-scale effect was an even more modest corner building on the Weimarerstrasse (XVIII) of 1924–1925, designed by Karl Dirnhuber, an architect and engineer who trained at the Technical University in Vienna and then worked in the office of Theiss & Jaksch for six years. In 1922 Dirnhuber began practicing on his own, and between 1924 and 1929 he designed five *Gemeindebauten* (three smaller ones on his own and two larger ones in conjunction with other architects), as well as a number of single-family houses for private clients.⁸⁷ The Weimarerstrasse building (figures 8.42 and 8.43), which contained twenty-three apartments, two ateliers, and space for a lending library, is interesting for its combination of streamlined and organic forms: balconies wrapping the corner, smooth convex planes alternating with deep voids, wavelike curves and countercurves along the Weimarerstrasse facade.⁸⁸

But Dirnhuber's building is most notable for its masterful urban composition. Not only does it terminate the block with a powerful sculptural gesture, but it functions as a hinge between the built fabric of the district on the east side of the Weimarerstrasse and the new Schubertpark (also designed by Dirnhuber) on the west side of the street. (The park was built directly behind the new building, on the site of the old Währing Cemetery in which Beethoven and Schubert had been buried. Dirnhuber won the competition for the park in 1921, but it was not executed until 1924–

1925.) The Schubertpark, which consisted of a public garden with playground and milk bar, as well as a walled "memorial park" with monuments to the composers, was on land two meters or so above the level of the Weimarerstrasse. Sited at the junction of street and park, Dirnhuber's building functions as a linchpin that negotiates the steep drop in grade by extending the concrete walls of its terraced forecourt across the landscape to form angled retaining walls that zigzag up the hill alongside the ramps that connect the street to the park.

There are many more examples of small local interventions that function as connective tissue between divided or previously unrelated urban areas. Sometimes, as in the case of the Weimarerstrasse building, the connection forged also served to shape new public space. Often, however, the reconfiguration was perceptual rather than actual, achieved by enclosing or otherwise connecting the new buildings to existing squares, parks, or streets around them, while leaving the underlying spatial organization of the city plan essentially unchanged.

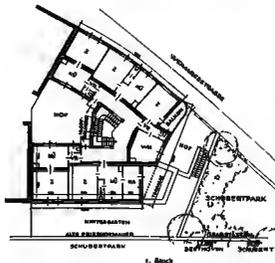
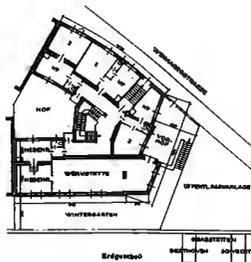
But there was yet another way in which the spatial organization of the city was actually reconfigured by the *Gemeindebauten*. That was through the most famous structures of Red Vienna, the *Gemeindebauten* that bridged streets and spanned several city blocks to create "superblocks."

THE SUPERBLOCK AND THE POLITICS OF SCALE

We have already looked at some *Gemeindebauten*, like Schmid and Aichinger's Matteortihof and Leischner's Pfannenstielhof, that extend over city streets to join together two or more city blocks. In both these examples, and in the many other instances where the device was used, it not only was a linking mechanism but also provided the means for increasing the number of units that could be accommodated on the site. But another important consequence was not explicitly intended: these buildings, in which the city street was

8.42 Left: Weimarerstrasse 1 (DKW), ground- and first-floor plans, by Karl Dittmarhuber, 1924-1925, [Bilmer, Neubauten (1926), 1:21].

8.43 Weimarerstrasse 1, photo ca. 1925.



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incorporated into the space of the *Gemeindebauten*, themselves introduced a new relationship between building and street in Vienna.

In the first five years of the building program, between 1923 and 1927, a significant number of large superblocks were built in dense, long-urbanized areas, where for various reasons—generally awkwardness of shape, size, and location of blocks or issues of ownership—clusters or portions of city blocks had remained undeveloped or only partially developed.⁸⁰ One of these was a ragged collection of small urban fragments: a triangular wedge-shaped block and one-half of its neighbor in Döbling (XIX), abutting the Gürtelstrasse where it curves north to cross the Danube. In 1925 three Wagner School architects—Karl Dorfmeister, Rudolf Frass, and Rudolf Perco, who associated with each other on other *Gemeindebauten* but otherwise practiced independently—were commissioned to design the Professor-Jodlhof for the site.⁸⁰

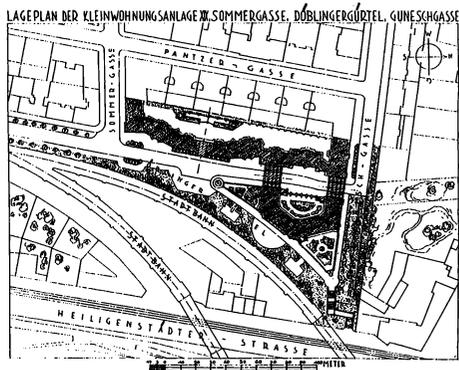
A relatively small complex, with 271 apartments and a dozen or so shops, the Jodlhof did not enclose the interior space of the two blocks in its courtyard but rather the street that divided them, leaving external parks on the leftover corners of the triangular site (figures 8.44, 8.45, and 9.14). As a result, what would normally be outside the building—the street—is inside it, and what would normally be inside the courtyard—the garden—is outside it. But there is a further reversal. Although the street, where it penetrates the Jodlhof, is scripted into the space of the courtyard, it is not contained by the courtyard but continues on through it and out into the district of Döbling in both directions (figure 8.45). The Jodlhof then, more emphatically even than the bridge buildings we have looked at so far, reverses the traditional relationship between inside and outside, building and street, so that the boundary between *Hof* and city is now not only unclear but indeterminate.

The masters of this kind of intervention were Schmid and Aichinger, whose urban superblocks were

tightly woven into the existing fabric of Vienna while nevertheless remaining distinctive in terms of their own spatial organization. Am Fuchsenfeld, built in 1924 to 1925, was Schmid and Aichinger's first superblock of this kind. It was situated directly across the Längenfeldgasse from the firm's earlier Fuchsenfeldhof.⁸¹ Am Fuchsenfeld itself spanned four city blocks that had been reconfigured several times since the original *Regulierungsplan* for the district was laid out in 1892 (see map, figure 6.1, sections B-1 and 2, C-1 and 2). Sliced on the diagonal by a new street (the Rizygasse) in 1904, and then diced again along the grid in 1910, when the area was parceled into building lots, by 1924 it was an irregular cluster of angular fragments that had been developed on its eastern edge along the Malfatgasse.⁸²

Schmid and Aichinger's response was to reconfigure the site again. Instead of conforming to the Re-

8.44 Professor-Jodlhof (XIX), site plan, by Rudolf Perco, Karl Dorfmeister, and Rudolf Frass, 1925. *Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien im XIX. Bezirk. Professor Jodl-Hof etc.* (1926): 7.

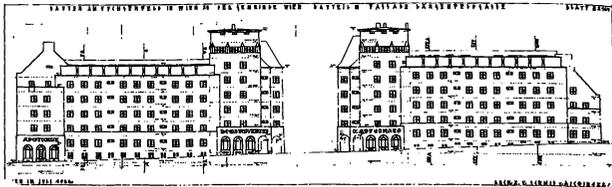


8.45 Jodihof courtyard, view
along penetrating street,
photo 1926.



8.48 Am Fuchsenfeld, elevation Längenfeldgasse, by Schmid and Aichinger, dated July 1924.

8.49 Opposite: Am Fuchsenfeld, photo 1959.



güterungsplan, they chose to give the building its own willfully independent footprint (figure 8.46). By bridging the two streets that intersect at the center of the site, Schmid and Aichinger increased the volume of the building, making it possible for Am Fuchsenfeld to accommodate the 604 apartments and large number of communal facilities in its program in a single continuous structure that spans all four blocks on the site, as well as the streets that bisect it (figures 8.47 and 8.48).⁹³ The boundary between this inner public zone and the public zone outside Am Fuchsenfeld is marked by towering gateways that both signal points of entry and function as markers of the new commercial-communal nexus where the facilities (twenty nine shops, baths, laundries, a kindergarten, a day-care center, a clinic, and meeting and lecture halls) that serve both the *Hof* and the district outside are located. At Am Fuchsenfeld, therefore, the footprint of the building superimposed upon the old *Regulierungsplan* introduces a new relationship between the socialist *Gemeindebau* and the city, in which each participates in the other (figure 8.49).

In the Rabenhof (III), Schmid and Aichinger's masterpiece of this type of intervention, the instrumental, organizing function of such superimposition is especially clear. Won in a limited competition, the commission was for a complex of buildings to be executed in three phases between 1925 and 1928.⁹⁴ They

were to be located in one of Vienna's old inner suburbs, on a difficult but strategic site not far from the city center and midway between the principal places of employment for the working population in the district: a major cargo terminal of the southern railway line, the Danube Canal, and the central stockyards and municipal markets. The site itself (figure 8.50), unlike the other superblock sites we have looked at so far, had to be cleared of existing buildings: a disused military barracks (the Krimsly-Kaserne) and a dense cluster of dilapidated small workshops and laborers' cottages, which constituted one of the few classic slums in Vienna. The land had to be acquired piecemeal because the city lacked effective expropriation laws. The Rabenhof, therefore, was designed and built in parts (figure 8.51).

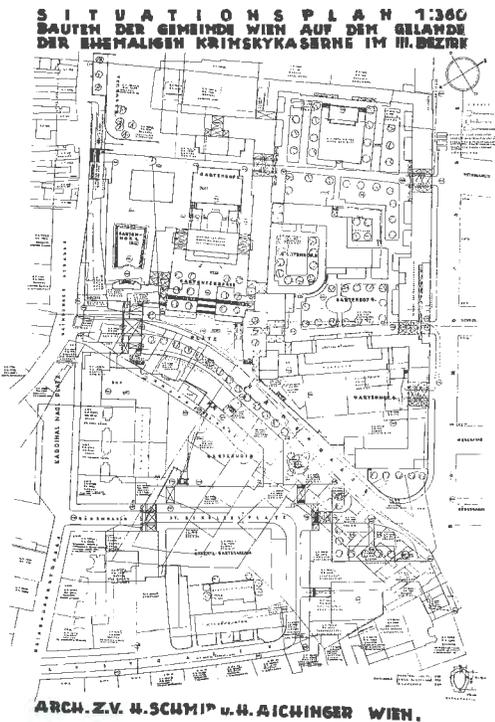
The first area to become available was between the Baumgasse and the Rabengasse, a semicircular lane that curved through the site and that for centuries had been an important link between the two principal thoroughfares of the district. This lane became the central spine of the complex, along which were placed many of the social services, cultural facilities, and cooperative stores provided in the Rabenhof; around it the interlocking network of enclosed and semienclosed residential courtyards grew as the old buildings on the site were gradually cleared away (figure 8.52). Throughout the Rabenhof private, public, and semi-





8.50 Rabenhof (III), site plan of new buildings overlaid on existing street plan, by Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger, 1925.

8.51 Opposite: Rabenhof under construction, photo 1927.





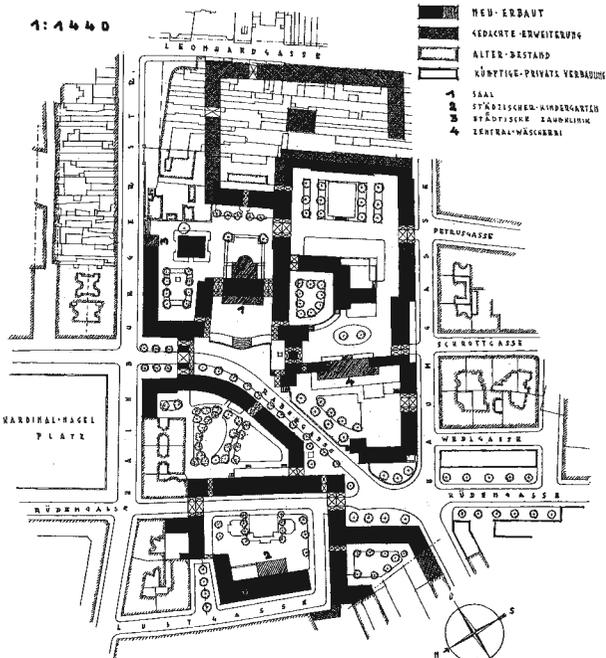
8.52 Rabenhof, site plan showing new buildings (block and diagonal hatching), planned construction (cross-hatched), remaining old buildings on the site (hatched outline), ca. 1928. [Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien auf dem Gelände der ehemaligen Krimlykaserne im III. Bezirk etc. (1928): 4].

8.53 Opposite, top: Rabenhof from Rabengasse looking north, photo 1930.

8.54 Rabenhof, view toward Rabengasse and passage from Rüdiggasse to St. Nikolausplatz, photo ca. 1930.

BAUTEN DER GEM. WIEN AM GELÄNDE DER EHEMALIGEN KRIMLYKASERNE

1: 1 4 4 4 D



ARCHITECTEN: ZV. H. SCHMID, H. AICHINGER, R. WIEN

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public zones are clearly demarcated from each other. Along the street (figure 8.53) a civic brick base identifies this zone as the public, commercial, and collective heart of the *Hof*. Inside the courtyards (figure 8.54) the communal facilities (laundry, kindergarten, etc.) are likewise distinguished from the stucco-faced residential zone above, where balconies and angular bay windows mark the private living space of the Rabenhof.

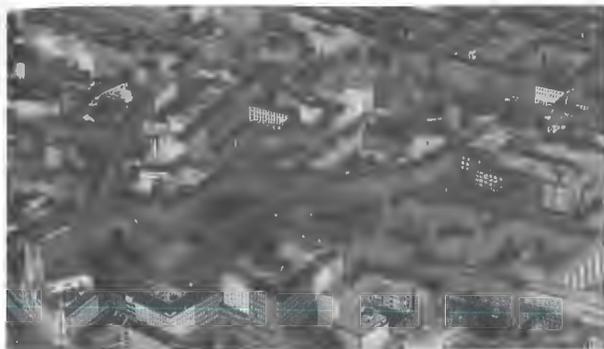
At its northern end the Rabenhof bridges the Rabengasse, which is channeled through it via a monumental archway at the base of a block of apartments. The remaining streets (inscribed on the *Regulierungsplan* of 1923) were closed to vehicular traffic. But the routes they traced, and therefore also the existing patterns of circulation in the area, were preserved in lanes and footpaths that cut through the Rabenhof courtyards, connecting them to the surrounding streets via stepped terraces, arched passageways, and gateways. By preserving and reinforcing the existing spatial patterns of the district, this enormous complex—housing between 4,000 and 5,000 people in 1,100 apartments, as well as a library, dental clinic, health insurance office, kindergarten, theater, laundry and thirty eight stores—fit almost seamlessly into the existing urban fabric (figure 8.55). At the same time, however, by incorporating the existing spatial patterns of the district into its plan, the Rabenhof also laid claim to them. Thus the Rabengasse, and the Rüdengasse next to it, at once cut through the *Hof* and are appropriated by it. They are therefore part of the communal space of the Rabenhof, and at the same time also part of the city. The effect is to blur the boundary between inside and outside—so that *Hof* and city, with apparently equal claim to the public domain of the street, merge and become one.

The Rabenhof and the many other *Gemeindebauten* built throughout Vienna that straddle streets to create superblocks are instrumental in other ways, too. Bridging and binding together building, street, court-

yard, and public square, the superblocks reintegrate elements of the urban fabric that had been torn apart by late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century planning, transforming them into an interlocking network of pluralivalent spaces. Furthermore, the spaces defined by the intersection of the superblock plan and city plan have their own distinctive scale, which differs from that of either city or superblock alone. Though the buildings span several blocks and house hundreds and often thousands of people, the scale of the spaces defined by the intersection of superblock and city block is intimate, idiosyncratic, and peculiar to these buildings.

Like the strategic insertions of the *Lückerverbauung*, the superimpositions of the superblock have an operative, organizing function. By imprinting a new scale of urban building on top of the old, the urban superblock makes clear both the economics and politics of its scale: no longer is the speculative builder of Vienna's tenements developing the city lot by lot, but the socialist municipality is building according to its own scale and for itself. Most of all, it is the coexistence of parallel spatial structures that not only makes the relationship between building space and city space seem ambiguous, fluid, and indeterminate but also sets up a dialogue between them. By preserving the old order (of the *Regulierungsplan*) the Social Democrats allow the new order (of the superblock) to engage it, to enter into debate with it, and to call it into question. But it is important to note that the intraurban superblock functions as a critique of the historical city not because it disrupts the existing order, but precisely because it—like Adolf Loos's Haus am Michaelerplatz of 1910, which had enraged the Viennese half a generation earlier—engages the existing order in a way that problematizes it by polemically "exposing what is present."⁹⁵ The political instrumentality of this procedure, and the difference between it and the procedures of radical architectural practice at the time, become clear when we examine the most famous counter-





8.55 Rabenhof from the air; photo ca. 1960.

project of Red Vienna, the Winarskyhof and the associated *Terrassenbau* projects of 1923–1924.

COUNTERPROJECT: TERRASSENHAUS-WINARSKYHOF

Like the Rabenhof, the Winarskyhof was a superblock, in this case spanning three city blocks and containing 760 apartments, a library, a meeting hall, shops, ateliers, and workshops. Unlike the other *Gemeindebauten*, however, it was a project of the Österreichische Verband für Siedlungs- und Kleingartenwesen (ÖVSK). The Winarskyhof was in fact the last in the series of projects and planning proposals put forward by the ÖVSK in 1923 to 1924 in an effort to redirect the socialist building program toward dispersed low-density development.⁶⁴ The first of these projects (discussed in chapter 5) was for the ill-fated *Generalarbitekturplan* (general architectural plan).⁶⁵ The second, which followed from it, was a series of *Terrassenbau*

(terraced housing) projects, out of which the Winarskyhof itself evolved.

Terrassenbau Projects In 1923 three architects who had been involved in the *Generalarbitekturplan* project—Adolf Loos, Peter Behrens, and Oskar Strnad—prepared designs for *Terrassenhäuser*, apartment blocks with garden terraces, which they and Otto Neurath (under the auspices of the ÖVSK) proposed to the city as high-rise garden alternatives to the perimeter block construction embraced by the *Stadtbauamt*.

The idea most likely came from Loos, who had experimented with *Terrassenbau* forms before the war. In 1912 he had built his first house with terraces in Vienna, the villa for Gustav Scheu, in the suburb of Hietzing. By stepping back the upper stories of the house, Loos explained, he had been able to give the second-floor bedrooms and third-floor rental unit ac-

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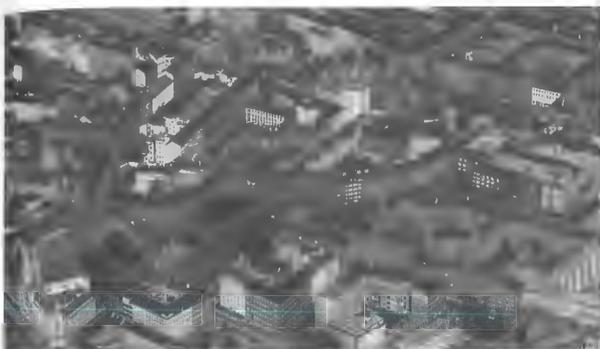
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area to their own private outdoor space on large terraces. The type, Loos argued, was not (as his critics claimed) alien and therefore inappropriate to Vienna: "The thought of the Orient was far from me in the case of this design. I was merely of the opinion that it would be of great convenience to step out onto a large communal terrace from the bedrooms, which are located on the first floor [above ground]. Anywhere, in Algiers as well as in Vienna."⁹⁸

Of course, by 1923 both the *Terrassenhaus* type and the idea of urban roof garden were current. The year before, Le Corbusier had exhibited his "immeuble villas" as well as a model of the *Maison Citrohan* at the Salon d'Automne in Paris, where he and his sponsors, the Groupe de L'Habitation Franco-Américaine, were promoting the high-rise garden apartment as "A New Formula for City Housing."⁹⁹ In an article in *Die Neue Wirtschaft* in 1923, Loos himself made a case for the terraced apartment building as a housing form particularly well suited to urban proletarian living: "It has always been my desire to build such a terraced house for workers' housing. The fate of the proletarian's child from its first year of life to its day of entry into school seems particularly harsh to me. The child, locked up by its parents, should have the prisonlike flat opened up by the communal terrace, which allows for neighborly supervision."¹⁰⁰ The idea was hardly new; Henri Sauvage and Charles Sarazin, who had designed worker housing in Paris before World War I, had built an apartment building with stepped terraces on the rue Vavin in 1912, and Loos himself had already adapted the Scheu House type to proletarian purposes.¹⁰¹ In 1921 he prepared designs for *Siedlung* row houses with roof terraces, which were never built but which he used to illustrate a lecture delivered in London at the Royal Institute of British Architects in March 1922.¹⁰²

The *Terrassenhaus* schemes prepared by Loos, Behrens, and Srnad in 1924, however, were not theoretical exercises; they were site-specific designs for an

area between the Favoritenstrasse and Laaerbergstrasse in Vienna's district X. Loos's block (figure 8.56), which faced south onto the Inzersdorfstrasse (now Kennergasse), was an adaptation to multifamily living of his earlier schemes and the volumetric *Raumplan* he had employed in them. The building was composed of two slightly curved parallel blocks with stepped profiles. Each 84-meter-long block contained two different types of quarters. Those opening onto the south-facing terraces or *Hochstrassen* (elevated streets) were two-story apartments, organized like Loos's *Siedlung* houses with spaces for daytime activities on the lower level and nighttime activities above. Storage areas for these units were located behind the apartments themselves, in the interior of the block. Facing north were one-story apartments, provided with balconies. At ground level were workshops and, along the Staudiglasse, studio apartments.

Loos's *Terrassenhaus* clearly owes something to Sauvage and Sarazin's building on the rue Vavin, and—in concept, if not design—to Michael Brinkman's *Hochstrasse* and duplex apartments in the Spangen housing estate in Rotterdam, completed a few years earlier.¹⁰³ But Loos's project is also a remarkable attempt to recuperate his own proletarian *Gartensiedlung* house (with its work and rest zones, and vital connection to the outdoors) and to give it an urban multilevel life. It was rejected by city housing authorities, officially because the cost was considered to be prohibitive, but Loos's prickly relationship with building authorities in Vienna certainly did not help in gaining acceptance for his revolutionary scheme. Margarete Lihotzky, who was closely associated with Loos at the time, attributes the city's outright rejection of the scheme to Loos's mocking reply, "fire stations" when he was asked by a Social Democratic politician what the "underside of the terraces" was intended for.¹⁰⁴

Nevertheless, Loos continued to develop the *Terrassenhaus* concept in two subsequent projects of the same year—a scheme for twenty villas with roof terr-



8.57 Terraced-house Project
design, by Oskar Strnad,
1923. (*Das Kunstwerk*
[1924]: 110).



paces on the Cote d'Azur and the Grand Hotel Babylon—both of which also remained unexecuted. The second project is particularly interesting for its skylit communal core in which swimming pool and skating rink were to be located, showing the promise of Loos's stepped section as a communal housing type.¹⁰⁵ In fact, fifty years later a *Terrassenhaus*, designed by Viennese architect Harry Glück, was actually built on the Inzersdorferstrasse near Loos's site. This structure, built in 1974, had a parking garage and large self-service grocery store in the “underside of the terraces,” and a swimming pool on the roof.¹⁰⁶ The *Hochhaus* of course had its own significant later life, most notably in Alison and Peter Smithson's Golden Lane housing project in the early 1950s.¹⁰⁷

Peter Behrens's *Terrassenhaus* scheme for the same site was more conventional and, as Pommer and Otto point out, also foreshadowed his later Weissenhofsiedlung building of 1927.¹⁰⁸ Developed out of an unexecuted project of 1911–1914 for AEG (the Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft) housing, known as Siedlung Oberschöneweide, and designs for “double garden houses” published in 1918 in a brochure, “Vom sparsamen Bauen” (“On Economical Building”), Behrens's scheme consisted of single-story apartments with ter-

aces, stacked so that the apartments decreased in size and depth as they rose through the building.¹⁰⁹

Oskar Strnad's scheme for the tenth district site was the most ambitious (figure 8.57). Unlike Loos and Behrens, he attempted to address the larger program of the *Generalsdirektorplan*, which was to integrate new forms of high- and low-rise housing into the existing fabric of Vienna. Occupying almost the entire site between Favoritenstrasse and Laaerbergstrasse, Strnad's project consisted of several structures: a large elliptical apartment block with stepped terraces facing inward onto a central park, a tree-lined allée, a number of small houses distributed throughout the park, and low-rise row houses outside the ellipse. The most interesting aspects of Strnad's project are its historical and typological references. After 1919, Strnad worked primarily as a theater and set designer, and together with the director of the Volkstheater in Vienna (Alfred Bernau) he had developed a design for a theater in the round with tripartite stage for the production of “Drei-Szenen-Theater” (three stage theater).¹¹⁰ Beyond the obvious reference to the Greco-Roman amphitheater, Strnad's scenic composition—with its inward-facing elliptical terraces, picturesque landscape, and even the small pavilions distributed



throughout the park—is clearly indebted to John Nash's first design of 1811 for Regent's Park in London.¹¹¹ Equally interesting is the relationship between Strnad's elliptical apartment block, published in *Das Kunstblatt* in 1924, and Bruno Taut and Martin Wagner's horseshoe-shaped *Hufeisen* housing estate built between 1925 and 1927 in Berlin-Britz, an ex-urban site perhaps better suited to the social spectacle shaped by the figure of the plan.¹¹² Strnad's scheme, like the other two, was rejected as too expensive.

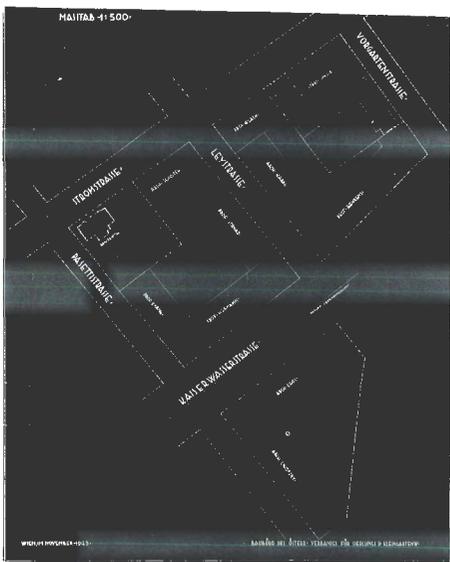
Winarskyhof In late 1923, as compensation, the ÖVSK and the architects who had worked on the failed *Generalarbitekturplan* and rejected *Terrassenhaus* projects were awarded the largest commission yet given to "private" architects. To the original group of five architects the ÖVSK added four more: three from its *Baubüro*—Margarete Lihotzky, Franz Schuster, and Georg Karau (later replaced by Karl Dirnhuber)—and the fourth Oskar Wlach (who was in private practice with Josef Frank and Oskar Strnad).¹¹³ Together, the newly assembled team of nine architects was to develop a scheme for a three-block site bordering a railway viaduct that arced through the district of Brigittenau (XX).

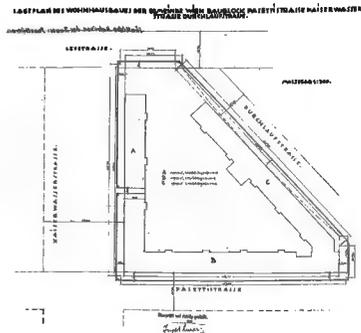
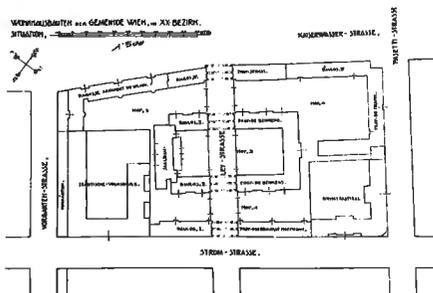
The original plan (figure 8.58), dated November 1923, was for straightforward perimeter block construction, with each architect taking one segment. This scheme was soon abandoned and the project reconceived (figure 8.59) as a superblock spanning the two rectangular blocks and a smaller perimeter block on the adjacent triangular site.¹¹⁴ Again each architect was apportioned a discrete part of the whole (with Loos, Lihotzky, Schuster, and Dirnhuber located the triangular block, later named Otto-Haashof). Internally, the parts are all more or less uniform in their apartment plans and stack organization.¹¹⁵

In elevation, however, each segment is an individual essay or signature piece of its designer. None of the schemes had terraces, though some, in particular

those by Frank, Lihotzky, and Dirnhuber, made conspicuous use of balconies as organizing elements. Frank (see figure 8.64) provided each apartment with a small balcony and cut away the corners of his block to create open loggias. Lihotzky also organized her units around open loggias, which were, however, contained within the volume of the building. Dirnhuber, who was given an angular corner site, conceived his

8.58 Winarskyhof, original site plan showing segment assigned to each architect, dated November 1923.





balconies as continuous horizontal bands and used them to visually bind the corner.

Loos had originally proposed a *Terrassenhaus* with two-story units that stepped down into the central courtyard, for the entire triangular block.¹¹⁶ His much more modest executed building (with which, according to Lihotzky, he had little to do, after handing the project over to her when his *Terrassenhaus* design was rejected in early 1924) is a laconic grid of windows on otherwise unornamented stucco facades.¹¹⁷ Inside, the courtyard facade (figure 8.60) is broken down into classically balanced segments, four bays wide, flanked by narrow stairwell bays that project forward from the building line.

The urbanity and classical repose of Loos's segment contrast markedly not only with Dirnhuber's dynamic sculptural composition but also with Franz Schuster's original design for the facade on the *Passertrasse*. Schuster's design is equally laconic, but by means of narrow vertical rows of exposed brick inserted at intervals along its length (eliminated in the built structure) the facade breaks down into smaller local symmetries, in their attenuated proportions and detailing reminiscent of the balanced *Tessenow*-inspired composition and intricacy of his *Stadlung* house facades (discussed in chapter 3).

Schuster was not alone among the Winarskyhof-Haasch architects who sought to “de-monumentalize” and animate the stolid mass of the block by a play of small-scale surface detail. Oskar Wlach, who was primarily a designer of interiors and furniture, used shallow setbacks, painted window frames, and horizontal stripes to break down the scale of his facade. Josef Hoffmann's segment (figure 8.61), through which the *Leystrasse* passes and the Winarskyhof itself is entered from the *Stromstrasse*, has the classical cadences of Loos's block. But these are overlaid with small-scale neo-Biedermeier details—triangular pediments and round-arched openings—that reduce both the sense of mass and the containment of the block itself.¹¹⁸

By contrast, Oskar Strnad (figure 8.62), in the counterpart to Hoffmann's segment—the block bridging the *Leystrasse* on the *Kaiserwasserstrasse*—conceived a remarkably powerful classicizing composition that dramatizes its dual and contradictory function, as it acts both as entryway and boundary wall. Manfredo Tafuri attributes the perfect balance of static and dynamic principles in Strnad's entrance pavilion to the influence of Peter Behrens and the "solemn syntax" of his own contribution to the *Winarskyhof*.¹¹⁹ Indeed, Behrens's building (figure 8.63), a freestanding rectangular perimeter block with a low single-story pavilion at one end in which the library and meeting hall were located, is arguably the most coherent and successfully resolved piece of the *Winarskyhof*, but it is also a more or less self-contained structure.¹²⁰ Invisible from outside the *Winarskyhof*, Behrens's building encloses a courtyard within the courtyard of the *Winarskyhof* itself. Behrens's response to this condition was to reverse the standard organization of the *Gemeindehaus* in his block, turning the *Gemeinde-Hof* itself inside out by placing the entrances along its outside edge and orienting it *away* from the courtyard and *Leystrasse* at its center. Though it incorporates the street into its plan, Behrens's block, like those that encircle it, turns its back on it.

What is the significance of these reversals and inversions? How does the *Winarskyhof* signify as a counterproject of the *ÖVSK*? We know that the architects of the *Winarskyhof* were bound by the same constraints regarding program, building density, apartment size, layout, and stack organization as the other architects commissioned to design *Gemeindehäusern*. But as the *Winarskyhof* shows, there was considerable room for maneuver within these parameters. Indeed, the municipal guidelines regarding site planning and architectural treatment were both vague and flexible; neither the distribution of building mass on the ground nor the formal language to be employed in the articulation of that mass was specified with any



8.59 Opposite: *Winarskyhof*, site plan as executed, showing segments assigned to each architect, and Otto-Haasshof, site plan, segments by Löss, Schaefer, and Ebnötzky (mislabeling corner structure by Dirmubler), 1924.

8.60 Otto-Haasshof (XXI), courtyard facade of *Durchflusshaus* segment, Adolf Löss architect, 1924, photo 1980.



8.61 Top: Winarskyhof (DG), Sivonstrasse facade, Josef Hoffmann architect, 1924, photo 1980.

8.62 Winarskyhof, Kaiserwasser facade, Oskar Strnad architect, 1924, photo 1925.

8.63 Opposite: Winarskyhof, internal block, Peter Behrens architect, 1924, photo 1928.



BUILDING AND CITY



8.64 Winarskyhof, images published by the municipality in 1926. Top row (left to right): corner Pasettstrasse-Kaiserwasserstrasse, Josef Frank architect; courtyard facade of same, Kaiserwasserstrasse facade, Oskar Strnad architect. Bottom row: Pasettstrasse facade, Josef Frank architect (left); courtyard view of Frank and Behrens blocks (right). (Bittner, *Neubauten* (1926), 1:plate 22).

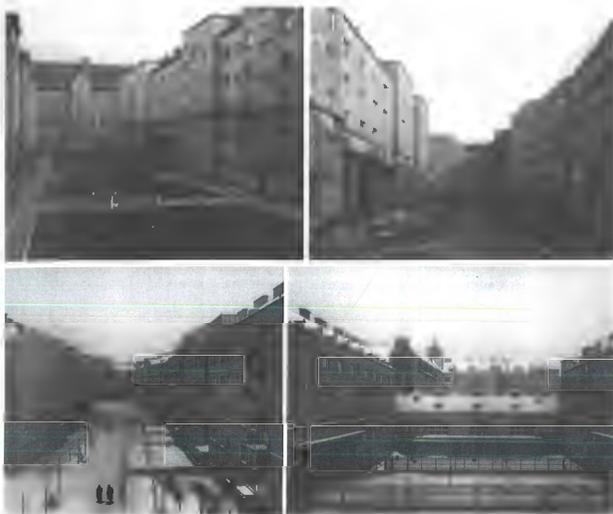


clarity or precision. And it was in this regard that the Winarskyhof staked out a position that was polemical in relation to both the “New Vienna” and the “Old.”

The Festschrift published in September 1925 to commemorate the opening of the Winarskyhof included the following passage: “In their work the architects wanted to prove that the cubic effect of the massing, the flat roofs, quiet horizontality, spaciousness of building tracts and spaces around them, and

the complete absence of decoration on walls and cornice lines can be fully expressive of a truly modern, consciously democratic metropolitan image [*Grass-stadtbild*].”¹²¹ The buildings, however, belie their description. Not only were the walls and cornice lines of the Winarskyhof not completely free of decoration, but the roofs of the buildings were also not actually flat.¹²² Yet photographs reproduced in the Festschrift and other municipal publications (figures 8.64 and





8.65 Winaarskyhof, images published by the municipality in 1926. Top: Behrens segment with protruding buildings on adjacent lot at the back (left); Behrens segment facing Street and Wiech segments (right). Bottom: Behrens, left, and Frank segments, right (left); Behrens segment with low library wing at back and protruding buildings behind (right). [Bitter, *Neubauten* (1926), 1; plate 23].

8.65), as well as in contemporary architectural journals, conspired with the written description of the structures to present an image of radical modernity, by suggesting that each segment is a separate structure, a *Zellenbau* even, standing free of the others and open to the city. Published versions of site and floor plans (figures 8.66 and 8.67) also tended to suppress the closed figure of the Winaarskyhof's footprint. In both the *Festschrift* and Josef Bittner's nearly contemporary

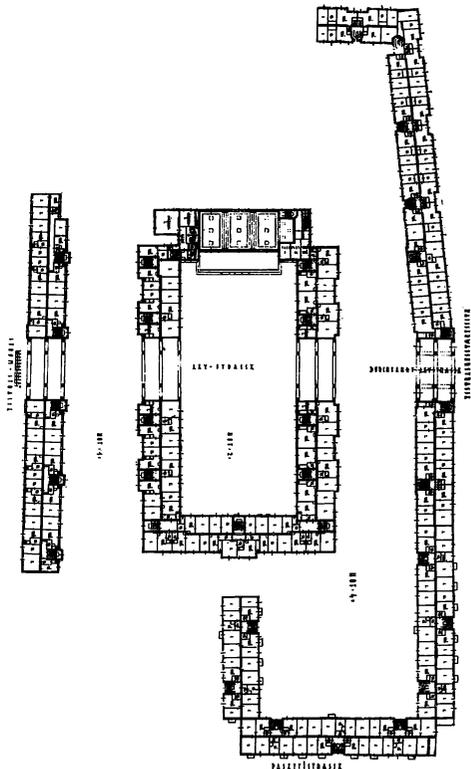
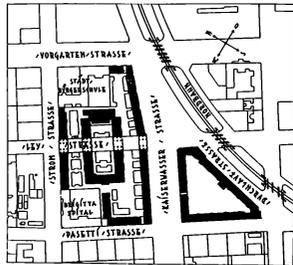
Neubauten der Stadt Wien (1926), for example, the Winaarskyhof plan can be read as a series of open-ended *Zellenbauten*, laid out in parallel rows across—and seemingly indifferent to—the existing grid of the city.

Yet as the buildings and figure-ground plans of the city attest, this representation belies the closed footprint of the Winaarskyhof, which is a perimeter block contained within a perimeter block—which snags two city blocks, but (unlike Schmid and Ai-

8.66 Top: Winarskyhof, site plan, 1924. As published in *Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien "Winarskyhof" im XX. Bezirk Stromstrasse, Vorgartenstrasse, Kaiserwasserstrasse, Pasettistrasse* (1925): 7.

8.67 Winarskyhof, first-floor plan, 1924. As published in *Blümel, Neubauten* (1926), 1:25.

LAAGEPLAN DER KLEINWOHNANLAGE
 XX. BEZIRK STROMSTRASSE PASETTISTRASSE



chinger's Rabenhof, for example) closes itself off from the city street that bisects it. Though the Leystrasse passes through its courtyards, the Winarskyhof turns its back on the street that is fenced off from them and remains separate. Thus while in published form the Winarskyhof positions itself polemically in opposition to the socialist *Gemeindebauten*, materially it sets itself in opposition to the historical city. Though not in fact comprising parallel rows of *Zeilenbauten*, it was conceived in the spirit of the German row-blocks: in opposition to both the scale and order of the traditional city. Unlike the superblocks by Schmid and Aichinger, which are filled with small-scale adjustments, accommodations, and concessions to established patterns of use and circulation, the Winarskyhof uncompromisingly sets itself apart from the city around it. There is no ambiguity between inside and outside; the boundaries between *Hof* and city, though breached, are clearly drawn. The Winarskyhof interrupts the continuous spatial narrative of the city in a way that has more in common with avant-garde techniques of intervention and the defamiliarizing procedures of montage than with the complex historically rooted dialectics of Wagner School urbanism.¹²¹ Yet the radical "modernity" of the Winarskyhof—"the flat roofs, quiet horizontality, spaciousness of building tracts and spaces around them, and the complete absence of decoration"—rooted in the contemporary architectural press was largely rhetorical, and existed principally in word and graphic image.

The oppositional stance of the Winarskyhof marked it as a counterproject of the ÖVSK. Nevertheless, all of the architects who participated in the scheme (except for Loos, Lihotzy, and Schuster, who had left Vienna by 1926) continued to design *Gemeindebauten* for the municipality. In these later buildings, which had nothing to do with the ÖVSK, they developed some of the ideas introduced in the Winarskyhof, but they also engaged the *Gemeindebau* itself as an urban architectural problem.

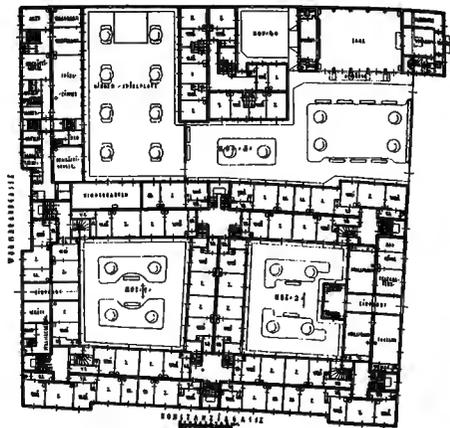
LATER GEMEINDEBAUTEN BY BEHRENS, HOFF-

MANN, FRANK Peter Behrens designed two further *Gemeindebauten*. The first, begun in 1924 and completed in 1925, was on the Konstanziagasse in district XXI, an industrial zone with prewar tenements and little existing urban infrastructure. The executed building (figures 8.68 and 8.69), only a small part of the scheme originally conceived for the area, is interesting for the almost equal balance between dwelling space and public facilities: municipal kindergartens, assembly rooms, maternity clinics, a public library with extensive reading rooms, workshops, storage facilities for city street-cleaning equipment, and a fire station.¹²² With characteristic clarity, Behrens divided the complex into two parts; an H-shaped residential wing enclosing two courtyards (bracketed by the street-cleaning facilities and fire station) and an institutional "square," open to the street, around which were grouped the large assembly hall, kindergarten, and clinics and which was clearly intended to be a social and cultural nexus for the area. Behrens's buildings establish the spatial conditions for such development with typological rigor. The residential blocks are simply detailed and are scaled to the big city. Together with the public institutional square, they have an urbanity and logic of form that are absent in the more picturesque *KleinStadt* conception of some of the other projects of this kind.

Behrens's third building for the Gemeinde Wien, the Franz-Domeshof (1928) on the Margareten Gürtel (figure 8.70; see also the map of Margareten Gürtel area, figure 8.16, section C-5), occupied all but two corner lots on a long narrow block north of the Metzleinstalerhof.¹²³ The Domeshof seems to embody both the idea of the *Gemeindebau* as a distinct urban building typology and Behrens's own conception of urban building as designed to be apprehended in a state of distraction. Straightforward articulation of parts—commercial base, residential superstructure denoted by grouped windows and balconies, commu-

8.68 Top: Konstanztogasse
44 (2002), ground-floor plan,
by Peter Behrens, 1924.
[Die Wohnhausanlage der
Gemeinde Wien im 201.
Bezirk Konstanztogasse
etc. (1925): 7].

8.69 Konstanztogasse 44,
Peter Behrens architect,
1924-1925, photo 1928.



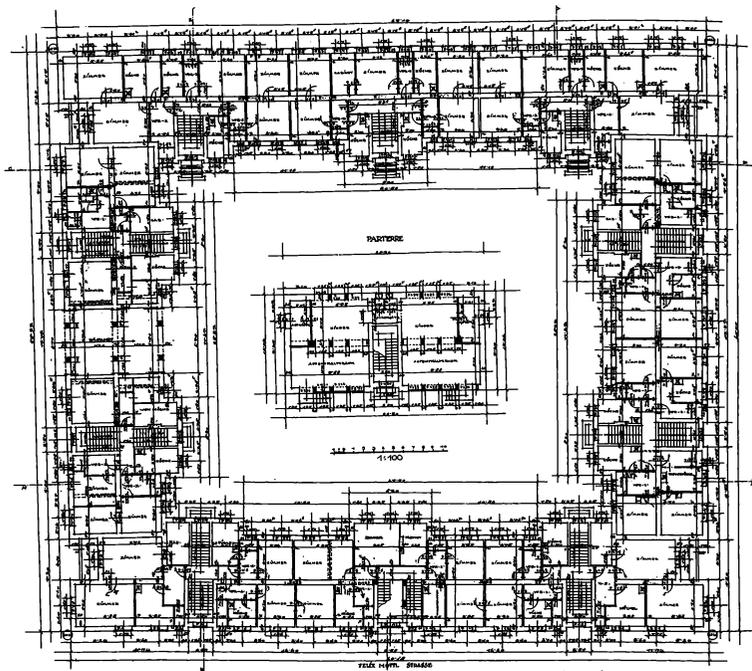
nating stair, and communal forecourt—is combined with powerful massing and an emphatic corner composition of intersecting cubes, planes, and roof angles that commands a broad prospect, both fixing the form in the mind and anchoring it to the urban grid.

Josef Hoffmann also designed other *Gemeindebauten*. The Klosehof of 1924–1925 (figure 8.71) was built on the site of a former gasworks in an area slated for development into a “*Gemeindebauten* quarter” in district XIX.¹²⁴ At the time, however, the streets had not even been paved. The Klosehof was an innovative response to this condition. In the middle of a perfectly square courtyard contained by an unbroken perimeter block, Hoffmann placed a tall, narrow freestanding

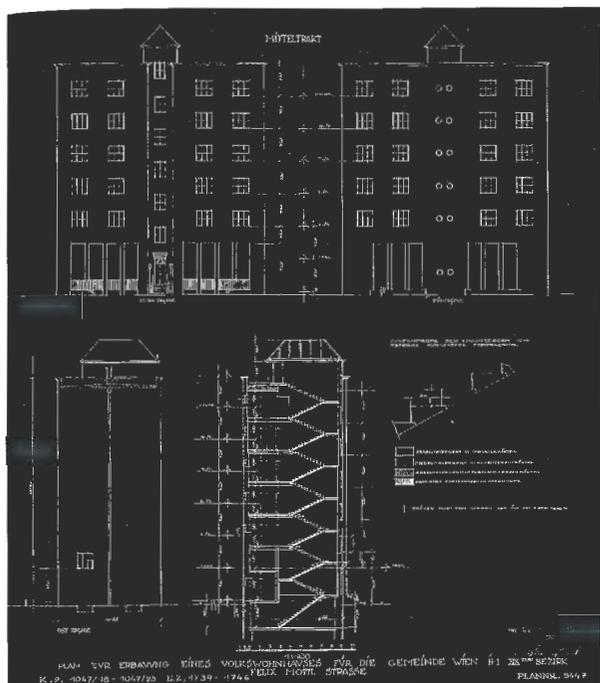
tower. Originally the tower, which housed a kindergarten and laundry in its base and five stories of apartments above, was intended to poke up over the top of the perimeter structure. Hoffmann described his intention: “The building was originally a big square that enclosed a large gardenlike courtyard. But since this solution did not provide enough apartments, it was necessary to build in the overlarge courtyard. In the end I came up with the idea of a tall towerlike middle tract, which would leave untouched the peripheral courtyard tracts and which I wanted to build several stories higher.” This was not permitted—even though, as he claimed, “no one in Vienna could explain why not.”¹²⁷ As built, the tower (figure 8.72) was only two



8.70 Franz Dornshof (A),
Peter Behrens architect,
1928, photo ca. 1930.



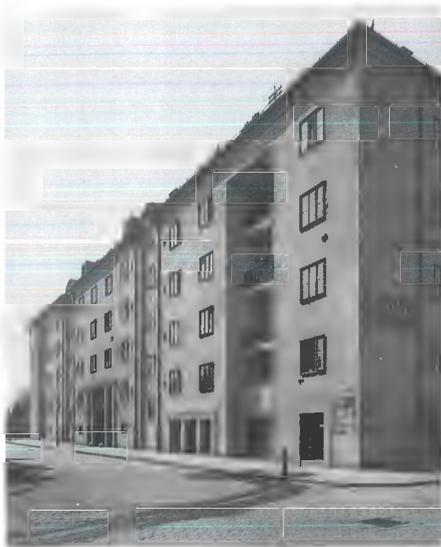
PLAN ZUR ERBAUUNG EINES VOLKSWOHNHAUSES FÜR DIE GEMEINDE WIEN IM 36^{ten} BEZIRK FELIX HOTT STRASS
K. P. 4047/10 - 4047/25 E. P. 1739 - 1746 PLANNR. 5438



8.71 Klosehof (KDX),
ground-floor plan, by Josef
Hoffmann, 1924.

8.72 Klosehof tower, eleva-
tions and section 1924.

8.73 Klosehof, main front, photo 1930.



stories higher than the perimeter structure, and therefore invisible from the street. Compositionally, it was designed to introduce what Hoffmann called “rhythm” into the Klosehof; a distinctive set of proportions and irregular grid of windows that would provide a counterpoint to the Klosehof’s balanced street facades (figure 8.73) Hoffmann’s treatment of the Klosehof facades—white rendered cement facing, with projecting window frames painted red; small porthole-like toilet-room windows; recessed balconies; and exposed drainpipes treated as an attached, very thin, giant order framing the stairwell bays—was sharply criticized. Both city officials and residents were unhappy with the Klosehof, which was assailed in the press for its “barrackslike appearance.” Max Ermers (Adolf Loos’s friend and associate) viciously attacked Hoffmann and called the Klosehof “one of the ugliest buildings of the postwar period.”¹¹⁸ In 1925 and again in 1926 Hoffmann was compelled to defend his design and respond in print to the charge that as an architect to the rich, he had little affinity for this kind of work: “I know and love the ‘little people,’ with whom I have labored in workshops for decades, and I believe, with their help, to have found the definitive type. I believe that building without unnecessary artistic facadism, in a simple unpretentious manner, finding charm in the juxtaposition of wall and window—suits these people. These people often have unrecognized artistic sensibility and are not to be underestimated.”¹¹⁹

Hoffmann’s condescending tone may have fueled the bitter controversy over the Klosehof design. But the dispute itself concerned Hoffmann’s idiosyncratic conception of the *Gemeindebau* as a building type. For him it was a house writ large, because of both its size and its composition of many dwelling units.¹²⁰ Viewed in this way, the architect’s task was to develop an economical, large-scale syntax for the refined formal language that he had developed in his houses for private clients before World War I. The solution, which Hoff-

mann suggested he had found in the Klosehof, was essentially an essay on the wall. "For an architect of feeling," he explained, "the wall is a wonderful element of incomparable value. My idea was to emphasize this even more and thereby to give value to the otherwise simple building; to leave the wall itself irregular and occasionally to give it a small decoration—a flower, a leaf, or a piece of fruit—was to employ a completely unusual, unfamiliar, and previously untried method."¹¹¹ The tower in particular, "with its monumental walls, with only one window on the sides, offered the rare opportunity . . . which I seized upon with enthusiasm, . . . to give . . . ivy . . . and . . . ailanthus, the indigenous weedlike plants of the Viennese courtyard, a beautiful painterly place" on which to grow.¹¹² Interestingly, this is how Hoffmann pictured the building—with vines and flowering trees trained along its walls—in the drawing that illustrated his defense of the building in *Die Neue Wirtschaft*. Both the *parti* of the incarcerated tower and the idea of the proletarian dwelling place as garden wall, to be organically decorated by nature herself with the common weeds of the traditional Viennese courtyard, were poetic and certainly eccentric in the context of Red Vienna's social program. The tower, however, did have a typological antecedent in one of Vienna's most famous late-eighteenth-century buildings, the so-called *Narrenrurm* (1783) or "fools' tower" of the *Allgemeine Krankenhaus* (general hospital), by Isidor Carnevale—a cylindrical perimeter block with a (not quite) free-standing building in its center. Though critics of the Klosehof never associated it with the *Narrenrurm*, the relationship of its *parti* to that of the fools' tower, which like many other eighteenth-century mental wards housed not only the insane but the indigent, may have contributed to the Klosehof residents' uneasiness with Hoffmann's scheme.¹¹³

In his last *Gemeindebau* for Red Vienna, a closed perimeter block on the Lasenburgerstrasse in Favoriten (X), designed in 1931, Hoffmann continued his

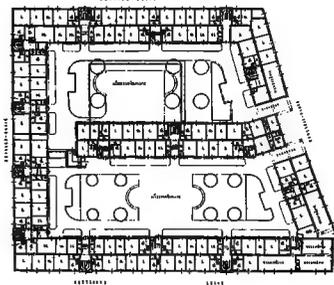
essay on the wall. In this instance he animated the long street and courtyard facades with an intricate surface pattern generated by the superimposed grids of differently shaped and dimensioned windows and balconies with thin iron railings. The result is a continuously shifting interplay of figure and ground across a broad field; a play of surface and mass that alternately dissolves and reasserts the material substance of the wall itself.

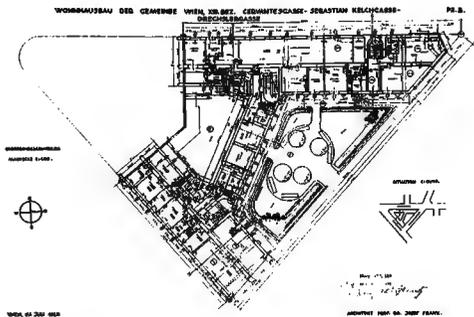
Josef Frank also continued to build for the municipality. Between 1924 and 1931 he built three *Gemeindebauten* and collaborated on a fourth with his partner Oskar Wlach in 1931 to 1932. Frank, unlike Hoffmann, engaged the *Gemeindebau* as a sociospatial rather than syntactical problem. His first, unexecuted, design for the Wiedenhofhof (XVII) of 1923 attempted to merge *Terrassenbau*, *Zeilenbau*, and superblock in a single scheme in which a central street, flanked by stepped blocks, is channeled through the base of a long apartment block on the northern edge of the site.¹¹⁴ In the final executed version (figure 8.74) Frank reversed figure and ground, replacing the central street with a rationalized *Zeilenbau* that juts into and bisects the large courtyard space enclosed by a nearly square perimeter block. According to Frank two considerations determined the outward aspect of the building (figure 8.75 and plate 20) "accommodation to urban context" and its "characterization as social housing." In order to satisfy both these requirements of site and type, Frank explained, "the facades are generously scaled without any great pileup of masses or superimposed structures. Only the loggias open the building toward the public square on the southwest side. The impression is unified, and the horizontal rows of apartment windows are interrupted only by the vertical accent of the continuous stairwell glazing. The building derives its principal effects from its orange-red color, white window frames, and horizontal coursing."¹¹⁵ Organizationally, Frank reversed the typical disposition of dwelling and social space in

8.74 Top: Wiedenhoferhof (DWII), ground-floor plan, by Josef Frank, 1924. (Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien, Wiedenhoferhof, im XVII. Bezirk etc. (1925): 5).

8.75 Wiedenhoferhof, Josef Frank architect, 1924, photo 1926.

KLEINWANDERLAGE IM 17. DISTRICT WIEDEN - HOLLERBACH - HOLLERBACH - KUNIGSPLATZ
ERDGESCHOSS





8.76 Top: Sebastian-Kalch-
Gasse 1-3 (new XIV),
ground-floor plan, by Josef
Frank, dated July 1928.

8.77 Sebastian-Kalch-Gasse
1-3, Josef Frank architect,
1928, photo 1930.



the *Gemeindebauten*. Instead of placing the communal facilities (workshops, baths, etc.) in the courtyard, he distributed them, along with the cooperative stores and shops, around the periphery of the block. The courtyard tract was a more or less pure residential *Zeilenbau* sited along a north-south axis with the apartments facing east and west.

In his subsequent *Gemeindebauten* Frank adapted the formal and organizational principles established in the Wiedenhoferhof to different site conditions. His building on the Sebastian-Kelch-Gasse (1928), a small infill structure in the dense proletarian district of Penzing (XIV), exemplifies Frank's ability to turn the limitations of a confined and awkward site to extraordinary effect. Carving out a forecourt/garden space along the Sebastian-Kelch-Gasse (figures 8.76 and 8.77 and plates 21 and 22), Frank opened the building to the street, but he also bracketed its communal garden with corner pavilions that clearly demarcate this space from the public domain of the street and the commercial zone of the corner shops at their base. Frank's last two *Gemeindebauten*, the Leopoldine Glöckhof (1931) on the Gaudenzdorfergürtel (XII) (just north of Haydnpark; see figure 8.15) and Fickeysstrasse 8 (designed with Oskar Wlach in 1931) along the Simmeringer Hauptstrasse (XI), display the characteristics of the buildings begun in the last years of the building program when the municipality was strapped for funds and politically besieged. They are self-contained perimeter blocks that—in comparison to the earlier *Gemeindebauten*,—are coarse-grained in relation to the city plan and lack the subtle adjustments to topography and patterns of use that distinguished Frank's earlier *Gemeindebauten*.¹¹⁶ These and the other perimeter blocks built after 1930, which seem hermetic and disengaged, reflect the political realities of the last years of Red Vienna, when the municipality itself became increasingly an embattled and interiorized enclave.



KARL-MARX-HOF The Karl-Marx-Hof, completed in 1930, is deservedly the central monument of Red Vienna. Careful examination of the building in relation to the historical and spatial conditions of its site and its making reveals that the Karl-Marx-Hof interacts very differently than the Winarskyhof with its specific urban context and with the city as a whole.

The built version of the Karl-Marx-Hof was not the original scheme for the site. The first design, by the Tyrolean architect Clemens Holzmeister (1886–1983), was actually much closer to the Winarskyhof than to the final executed design by Karl Ehn. Holzmeister, who had studied at the Technical University in Vienna before and during World War I, had been awarded one of the Social Democrats' most important early commissions in 1921 for a municipal crematorium near Vienna's Central Cemetery. Holzmeister's gothicizing design for the crematorium was filled with folk references and expressionist details that pleased both anti-clerical socialists and Roman Catholics. Though it was awarded third prize in the competition, it was selected over the winning scheme because "it fit best into the area."¹¹⁷ It was perhaps this quality of Holzmeister's work, its apparent contextualism, that led Franz Siegel to approach him in 1926 regarding the "building-up of Heiligenstadt," the site selected for the Karl-Marx-Hof.¹¹⁸ Of his work on the project Holzmeister recorded, "I worked for half a year and developed a fairly regular plan for this enormous project. I started with the family; from the tasks of the family; from the mother who has to cook and at the same time look after children. For example, regarding the kitchen: How do I build a kitchen where a child can sit in the sun? From this problem I developed the entire design. And the whole *Siedlung* looked very unimportant and unromantic."¹¹⁹

Holzmeister's *Siedlung*, intended for a narrow one-kilometer-long strip of land known as the "Hagenwiese" that lay between the embankment of the Franz-Josef railway line and the Heiligenstädter-



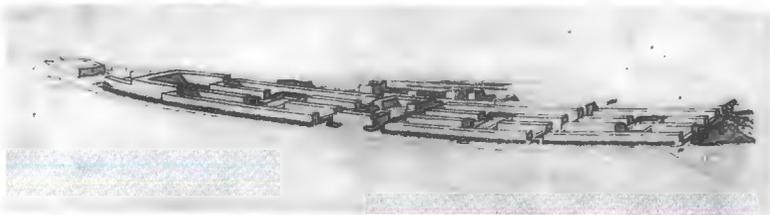
strasse, consisted of parallel rows of *Zeilenbau* blocks grouped around sunken rectangular gardens. In the *Regulierungsplan* of 1909 (figure 8.78), this area had been subdivided into small, irregularly shaped blocks. Holzmeister's scheme (figure 8.79) reconstituted the site, allowing only three streets (one preexisting) to cut through it. The buildings themselves were to be three-story blocks with balconies facing the lawns and gardens between them (figure 8.80). Yet despite the apparent openness of the site plan, Holzmeister's *Siedlung* turns its back on the area around it. Oriented toward grass, sun, and air, and away from the street, the *Zeilenbauten* are interiorized and disengaged from the area around them; the site itself is far less penetrable than the porous perimeter block construction typical of the *Gemeindebauten*.

Holzmeister's design was rejected by the municipal building authorities. "I showed the design to *Stadtrat* Siegel, whose response was, 'This time, professor,

you were clearly uninspired,'" Holzmeister recalled.¹⁴⁰ If more extensive deliberations took place, no record of them has survived. But it seems that the commission was awarded to Karl Ehn sometime in 1926, since Ehn's preliminary design for the Karl-Marx-Hof was complete by October 1926, when a photograph of the massing model was published in *Die Neue Wirtschaft*.¹⁴¹

Ehn's scheme (figure 8.81), which was built with only minor changes, was less diffuse, more focused and hierarchical, than that of Holzmeister. Rather than dividing the site into clusters of freestanding row-blocks, as Holzmeister had done, Ehn treated the complex as a single continuous structure, penetrated at intervals by pedestrian pathways and streets that pierce the fabric through broad, round-arched openings. At its center is a large public square, framed by the monumental centerpiece of the Karl-Marx-Hof and flanked by its long enclosed courtyards.

8.78 Detail, *General-Stadt-Plan III-6*, Döbling (DAK), showing Karl-Marx-Hof site, 1909.



8.79 Top: Design for housing in Heiligenstadt (XX), by Clemens Holzmeister, 1925. [Clemens Holzmeister (1927): 38]

8.80 Design for housing in Heiligenstadt, by Holzmeister, 1925. [Clemens Holzmeister (1927): 38]

At the time it was built (1926–1930), the Karl-Marx-Hof was the largest single building in Red Vienna (figure 8.82). The size of a small town, it encompassed a total area of 156,027 square meters and, once occupied, housed a population of 5,000 in 1,400 apartments. It had two central laundries, two communal bathing facilities with tubs and showers, a dental clinic, maternity clinic, a health insurance office, library, youth hostel, post office, and a pharmacy and twenty-five other commercial premises, including a restaurant and the offices and showroom of the BEST, the city-run furnishing and interior design advice center (Die Beratungstelle für Inneneinrichtung und Wohnungshygiene des Österreichischen Verbandes für Wohnungsreform).¹⁴² One continuous building more than a kilometer long, its central square (figure 8.83) covered an area of 10,480 square meters; its courtyards together encompassed 127,276 square meters, while its front facade along the Heiligenstädterstrasse was 1.2 kilometers long.

With its scale alone, the Karl-Marx-Hof changed the significance of the very concept of perimeter block, courtyard, and facade. Discussion of the project in the press and city council is telling in this regard. In *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, Ehn's scheme was described by city officials as "a garden city-like structure" in which "Siedlung and garden city character are combined with multistory building. . . . Despite its enormous dimensions, this structure will be treated, more than other buildings, in a garden city-like manner."¹⁴³ To describe Ehn's unified, massively scaled structure as a "garden city" seems incongruous. But when these remarks are considered in the context of the controversy over the municipality's planning strategy, triggered by the Tenth Congress of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning in September 1926 (held in Vienna while Ehn was preparing his preliminary design for the Karl-Marx-Hof), their significance emerges. As we noted in chapter 6, the general consensus of the congress was that the *Gemeindebauten* had

too many stories, the apartments in them were too small, and the courtyards they enclosed were too narrow. Delegates expressed their disapproval of the Viennese buildings during the screening of a film on the housing program; images of the *Siedlungen* received sustained applause, while footage of the large *Gemeindebauten* was viewed in stony silence.¹⁴⁴

The Viennese were quick to respond to the criticism of the international housing and planning community. In the weeks following the congress a steady stream of articles in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, and other Social Democratic party newspapers quoted the laudatory comments of foreign delegates—particularly from England and Holland, countries whose housing policies were considered to be the most "advanced" in Europe.¹⁴⁵ The Social Democrats defended their own policies, reiterating the reasons for building at high density in the city and ultimately faulting the lack of effective laws of expropriation for making such building necessary in the first place.¹⁴⁶

Yet even before the town planning congress took place in Vienna, authorities appeared to be moving (rhetorically, at least) in the direction of garden city or *Siedlung* planning ideals. In June 1926 Siegel had announced that in 1927 "we hope . . . to make the transition to a time when Vienna will be in a position to strive for the real housing ideal: the single-family and two-family house in a garden *Siedlung*."¹⁴⁷ At the closing event of the congress, *Stadtbauinspektor* Musil proclaimed the "end of the period of multistory building in Vienna," and Robert Oerley, vice-president of the Austrian Association of Architects, announced that he had just been commissioned to design a 1,600-unit garden city in Vienna.¹⁴⁸ Six months later, Franz Siegel declared that "Even the large housing blocks of today are to be considered emergency housing. . . . The municipal administration has always been aware that its multistory housing blocks do not represent the ideal modern building form. . . . The worst of the housing





crisis is now over; from now on, therefore, Vienna will move increasingly in the direction of garden city and *Siedlung* movement ideals. . . . Even this year the construction of a garden city *Siedlung*. . . will begin, and will consist of only multifamily houses."¹⁴⁹ But when this program—which included the Karl-Marx-Hof—was presented to the city council, opposition councillors were quick to point out that what was described as garden city-like construction was in fact just a "slightly lower multistory apartment building." The Social Democrats' use of the term *Gartenstadt* (garden city), conservative politicians charged, was evidence not so much of a change of heart or policy as of the party's embarrassment (*Schamgefühl*) over the recent negative press its program had received.¹⁵⁰

In the end the international congress had little impact on the municipality's policies regarding building type. Karl Ehn's laconic statement in the Karl-Marx-Hof Festschrift seems to bear this out: "It was necessary [in 1926] to decide on the type of construction, whether a *Siedlung*, a garden city, or a compact, closed block of flats. The International Congress of Architects [*sic*] held in Vienna at just this time, reflected the many different opinions prevailing on this question. The municipality of Vienna decided to carry out the scheme in the form of a closed block of flats, with large garden courtyards."¹⁵¹ But when Ehn's design was presented in June 1927, it was clear that the Karl-Marx-Hof, though not a *Siedlung*, was not a "closed block of flats" either. A conservative councilor pointed out,

In this project, the courtyards are treated in a wholly unusual manner. We see courtyards in the dimension of 10,000–15,000 square meters. These are in fact no longer courtyards; one can no longer label a space of such dimensions a *Haushof* (building courtyard). . . . Even large public squares in Vienna comprise only a portion of the area covered by one of these courtyards. . . . A new type has been created: a building without courtyard, since that which is here enclosed is no

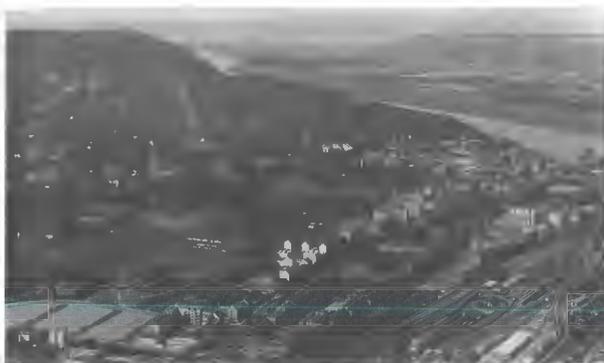
courtyard, but rather a public space through which streets are channelled. It is impossible that the vast courtyards [of the Karl-Marx-Hof] are only at the disposal of the inhabitants of these buildings. These will be open public places. Compared to what we have built so far, we are building something new: buildings without courtyards, buildings surrounded by public circulation space and squares. . . . It is an "inbetween-thing" [*ein Mittelding*] somewhere between an open and closed building form.¹⁵²

Indeed the scale of the Karl-Marx-Hof courtyards did more than change the significance of the traditional building courtyard; as further examination will show, the realignment of building and city effected by the "Mittelding" had far-reaching implications for the relationship between space and politics in Red Vienna.

The Karl-Marx-Hof is carefully adjusted to the particularities of its site between the *Stadtbahn* station, Heiligenstädterstrasse, and the city's largest sports stadium on the hill beyond (figure 8.84). It preserves the central square, which earlier city plans show was contemporary with Wagner's station building. But by framing the square, the Karl-Marx-Hof reconfigures it into the central forecourt of the new building. The square itself, however, remains public and likewise oriented toward the station and the street. The main facade, which fronts onto the station and the (newly appropriated) square, functions at both civic and domestic scale. The semicircular arches, (figure 8.85) reduced in number from nine to six in the final executed scheme, are gateways that mediate the passage between train station, square, and football stadium beyond, while the windows and balconies above mark the apartments within.¹⁵³

Though the two large residential courtyards built the central square, they cannot be entered from it. Instead, they are entered from the streets that run the length of the complex. As in the Rabenhof, the courtyards are penetrated by cross streets, one of which not only cuts through the Karl-Marx-Hof but passes un-





8.84 Karl-Marx-Hof with sports stadium (left) and Meiselgasse station (right), photo 1961.

der the railway lines behind it to link up with major arterial roads leading into the city center. The kindergartens, clinics, libraries, and other facilities, as well as the shops and cafés, are all clustered at the points where main streets, cross streets, building, and *Hof* intersect, creating communal/public nodes serving residents and nonresidents at regular intervals along the 1.2 kilometer street front of the Karl-Marx-Hof. These functions are marked by great semicycle arches at the base of massive square blocks. Painted sky-blue, they contrast vividly with the shifting planes of the sandstone-yellow walls and red balconies that step up and down the Karl-Marx-Hof's long facades (figure 8.86 and plates 12–14).¹³⁴ Inside the courtyards (figure 8.87 and plate 17) the vivid colors and active wall surfaces of the street facades give way to broad uniformly colored wall planes, horizontally striated by long balconies. The sides of the courtyard are so far apart that

to the eye the Karl-Marx-Hof seems to consist of widely spaced *Zeilenbauten* that face each other across vast expanses of lawn. Spatially, the effect is both more open and more fluid than the tightly packed freestanding blocks of Holzmeister's original scheme. Though in plan a perimeter block, the Karl-Marx-Hof is neither an impenetrable fortress nor disengaged from the urban context of its site. Quite the contrary; its spatial order is characterized by a subtle interpenetration of public, private, and communal space that not only allows for the fluid passage between city and *Hof* but also puts special emphasis on the points of intersection between them.

Yet—and this is one of the reasons for its emblematic status—the instrumentality of the Karl-Marx-Hof extends far beyond the immediate context of its site. Situated at the point where river and railway traffic enter the city from the north, its red arches,

8.85 Karl-Marx-Hof, view of
arched centerpiece from be-
low, photo ca. 1931.



tiered towers, and masts for flying banners are visible for miles. Symbolizing both wall and entry, this emblem of Red Vienna is a symbol of the city itself. The Karl-Marx-Hof became the icon of Red Vienna because its elemental forms and colors most powerfully embodied the *idea* of Red Vienna. But the full force of that idea really becomes evident only in the plan and its relationship to the spatial organization of the historical city of Vienna. Because of its enormous size, the Karl-Marx-Hof can no longer be perceived or understood as a perimeter block. Instead, in plan, it reads as a figure-ground inversion of the traditional relationship between built and unbuilt territory in the city. But the inverted figure is imprinted upon and coexists with the figure itself—and that is the structure's political significance.

Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co recognize an "epic tonality" in the heroic forms of the Karl-Marx-Hof that made it "an individual, a symbolic unity pridefully counterposed to the urban context." For them it embodies "the essence of the great bourgeois novel [which] is the drama that counterposes the positive hero to society."¹³⁵ But the "epic" quality of the Karl-Marx-Hof can also be related to a very different form of drama. Indeed, the Karl-Marx-Hof performs an operation not unlike the more or less contemporary epic theater of Bertold Brecht. As Brecht explained, one of his intentions was to refunction or functionally transform (*umfunktionieren*) traditional theatrical practices by exposing the techniques by which they operate. Brecht's method, described by Walter Benjamin, was to interrupt the action of the drama, often by means of songs, in order to "counteract an illusion in the audience." The interruption, which for Brecht made this form of theater epic, had an "organizing function": it "compell[ed] the listener to adopt an attitude vis-à-vis the process, the actor vis-à-vis his role."¹³⁶ Brecht's epic theater becomes instrumental as it exposes the techniques by which traditional theater operates, thereby subverting those



8.86 Top: Karl-Marx-Hof, courtyard from above, photo 1959.



8.87 Karl-Marx-Hof, courtyard showing gardens, kindergarten, and arched pavilions beyond, photo ca. 1931.



techniques and functionally transforming (*umfunktionieren*) the theater itself into a radical political practice. "Umfunktionierung" is a procedure that operates, and Brechtian epic theater a cultural practice that becomes instrumental, by entering into debate with what is already there. It is a procedure that has much in common with both the insertions of the *Lückenerbauung* and the superimpositions of the Karl-Marx-Hof, the Rabenhof, and the other superblocks of Red Vienna.

In fact, if we look at some of the superblocks that were built on the periphery of Vienna's built-up outer districts—in areas relatively untouched by the turn of the century *Regulierungsplan*, where there was no established urban order—we see much more clearly the significance of this critical engagement with the existing order of the city. Many of the commissions for these building complexes were awarded by competition. Often the competition brief involved urban design of the site as well as the area around it. The peripheral superblocks therefore were conceived as generative. Their purpose, aside from providing a large amount of new housing, was to establish the scale, public spaces, and traffic patterns for future development.

WOHNVIERTEL: THE PERIPHERAL SUPERBLOCK

The first of these large exurban developments was the Sandleitenhof, located in a border zone between districts XVI and XVII, between the hills of the Wienerwald and the factory and tenement development of Ottakring (figures 8.88 and 8.89). It was one of the few areas in Vienna that had been laid out along picturesque lines with winding streets and irregular blocks in turn-of-the-century development plans, though none of this had yet been built.¹¹⁷ The limited competition for the Sandleitenhof, which included 1,587 units and extensive communal facilities, was held in 1924. The brief specified that the northern portion of the site was to adhere to the existing *Regulierungsplan*



and that construction here was to be "open form." Urban design of the southern segment was left to the discretion of the designers, though the buildings here were to be "perimeter block construction."¹¹⁸ Both parts together were to mediate between the industrial and semirural zones that abutted each other on the site. The jury of five architects (Heinrich Schmid, Hermann Aichinger, Robert Oerley, Josef Hoffmann, and Clemens Holzmeister) selected three firms—Hoppe, Schönthal, and Matouschek, Theiss & Jaksch, and Krauss & Tölk—and divided the site up among them.¹¹⁹ Hoppe, Schönthal, and Matouschek were given the large southern segment of the site; the other two firms collaborated on the northern segment.¹²⁰

The two parts remained distinct. The buildings on the triangular northern site are small twelve-unit structures, oriented away from the street to frame small parklike spaces between them. They are richly detailed with elaborate surface decoration derived from a range of vernacular sources. Hoppe, Schönthal, and Matouschek's portion south of the Rosenackerstrasse is both larger and more broadly conceived. The buildings, linked together in continuous rows, wind through the sloping site to define an interconnected network of open, closed, and semienclosed squares, gardens, and streets. The emphasis is on public space and the Sitiesque composition is scenographically conceived, with framed views, shifting focal points,

8.88 Opposite: Sandlithenhof, site plan. Segment below Rosenackerstrasse by Emil Hoppe, Otto Schönthal, and Franz Matouschek; upper segment by Siegfried Theiss and Hans Jaksch and by Franz von Krauss and Josef Tölk, 1924, (Wohnhausanlage Sandlithen etc. (1928): 4).

8.89 Sandlithenhof aerial view, photo 1959.

and picturesque incident. Whereas the image evoked by Theiss & Jaksch's segment is a rural village or *Dorf* (see plate 23), the spatial conception of the lower segment is the provincial town or *Kleinstadt*.

Not all of the jurors favored the scheme. Some suggested that "in its entire conception [it] is too soft" and that "a sweet country air [*Wäbchau-stimmung*] hangs over the whole project." Others apparently favored it for just these reasons, finding its country air appropriate to the site and an antidote to the "abominable character" of the nearby tenements and factories.¹⁶⁴

But what distinguishes the Sandeleitenhof from the urban superblocks of Karl Ehn—or those of Schmid and Aichinger, for that matter—is not the formal vocabulary of the buildings but the hermetic, interiorized quality of the complex as a whole. Sandeleitenhof, set down in the midst of fields and allotment gardens, establishes its own urban conditions.¹⁶⁵ Unlike Am Fuchsenfeld and the Rabenhof, for example, it does not wrest its spaces from the intractable grid of the late-nineteenth-century city. Instead, disengaged from the historic city and the economic imperative of its plan, the urbanism of the Sandeleitenhof is a pastiche. Except at its north and southeastern edges, where its buildings meet and engage the existing streets and spatial patterns of the districts of Ortakring and Hernalis, the urban conception of the Sandeleitenhof is indeed "soft"—its traditionally conceived spaces lack their own history.

In later peripheral superblocks, which were built at considerably lower density, much of the picturesque quality of the Sandeleitenhof disappeared. The Karl-Seitzhof, begun in 1926, was one of the most important of these new large blocks. Named after Vienna's second Social Democratic mayor, it was intended, like the earlier Reumannhof, to be "a city within the city," the center of a new district.¹⁶⁶ The site chosen for the development was in Floridsdorf (XXI), an industrial area north of the Danube, where the city owned a

great deal of land. The original idea had been to build several smaller structures on many different sites throughout the district, as had been done in the more densely built-up parts of the city. This was abandoned in favor of a single large complex that would function as the core of the new development.¹⁶⁴

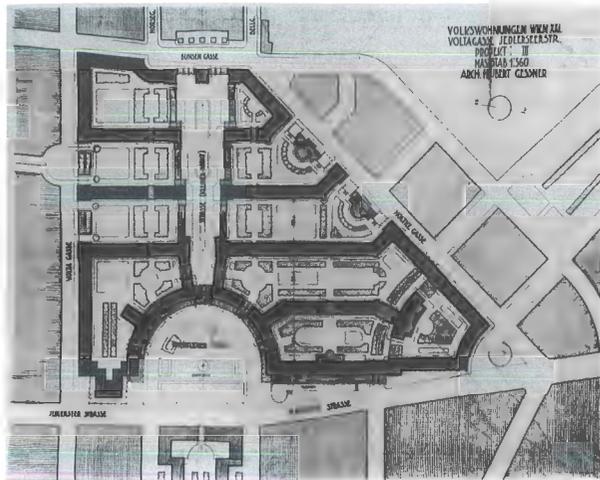
As with Sandeleitenhof, a competition was held in order to generate an urban concept for the area. In this case three architects were invited: Robert Oerley, Karl Krist, and Hubert Gessner, who won the competition.¹⁶⁷ The governing principle of his design, Gessner explained, was that the Karl-Seitzhof should not look like a worker's colony.¹⁶⁸ Certainly, in plan, Gessner's original scheme bore a striking resemblance to Gottfried Semper's original design for the New Hofburg (Imperial Palace), which had double exedra facing each other across the Heldenplatz. Like the New Hofburg, only half of Gessner's original scheme for the Karl-Seitzhof, and thus only one of the exedra-shaped forecourts, was built.¹⁶⁷ The spatial organization of this part (figure 8.90) was determined by a broad central boulevard, which was originally intended to be a shopping street with an open-air market down its center and shops on either side. That plan was not realized, but the residential blocks aligned perpendicularly to the street were built and sited in conformity with *Zeilenbau* principles along a north-south axis, so that 1,530 or 90 percent of the 1,700 apartments in the Karl-Seitzhof faced east, west, or south.¹⁶⁸

The centerpiece of the Karl-Seitzhof was a hemicycle forecourt framing a formal garden (figure 8.91). Baroque in spirit and ordonnance, this forecourt with its great curved facade and triumphal archways was evocative of the industrial buildings that surrounded it as well as of the New Hofburg. In particular the massive blocks of the clocktower (figure 9.6) at the northern end of the curve recall Gessner's own factory buildings of the 1910s and early 1920s. Gessner, like Ehn at the Karl-Marx-Hof, adopted the spatial language of power, of domination, in the Seitzhof. Yet the



difference between the two buildings is telling; it has to do not so much with massing, proportions, composition, and color as with their positions in relation to the fabric of the historical city. Despite the size, monumental forms, and powerful figure of its plan, the Karl-Seitzhof has little impact on the city beyond its boundaries. Transplanted to the periphery, the enormous superblock (figure 8.92) affects neither the organization nor the operation of the historic city. Like the Sandeleitenhof it establishes its own (though very different) urban conditions; it does not engage the nineteenth-century *Regulierungsplan*. It thus neither

grapples with nor enters into debate with the old order but, set apart, remains contained within itself, a “built utopia at the edge of an urban reality very little conditioned by [it].”¹⁰⁹ By absence rather than presence, therefore, the Karl-Seitzhof reveals the conditions by which the organizing function of the superblock operates, and by which the superblock itself becomes instrumental, transformational, operative. It demonstrates that only when the superblock comes into contact with the existing order, when its spatial organization intersects with and engages the plan of the historical city, does it have an impact on “what is



8.90 Karl-Seitzhof, preliminary plan (third version), by Hubert Gessner, 1926.

8.91 Karl-Seitzhof (200),
fermeourt, Hubert Gessner ar-
chitect, 1926-1929, photo
ca. 1930.

8.92 Opposite: Karl-Seitzhof
from the air, photo. ca.
1960.

present.¹⁷⁰ By itself the superblock transforms nothing.

The George-Washingtonhof of the same year shows this dynamic in a different way. Also one of the new large "garden city-like" complexes inaugurated in 1926, the Washingtonhof—originally known as "Am Wienerberg—Spinnerin am Kreuz," after a late

Gothic tabernacle adjacent to the site—contained more than 1,000 apartments and extensive communal facilities.¹⁷¹ The commission was awarded to Karl Krist and Robert Oerley after the Karl-Seitzhof went to Hubert Gessner. Originally it was to have been a *Siedlung* located on a different site.¹⁷² Both architects had already designed two-family houses for the earlier site, but the George-Washingtonhof was not to be a



Siedlung. Instead it was to be garden city-like: low three-story perimeter block construction enclosing five loosely connected large courtyards (figure 8.93). Not simply a *Mittelring* (somewhere between an open and closed building form), it was also at first intended to be a hybrid *Gemeindebau-Gartenansiedlung* building type, with each unit allotted its own garden plot (though the gardens were to be ornamental, not productive). In the end, however, the courtyard gardens were communal, each planted with different trees or bushes—birch, lilac, maple, elm, acacia—after which the courtyards themselves were named: Birkenhof, Fliederhof, Ahornhof, Ulmenhof, Akazienhof.

Like the neighboring *Siedlung Am Wasserturn* (see figure 3.23), the George-Washingtonhof was an experimental project: part *Hof*, part *Siedlung*. Its sprawling spaces, as a result, have a hybrid character. Though enclosed, they lack the urban density of the *Hof*. Though intimately identified with their plantings, with gardening, and with cultivation, they lack the vital connection to the land of the productive *Gartenansiedlung*. The attempt to synthesize *Hof* and *Siedlung* results in spaces that are neither *Hof*-like nor *Siedlung*-like, that are somehow disengaged from both the city and the land.¹⁷³

Once again it is at the points of intersection between the new building and existing patterns of use in the area that the George-Washingtonhof engages and affects the larger topography of its site. Situated on the border between two districts (X and XII) and two zones (industrial and residential), and at the intersection of two major traffic arteries (the *Triesterstrasse*, an old trade route to the Adriatic port city, and the *Raxstrasse*, a broad east-west boulevard planned in the late 1890s as an "outer Gürtelstrasse" or *Volkering*) the George-Washingtonhof occupies a key site. Part of its function, according to city building officials, was to act as a "gateway into the city from the south."¹⁷⁴ It did this with considerable ambiguity. Just west of the *Triesterstrasse* the George-Washingtonhof bridges



the westward continuation of the *Raxstrasse* (where it diminishes in size and becomes *Unser-Meidlingerstrasse*) with a monumental double-arched gateway. But unlike the other large *Gemeindebauten* that bridge streets to create superblocks, the Washingtonhof spans a street that never enters the space of the *Hof* itself, instead it skirts around it, passing along the outside northern edge into the district of *Meidling*. Though inscribed with its name, the monumental gateway is in fact the point of entry not into the George-Washingtonhof, but rather to the city.

The largest and one of the last superblocks of Red Vienna was the *Friedrich-Engels-Platz-Hof* (1930–1933). Its architect, Rudolf Perco (1884–1942), was a curiously alienated figure. Born in Gorizia in the Italian territories of the Habsburg Empire, Perco studied in Vienna and received his architectural training in Otto Wagner's master class from 1906 to 1910. Subsequently he worked for Hubert Gesner (1906–1911) and Friedrich Ohmann (1911–1912). At home neither in Austria nor Italy, he spent World War I imprisoned in Italy, and returned to Vienna to practice architecture in 1919. Perco's architectural practice in the

93 George-Washingtonhof (II), Robert Östley and Karl Moser architects, 1927-1930, photo ca. 1940.



1920s consisted mostly of work for the Gemeinde Wien (three *Gemeindebauten* including the Jodlhof discussed earlier, in addition to the Engels-Platz-Hof). After 1934 he was without work, though he joined the Nazi Party and denied having had any association with the Austrian Social Democratic Party.¹⁷⁵

Much of Perco's architecture was unexecuted. He entered several competitions for large public buildings and monuments in cities throughout the former Habsburg lands. In 1932 he published a number of these projects along with a programmatic treatise. "On

the Path toward the Impending Fifth Rebirth of the Antique: A Program for a Genuine Architecture," which called for a synthesis of the figural and the rational in modern architecture, a synthesis of Greek classicism with a rationalized, modular proportional system.¹⁷⁶ Perco's unbuilt work, representative of these ideas, was characterized by gigantism and combined a stripped-down classicism with repetitive modularity.

The Engels-Platz-Hof was Perco's first opportunity to build at a scale that approached his imaginary work. It was by far the largest commission Perco had



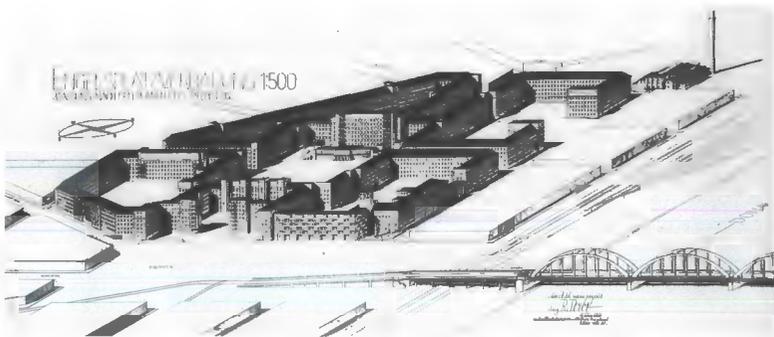
received from the municipality.¹⁷⁷ The site, 115,300 square meters of open fields, was in Brigittenau (XX) on the former flood plain of the Danube between the river and the canal, and adjacent to the Floridsdorfer bridge.¹⁷⁸ Perco's building (figure 8.94), which encompassed the site, covered only one-quarter of its area.¹⁷⁹ The spaces it enclosed, therefore, were enormous. The central courtyard, as the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* noted, could accommodate the *Rathaus* (city hall), one of Vienna's largest public buildings, and still have 2,000 square meters left over.¹⁸⁰ The buildings (figure 8.95) were also taller than the norm: six, seven, and sometimes eight stories high, they towered over the railway sheds and industrial buildings around them. Yet the cubic massing, the constructivist forms of towers (see figure 9.15 and plate 19), the ironwork balconies, brick chimneys, and washhouses were intended to be contextual, evocative of factory buildings, smokestacks, and warehouses.

But the dominant order of the Engels-Platz-Hof is integral to the project itself and derives from Perco's concept of a rationalized, modular classicism. Because of the classical symmetries, gridded surfaces, and extensive use of exposed metalwork, the Engels-Platz-Hof is often related to Otto Wagner's later work of around 1910 and especially to his *Grosstadt* project of 1911. (The Engels-Platz-Hof actually seems closer to Wagner's first unexecuted design for the Vienna University Library of 1910.) But there are significant and telling differences between Perco's project and Wagner's late buildings.

Though Wagner made extensive use of the grid in the plans and elevations of his buildings, as well as in urban designs such as the projected district XXII for Vienna published in *Die Grosstadt*, his designs never derived from either an overarching set of mathematical proportions or a system of modular units. Instead, buildings such as the Postal Savings Bank and Neustiftgasse 40 (discussed in the previous chapter) operate at several scales, are composed for many dif-

ferent viewing distances and angles, and repeatedly overlay one set of proportions with another. Perco's building lacks the finely tuned urban sensibility of Wagner's buildings—the accommodation to different viewing distances and the balance of “main idea” and “counterpoint,” which Wagner discussed in *Moderne Architektur*.¹⁸¹ In the Engels-Platz-Hof, point is without counterpoint. The modular composition of the building negates the notion of balance between point and counterpoint and evinces little interest in the “sensuous effects” produced by that balance, which were fundamental to Wagner's architecture.

The dehumanizing scale and order of the Engels-Platz-Hof are better understood in relation to the political and economic realities of the time. In 1929 the impact of the world economic crisis was exacerbated in Vienna by the withdrawal of federal support for the building program.¹⁸² Politically also Red Vienna was embattled and on the defensive by 1930, when the Engels-Platz-Hof began construction. This was a time, as Helmut Gruber observed, when politics, “instead of providing a protected environment for culture . . . depended more and more on cultural expression.”¹⁸³ The colossal scale and repetitive cadences of the Engels-Platz-Hof can be understood as evidence of the municipality's loss of control over political events in Austria and the spatial politics of its own program in Vienna. But they also attest to the emergence of a new kind of power in Europe against which the conciliatory Social Democratic policies of Red Vienna would prove defenseless. Karl Seitz's defiant declaration at the official dedication of the Engels-Platz-Hof in July 1933, a few months after Adolf Hitler had established a dictatorship in Germany, is all the more poignant for its hopelessness: “Even if the world is to become filled with devils, this Vienna will stand unmoved and firm [kühl bis ans Herz], a haven of democracy, a haven of the spirit, a haven of liberty, a bulwark against fascism and dictatorship.”¹⁸⁴



8.94 Top: Friedrich-Engels-Platz-Hof, aerial perspective, by Rudolf Perco, dated February 1930.

8.95 Friedrich-Engels-Platz-Hof DOQ, Rudolf Perco architect, 1930-1933, photo ca. 1933.



In this chapter we have examined the relationship between building and city in the Social Democratic program of Red Vienna. I have argued that the new “red” Hof recovered a historically rooted building type, the *Hofhaus*, and thereby reestablished the vital connection between street and interior of the city block in Vienna that had been obstructed since the nineteenth century. In the process, an enormous amount of private space was reclaimed for public use in the city. But the building program did more than recover an indigent preindustrial urban building typology; it unraveled the planning principles that had enabled the speculative development of the capitalist city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The *Gemeindebauten* created spaces that were part public, part private; that were both open and closed; that were available for circulation and public use but also enclosed within the built-up circumference of the city block; that overlapped with the existing urban grid but undermined the logic of its order. They accomplished this by replacing the analytical structure of streets, blocks, and open squares with multiple-purpose, multiple-use spaces that blurred the boundary between public and private. Even the perimeter blocks and small infill buildings (*Lückenverbauung*) that remained within the building line of the *Regulierungsplan* had an impact on the area around them, visually appropriating public space, forging links between divided or previously unrelated urban areas, and establishing new circulation patterns through the porous substance of their own building mass.

But it is the urban superblock that makes the significance of this kind of realignment most clear. Inserted into the existing fabric of Vienna, the Karl-Marx-Hof, Rabenhof, and other large building complexes that bridge streets to form superblocks engage not only the topography but also the history of their urban sites, preserving “what is present” and at the same time introducing their own willfully aberrant scale and organization into the city.

We have no evidence that the intense debate over the contested space of the city evinced by these *Gemeindebauten* was programmatic. Instead, the spatial ambiguities, contradictions, and multiple codings that result from the intersection of city and building plan seem to emerge (to borrow Otto Wagner’s words) “like a revelation. . . . They are, as it were the counterpoint of [the] architecture” itself.¹⁸⁵ The political instrumentality of the new buildings lies in the decision of the Social Democrats to build against the code without changing it, thereby allowing the old and new order to coexist. Indeed, careful analysis of building and street plans has revealed a dialectic between old and new, as the new order enters into debate with, and throws into question, the authority of the old.

This process by which the building becomes a radical instrument in the city is, as we have seen, similar to the *Unfunktionierung* employed by Bertold Brecht in his politically engaged theater during the same period. Like Brecht’s songs interjected into the narrative of the drama, the *Gemeindebauten*, inserted into the dense urban fabric of Vienna, destabilize as they appear to reinforce the existing order of the historical city. Intricately interwoven with the historical spaces of Old Vienna, the spaces of the New Vienna not only call into question the traditional sociospatial relationships they describe but also generate a discursive space in the city that is tangible, public, and perpetually unresolved.



9

ARCHITECTURE AND PROLETARIAT: THE SEMANTICS OF FORM





In October 1926, a two-part article, "The Gemeindebauten of the City of Vienna," appeared in *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau*. The first part, a "favorable appreciation" by Breslau architect Günter Hirschel-Protsch, who had attended the International Housing and Town Planning Congress in Vienna the month before, was followed by a "more critical appreciation" by the journal's editor, Werner Hegemann.¹ A focus of both reviews was the architectural pluralism of the Viennese buildings. For Hirschel-Protsch it represented "the liberty of the building concept" (*Freiheit des Bagedankens*), "the striving of social strata," and as such the "happiest solution to the housing problem." Though variously shaped, the buildings, according to Hirschel-Protsch, were generally characterized by "smooth sober *Sachlichkeit*, good use of materials, and finely balanced proportions. . . . Where the occasional ornamental decoration has been applied, the effect is not particularly disturbing. Color, in plaster and paint, has also been pressed into service."²

To Hegemann, however, "the Viennese images" presented in the issue gave "an overview of the architectonic form-chaos that today is being advanced and is much in demand in Vienna." The building program, the most extensive urban architectural undertaking of the time, represented a "missed opportunity." "Instead of large-scale artistic unity," the *Gemeindebauten*, Hegemann claimed, represented "a multitude of individual, inherently unconnected design solutions." The buildings "in no way appear to have been commissioned by the same client, for whom one would assume it would have been necessary to develop some overarching architectonic principle."³

The two commentaries illustrate not only the controversial nature of Red Vienna's architectural pluralism but also the ideologically charged terms in which the discourse regarding form was conducted. Favorable critics like Hirschel-Protsch saw the formal eclecticism of the *Gemeindebauten* as a reflection of the ideological pluralism of Vienna's Social Democracy, the result of a liberal system that allowed for difference and fostered individual self-expression.⁴ The true measure of its success was the "satisfaction of the inhabitants," which Hirschel-Protsch found "was everywhere expressed" in Vienna.⁵

According to Hegemann, "The opposite was in fact true." The "form-chaos" of the Viennese building program was not so much due to "the municipality allowing each architect full freedom" to develop his design as it was to the provincial petit bourgeois taste

of Viennese city building officials. "Except for the few [projects] whose provincial small-town folk-art idiom appeals to the taste of building officials, each architect's work is violated—subject to expert opinion and improvement by building department bureaucrats—in innumerable meetings."⁶ In other words, according to Hegemann it was not the liberality of Red Vienna's policy toward architects but the municipality's complete lack of policy regarding the forms of its architecture that accounted for the eclecticism of the *Gemeindebauten*. The absence of a coherent architectural program allowed minor officials in the building department to make important architectural decisions.⁷

The questions raised by these commentaries—Was the architectural pluralism of Red Vienna the result of Social Democratic policy, or the absence of policy? If the former, what was that policy? If the latter, how could such an important component of the building program be neglected?—have remained unanswered and continue to polarize critical debate on the architectural language of the *Gemeindebauten*.

The first postwar histories of Red Vienna's building program looked to the buildings themselves for answers. Helfried Kodré, in "Die Stilistische Entwicklung der Wiener Gemeindebauten" (The Stylistic Development of Viennese Gemeindebauten, 1964), attempted to trace the evolution of a "revolutionary style" in the *Gemeindebauten*, defined by a set of principles—"revolutionary" in relation to the pre-

vailing "bourgeois style"—rather than a set of shared formal characteristics.⁸ Kodré traced this evolution across three overlapping style phases: an early residual "bourgeois style" phase, which was a prewar holdover characterized by vernacular forms and ornament; a fully developed "revolutionary style," variously characterized as "expressionistic" and "cubistic"; and finally a decline of "expressive élan and dynamism" into a late "*Sachliche* style" in which "pure function [*Zweckmässigkeit*] prevailed."⁹ Yet, as F. C. Wulz pointed out in a doctoral thesis of 1976 on the *Gemeindebauten*, the idea of evolution is difficult to sustain if the style periods in question are (as Kodré maintained) synchronous. Wulz himself suggested that the stylistic evolution of the *Gemeindebauten* mirrored the political trajectory of Red Vienna. According to this argument, an initial "period of tentative searching," in which palatial architectural forms were combined with intricate surface detail, was followed by a "period of radicalization" in the late 1920s; that turn to "the cubistic treatment of facades and building masses" paralleled the radicalization of Social Democratic politics in Vienna around 1927.¹⁰ Yet even a cursory look at the buildings designed before and after this date shows that this chronology is unsupported by the architectural evidence.¹¹

In the 1970s most historians and critics of Red Vienna abandoned such efforts at periodization along with stylistic analysis of the buildings; they looked instead to the politics of Red Vienna for answers to the questions raised by Hegemann and Hirschel-Prottsch. Based on an analysis of the Social Democrats' social and cultural programs for Vienna, Karla Krauss and Joachim Schlandt argued in 1970 that the formal vocabulary of the *Gemeindebauten*—in which expressionist styles of the period were combined with the Viennese tradition of monumentality—constituted a bourgeois (not a proletarian) representation of class conflict. The eclecticism and reliance on traditional building forms were further testimony to the Social

Democratic leaders' fundamentally bourgeois conception of culture, also evident in the party's educational and welfare programs (discussed above in chapter 1). By means of fortresslike towers, archways, monumentality, axiality, and symmetry the *Gemeindebauten* could manifest massiveness and militancy, but they could not symbolize proletarian solidarity.¹²

This argument was taken up and elaborated over the course of the 1970s and early 1980s. Peter Haiko and Mara Reissberger (1974) argued that the buildings reflect the political position of the Social Democratic party, which was threatened by rising fascism in Austria but was also ideologically insecure because of its essentially petit bourgeois program, the aim of which was to domesticate the working classes rather than lead them to revolution. The *Gemeindebauten* themselves, they argued, ghettoized the workers.¹³ Wilhelm Kainrath (1977), like Krauss and Schlandt, argued that the "formal pathos" of the *Gemeindebauten* was more representative of Wagner School architectural concepts than proletarian class consciousness; in the same volume, Karl Mang suggested that the pluralism of the buildings was not anomalous but representative of European modernism in the 1920s.¹⁴ Oswald Mathias Ungers (1978) argued that the radical sociopolitical content of the *Gemeindebauten* was belied by their conventional technology and typology. Adolf Krischanitz and Otto Kapfinger (1980) examined the synthesis of the Wagnerian "imperial tradition of building" with the socialist municipal program through design; in a series of "Viennese studies," they emphasized the continuity of the former over the novelty of the latter.¹⁵ For Gottfried Pirhofer and Reinhard Sieder (1982) the aesthetic program of the *Gemeindebauten* came closest in moral tone to the simple unpretentious formalism of Heinrich Tessenow. The superblocks, however, spoke of power; and the rhetoric of their grand axial compositions, Pirhofer and Sieder suggested, was a direct reflection of the authoritarian-patriarchal structure of the party and most of its political-cultural or-

ganizations. In 1985 Helmut Weismann attempted to assimilate the *Stilgeschichte* (stylistic periodization) of Wulf to this ideological critique in an effort to trace a political-aesthetic evolution (through three phases) to the final "neutralization of form" in the last buildings of Red Vienna.¹⁶

But the relationship between the forms and politics of Red Vienna was analyzed with the greatest clarity and methodological rigor by Manfredo Tafuri in 1971 and 1980.¹⁷ According to Tafuri the Viennese *Gemeindebauten* adhered totally to the Social Democrats' political program. The pluralistic formal language of the buildings reflected not merely the bourgeois cultural values of the party leadership but a fundamental contradiction between the Austro-Marxists' revolutionary doctrine and the reformist policies of the Social Democrats' municipal program. It also demonstrated the party's misplaced confidence in the efficacy of parliamentary democracy, and especially its anachronistic concept of community and class. "If the particular task of language is to organize itself intelligibly, to show the silence that surrounds it, how can it say anything about a political hegemony still founded on the equivocal ideological bastion of *Brüderlichkeit* [brotherhood]?" Tafuri asked. "The 'play of forms,' for the most 'tragic' of the architects of Red Vienna [Ehn, Gessner, Perco, Behrens]," Tafuri claimed, "has no meaning. What they accomplish with their architecture is the exhaustion of style."¹⁸ "[T]he language used in the *Höfe*," he maintained, "is... at the edges of illogicality. . . . It contains a negative lesson, . . . that true action must occur without paths, that the return to a collective dwelling form is an incoherent act."¹⁹ The buildings, Tafuri concluded, are like the sociopolitical project of Red Vienna itself—heroic, idealistic, accommodating, hopelessly self-deluded, and utopian—unable to fulfill the promise of their claims.

Also writing in 1980, Friedrich Achleimer rejected the idea that the architecture of Red Vienna was

"the aesthetic expression of a reformistic socialist conception." But at the same time, he asserted that "a social democracy which is capable of drawing up and social housing, the results of which were really allotted to the workers, to the homeless, to those who lived at the lowest point of 'minimum existence', . . . was capable of developing an aesthetic programme which allowed these new political-scientific contents to be expressed."²⁰ And, according to Achleimer, Red Vienna did develop such a program, "in the sense, however, in which every built work—with the due historical perspective—is the mediator of the spirit of its age and can be analyzed as a phenomenon of its times."²¹ Those times, later characterized by Achleimer as a volatile suspension of "progressiveness and persistence, political ambiguity and cultural indecisiveness" brought forth both the political program of Red Vienna and the "aesthetic and semantic pluralism" of the architecture.²² But astute as these observations are, they beg rather than answer the questions raised at the beginning of this chapter.

MUNICIPAL POLICY / ABSENCE OF POLICY One might begin to address the unanswered questions by asking what the municipality itself had to say about the semantic dimension of its architectural program. Once again, we find no clear programmatic statement regarding architectural language or form. According to Scheu and Breiter, the "architectonic shaping" of the buildings was to emerge through collaborative practice. "The municipality will take into account the wishes of the architects brought in to collaborate and will guarantee them extensive influence," Scheu declared in 1919. Breiter reinforced this when he proposed in 1923 that "by distributing commissions . . . among . . . architects in private practice . . . new ideas . . . will be generated."²³ In 1924 Otto Neurath went a step further, suggesting that the unprecedented collaboration between the proletariat, "the powerful of the



new era," and the architectural profession would create "new building forms" and bring forth "big, clear, inherently truthful building ideas."²⁴

The closest thing to a programmatic statement recorded in the city council minutes was Franz Siegel's declaration in January 1924 that "The exterior arrangement of the facades will be freely modeled on Old Viennese building forms [*Alt-Wiener Bauformen*]; simple forms appropriate to popular housing." The reference is telling. Later that year Siegel amplified it by noting that "the identifying character of the new housing . . . that accounts for its striking appearance is exterior simplicity, ennobled by a certain solemn dignity and monumentality."²⁵ These qualities, Siegel noted, distinguished the *Gemeindebauten* not only from other contemporary buildings but, significantly, also from earlier prewar housing forms. The *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereins* concurred: while "the puritanical simplicity of the municipality's early buildings [executed in 1922 during the currency crisis] conformed to prewar municipal building practices," the buildings designed after 1923 displayed "a freer organization of masses, a richer development of the street facades by means of bay windows, loggias, balconies, plaster moldings, tiles [*Biberschmuanzgehn*], and a liberal provision of artisanal work [*Professionistenarbeiten*] . . . that give them a favorable aspect of comfortable habitability."²⁶

Indeed, a constant theme of the aesthetic discourse in official publications on the building program was the difference, in terms of architectural vocabulary and materials, between the new buildings and the traditional working-class tenements of Vienna. If there was an official position regarding architectural expression, or an officially endorsed principle underlying the design of the *Gemeindebauten*, it was this notion of alterity; that the *Gemeindebauten* should be radically different in formal aspect from the despised "Mietskasernen" of the prewar era. In volume 3 of *Das Neue Wien*, published in 1926, this was stated explic-

itly. The prewar tenement "offered little comfort, but was overloaded with architectonic trimmings, pointed and round-arched gables and dormers, turrets, superstructures and the like; imitations of an inappropriate palace architecture, while inside . . . wretchedness prevailed. The *Gemeindebauten*, by contrast, avoid such architectonic trimmings; their effect is due to auspicious organization, to dignified and simple forms, and to the deployment of architectural elements such as balconies, bays, loggias, and terraces that open the dwellings to the sun and improve the quality of life within them."²⁷

In subsequent publications such as *Das Neue Wien: Ein Album mit Plan*, a photographic survey (with a map on which were plotted the new municipal buildings, parks, and other facilities; see figure 1.1) published by the Vienna and Lower Austria Tourist Board in 1932, the concept of alterity was developed further. According to the *Album's* introductory text, the difference between prewar housing and the socialists' postwar building effort hinged on the relationship between *Zweckform* (functional form) or *Nutzform* (use form) and *Kunstform* (artistic form). Borrowing concept and terms from turn-of-the-century German-Austrian discourse on tectonics—particularly from Otto Wagner's discussion of construction in *Moderne Architektur*, which was itself informed by the mid-nineteenth-century tectonic theories of Semper, Bötticher, Heintzlering, and Redtenbacher—the anonymous author of the introduction noted that "A building has first of all to serve a material purpose (or function), and insofar as its form does no more than this, it has nothing to do with art. However, since pure functional form [*Zweckform*] is only an idea [*etwas Gedachtes*], its material realization in built form can never be only functional, but becomes both expressive and beautiful; in this way *Zweckform* becomes *Kunstform*."²⁸ But, and this is the important distinction, "usefulness or functionality and the expression of function are by no means one and the same thing. A functional building

does not necessarily appear to be so, nor is a building that looks functional necessarily actually functional." Furthermore, the author claimed (with regard to Vienna's prewar housing), neither the fact nor the appearance of usefulness or functionality have anything directly to do with an absence of applied ornament. "Prewar worker tenements were objectionable, but not primarily because they were decorated with all kinds of columns and pilasters that supported nothing, and all sorts of bays and balconies that were unusable (though useless, these features did not affect the way in which the building functioned) but because their plans . . . did not fulfill the material purposes of dwelling."²⁹

Yet despite the secondary significance of outward appearances, the author noted, "functional expression [in architecture] is the natural expression of the economic and social organization of our time." In the *Gemeindebauten*, therefore, functional expression "is accounted for." But it is "brought into harmony with the existing need for embellishment [*Schmuckbedürfnis*] of the Viennese," whose home "is one of the most magnificent German cities" in which "burgher houses were embellished . . . with taste, even in pre-imprial times." The author concludes, "Happily the municipality of Vienna has taken the popular need for embellishment into account and in its buildings has endeavored to achieve a classical balance between *Nutz- und Kunstform* [utilitarian and artistic form]; in that the unlimited *Nutzform* is completely realized as *Kunstform*. . . . This achievement cannot be valued highly enough, since time is short, art is long, and soon people everywhere will be satiated with dull sobriety [*Nüchternheit*] and the Viennese will be pleased that dullness has not been perpetuated in their city."³⁰

If, from the passages quoted, it is not possible to reconstruct a coherent municipal policy regarding architectural form, we can nevertheless identify certain attitudes regarding the expressive purposes of the *Gemeindebauten* and the means by which those pur-

poses were to be achieved. In public statements the municipality disparaged the profusion of "functionless" ornament on the facades of prewar tenements because the decorated street facades masked the misery and confinement of life within the tenements. Yet the municipality also abjured the rational functionalism espoused by German modernists, maintaining that functionalism in architecture was a principle, not a quality of form: "Neither *Sachlichkeit*, nor the elimination of shameful housing conditions is sufficient; the developed social consciousness wants something positive, a [new] domestic culture [*Wohnkultur*]."³¹ Clearly, the expressive function of the *Gemeindebauten*—to articulate the difference between the new *Wohnkultur* and the old *un-Kultur* of Vienna's nineteenth-century tenements—could not be realized by reductive means, that is, by stripping away ornament or renouncing the expressive function of architecture itself. Rather, the synthesis of "Nutz- und Kunstform," the process elaborated in the *Album* by which function mutates into art, was to be achieved by shifting focus to the (functional) life-enhancing architectural features of the new buildings that were conspicuously absent from the old tenements—balconies, bay windows, loggias, terraces, garden courtyards, and so on—and developing those elements into a formal syntax expressive of the building program's social contents.

Though different from the previous generation of worker housing, the new syntax was not without historical precedent. The model, as Siegel declared, was *Alt-Wiener Bauformen*, the traditional Viennese building forms of the preindustrial era, the indigenous bourgeois vernacular or Biedermeier style of "around 1800." While Siegel explicitly connected the forms of the *Gemeindebauten* to Vienna's *Alt-Wiener Bauformen*, in the public statements issued by the municipality that connection was made implicitly, by the descriptive terms—"dignified," "simple," "planar," "smooth," "restrained surface decoration," "finely balanced proportions," "cheerful," "comfortable," "cozy," "auspiciously



planned," and the like—that were used to describe both the new buildings and Vienna's indigenous *Alt-Wiener Bauformen*.¹⁵ By descriptive association, therefore, the *Gemeindebauten*, in the official publications of Red Vienna, took on not only some of the formal characteristics of the Viennese Biedermeier but also its cultural significance and moral character, including the bourgeois ideals of comfort and decorum.¹⁶

We are returned to Hegemann's assertion that the aesthetics of Red Vienna's building program were determined by the petit bourgeois taste of Vienna's building authorities, who favored "provincial small-town folk-art" architecture.¹⁷ This needs to be reconsidered both in light of the public statements issued by the building officials quoted above and in relation to practices within the building department itself.

STADTBAUAMT: CONSERVATIVE / LIBERAL PRACTICES The conservatism of building officials was a constant refrain in criticism of the program by the architects and intellectuals (including Loos, Erners, Frank, Schuster, Neurath, and Lihotzky) who favored *Siedlung* housing over high-rise apartment building.¹⁸ Anton Brenner, disaffected by the repeated rejection of his designs for built-in furniture, claimed that many of the building department bureaucrats were holdovers from the ancien régime, who held both architecturally and politically conservative views.¹⁶ Certainly, Max Fiebiger, director from 1920 to 1925, who had been employed in the Stadtbaupamt since 1892, was known more for his resistance than his openness to new ideas. However, his successors Franz Musil, an engineer whose particular expertise was transportation systems, and Franz Siegel, a socialist politician who came out of the building trades, were both men of the new order and, by all accounts, open-minded—though neither was trained as an architect or (one would assume) had a sophisticated understanding of the ideological significance of style or issues such as flat versus pitched roof in contemporary architectural discourse.¹⁷

9.1 Biederlichgasse 23–29
(XVII), Karl Ehn architect,
1923–1924. [Moderne Bau-
formen, no. 6 (November
1923): 270]



In the end, the most convincing testimony to the stylistic biases of the Stadtbauamt are the buildings designed by Stadtbauamt architects themselves in the years 1919–1923, before the city began distributing contracts to architects in private practice. Photographs and plans of a representative group of these buildings, designed by among others Hugo Mayer, Adolf Stöckl, Erich Leischner, Friedrich Jäckel, Gottlieb Michal, and Karl Ehn, were published in *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst und Moderne Bauformen* in 1925.⁴⁴ Without exception, the buildings, including Ehn's Balderichgasse (figure 9.1), were characterized by a restrained application of neo-Biedermeier relief decoration (medallions, strip moldings, etc.), colored plaster, triangular pediments, round-arched loggias, and the like. Many of the architects who designed these early *Gemeindebauten* had been in the Stadtbauamt before the war, and the style of their buildings differed little from the municipal structures they had designed then.⁴⁵ "One looks in vain [in these buildings] for the familiar characteristics of worker housing built [in the last quarter of the nineteenth century] in Vienna. The new buildings resemble far more closely the domestic architecture of a hundred years ago," wrote Siegfried Theiss, president of the Austrian Federation of Architects.⁴⁶

The Stadtbauamt clearly favored the neovernacular style of an architecture developed from craftwork and local traditions popular in the prewar period. But exactly what that architecture signified for Social Democratic city building officials is not so clear. As we will see later in this chapter, Biedermeier forms were promoted by both reactionary and progressive political groups; by architects who espoused antiurban, antimodern, nationalist and conservative views; and by others who espoused progressive views and whose engagement with Biedermeier forms was directed toward a modern synthesis of progress and tradition. Indeed, for many progressive architects and critics in the prewar period, Biedermeier architecture, which

was the early-nineteenth-century urban vernacular of Vienna, was seen as the local origin of Vienna's great city urbanism.⁴⁷

For both progressive and conservative architects (including Stadtbauamt officials, who clearly belonged to both camps), the Biedermeier signified "anti-Gründerzeit" architectural and cultural values. Whereas the *Gründerzeit* (the period of late-nineteenth-century industrial expansion in Austria) was characterized by regressive historicism in architecture, reflecting the rising economic power of an ir-resolute middle class, the Biedermeier signified a social order that was corporative, anti-individualist, and rooted in authentic middle-class social and economic relationships.⁴⁸ The social values associated with the Biedermeier—domesticity, family, and *Gemeinschaft* (community), combined with formal simplicity and honesty—were deemed by city building officials (and one would assume by the party leadership) in Vienna to be appropriate for the Social Democrats' social housing program. "Several of the new buildings," Max Eisler noted, "favor a bourgeois compromise; not in plan, but in their forms. Since they connect to local tradition, their effect is pleasing."⁴⁹ Indeed, as Achleitner has suggested, "a certain middle-class masking—which permitted the realization of the City Council political program with fewer compromises—was not really so disagreeable to the party leaders."⁵⁰

But of course, the work of the Stadtbauamt architects accounts for only a small part of the total production of Red Vienna. Only a few municipal architects, most notably Karl Ehn, Karl Krist, and Engelbert Mang, were involved in the design of the large and important *Gemeindebauten* built after 1924. Instead, it seems that it was principally the design of the municipality's *Gemeinde Siedlungen*, financed and built by the municipality not by cooperative building societies, that devolved to Stadtbauamt architects—in particular Hugo Mayer, Karl Schartelmüller, Wilhelm Peterle,



and Karl Schmalhofer.⁴³ Most of the *Gemeindebauten* built between 1923 and 1934, however, were designed by “private” architects.

These circumstances raise a further question: What influence did the Stadtbauamt bureaucrat-architects have on the designs developed by architects in private practice? According to the administrative report (*Verwaltungsbericht*) for the period 1923–1928,

The architecture bureau had great influence on the development of the building plans, but at the same time was mindful of the need to give private architects as much latitude as possible in the mastering of their tasks. This required great circumspection, much experience and empathetic ability, as well as strictest objectivity [on the part of the municipal architects] to find “the useful” in so many artistic proposals, and a middle ground between the polarized positions of private architects and public interest. . . . [The relationship between] building advisory board, freelance, and municipal architects [was characterized as one of] reciprocal interchange, [through which] the most diverse architectural solutions were realized.⁴⁴

A number of well-known practitioners corroborated the municipality’s account of its dealings with architects. In July 1927 Stegfried Theiss wrote in a popular tabloid that “As client the municipality must be given great credit for presenting no particularly obstructive prescriptions—except perhaps for the prohibition of flat roofs—to the artistic intentions of the designers.”⁴⁵ We will return to the municipality’s prohibition of flat roofs, and the semantic significance attached to the visible roof in the Social Democrats’ program; for our purposes here, what is remarkable is both that Theiss was the only architect to raise the issue in print and that he evidently attached relatively little significance to it. Apparently this emblem of the Modern Movement did not hold the symbolic value for Viennese architects that it held for proponents (and opponents) of *das neue Bauen* in Germany at the

time.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the prohibition of flat roofs was not strictly held to by city building officials; major portions of the Reumannhof and Karl-Marx-Hof, for example, had flat roofs—a fact that seems to bear out Theiss’s testimonial.

In 1928 Peter Behrens contributed an article to *Bauwelt* that appeared to be leveled directly at Hegemann’s criticism of Viennese building officials made in *Wasmuths Monatshefte*. Behrens praised the municipality as the “ideal client” for entrusting the design of the majority of its buildings to architects in private practice, something that the profession had hitherto only “dreamed and hoped for.” Behrens also defended city officials against the “intentionally unjust” suggestion that “building authorities influenced architects against their will, or even violated [the work of] the architects they employed.” Instead, Behrens claimed, “the head of building operations” in Vienna (presumably Siegel) “wants nothing other than, and understands his primary responsibility to be” to provide architects with support and advice based on his long years of practical building experience. Behrens also took on the “calumny” that Viennese officials were unsophisticated and unshooled in architectural matters. Siegel, Behrens insisted, “made use of the results of all relevant scholarly theory.” Indeed, “in order to familiarize himself with foreign means, to draw comparisons and deepen his knowledge, he had traveled to Germany, Holland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Spain, and Russia.” Furthermore, Behrens claimed, the freelance architects commissioned by the city to design its buildings are not just a small group of architects, who have been “housebroken” and are familiar and easy to work with, but “the greatest of Vienna’s manifold talents.”⁴⁷ Whether Behrens’s endorsement of the city’s practices is genuine or merely expedient (as Hegemann intimated most such testimonials were), it was echoed by other private architects, who also did well by the municipality.

In the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in 1928, Heinrich Schmid (of Schmid and Aichinger) was emphatic that "The Gemeinde Wien employs a large number of Viennese architects, whose architectural convictions range from archconservatism to extreme modernity, to design its housing blocks, without imposing any kind of restrictions or raising objections regarding form. The *Gemeinde* gives unrestrained approbation to the point of view that it is the architects alone who are responsible to their own 'artistic' conscience and their fellow man."¹⁰ Schmid's argument was not with the *Gemeinde* but with the press. It is not the *Gemeinde* that imposes restraints on architects, Schmid claimed, but politics. The only architectural criticism of the *Gemeindebauten* that gets published, he claimed, is "politically partisan." That aside, there is no public or professional discourse regarding the architecture of the *Gemeindebauten* in Vienna, a lack that handicaps the profession both economically and creatively. By either ignoring this major cultural achievement or rejecting it wholesale on political grounds, the press devalues itself, neglects its cultural responsibility, and does a disservice—not to the Gemeinde Wien but to the architectural profession and architectural culture generally in Vienna. "Criticism is progress," Schmid declared.¹¹ Without it the profession and architectural culture generally stagnate. Schmid's point is well taken. It has been the fate of the *Gemeindebauten*, ever since they were built, to be understood in terms of the political meanings ascribed to them by partisan critics. But (as I will argue later) by denying architecture its own public discourse, by fixing and limiting the meaning of the *Gemeindebauten* to the political conditions of their making, politics in interwar Vienna displaced that discourse to the buildings themselves. By the multiplicity of reference of their polysemic forms, the *Gemeindebauten* constructed a discourse rather than an objective presence on the streets of Vienna.

But before examining this point in detail, we must return briefly to the Stadtbauamt. The municipality's

position regarding the role of freelance architects in its program is perhaps best summed up by a statement that appeared in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in 1926; "Art is no luxury; it is necessary for an aspiring people. The city of Vienna acts on this principle by entrusting the design of its utilitarian buildings to important architects, and the decoration of the buildings to important sculptors."¹² In other words, municipal policy, as the party's representatives (Scheu, Breitner, and Siegel) had first formulated it, was to employ significant architects and to rely on their abilities to give the program architectural distinction.

Professional status was clearly important in selecting architects, as attested by the city's repeated references—in city council minutes, administrative reports, newspaper articles, and official publications—to the prominence of the architects employed to design its buildings. But professional status was neither the only nor the primary criterion. In 1924 the rector of the Academy of Fine Arts appealed to the Department of Public Works to provide its professors, Peter Behrens and Clemens Holzmeister in particular, with building commissions. *Stadtrat* Siegel answered, "because of the enormous flood of appeals for work from the architectural profession, it strikes me as impossible to give further contracts to gentlemen who have already had such contracts. In the distribution of such work I am therefore forced to give priority to those artists who have not yet received commissions." That reply suggests a policy of employment driven by social and economic, rather than architectural, concerns. Though there was much grumbling in the bourgeois press about corruption and the awarding of most commissions without public competition, there is also no evidence that political affiliation or graft played a role in the distribution of contracts.¹³

Indeed, the city's claim that a major objective of the building program was to provide employment for architects, artists, and of course the building trades seems borne out by its practices. But it also seems



clear that the distribution of contracts was not without bias. Comments by Siegel, in response to objections raised by opposition city councilors to Hubert Gessner's design for the Reumannhof (see figures 8.1–8.6), are telling in this regard.

While the architects Hofmann [sic], Loos, Strnad, Behrens, and whoever they all are subscribe to a great simplicity in keeping with their [artistic] convictions, an architect such as Hubert Gessner is a person who inclines more toward the magnificent in his buildings. . . . And if the execution [of his work] is more expensive, which it is, than that of other architects, it is my view that a metropolis like Vienna has the obligation—not in every case, but occasionally—even with popular housing, to undertake something particularly spectacular. As everyone has a favorite object in his own home that he regards as its jewel, so this building [the Reumannhof] will be the jewel of the Gemeinde Wien's housing for this year.¹⁴

Clearly, Siegel inclined more toward the "magnificence" of Gessner than the simplicity of Hoffmann, Behrens, Loos, and the others. On two notable occasions—first in the Lassallehof competition, when the Stadtbauamt overruled the decision of the professional jury and awarded the commission to Hubert Gessner, and second when Holzmeister was replaced by Karl Ehn as designer of the Karl-Marx-Hof—the preferred status of certain architects was particularly clear (both projects are discussed in chapter 8).

Yet aside from a taste for "magnificence" and the "spectacular," it seems that city building officials espoused no particular architectural ideology. Nor was there a dominant architectural personality in the city building office. Herein lies one of the fundamental differences between Vienna and German cities like Frankfurt, Berlin, and Hamburg that were also involved in large-scale municipal housing construction at this time. In each of the German cities an architect—Ernst May in Frankfurt, Martin Wagner in Ber-

lin, Fritz Schumacher in Hamburg—was appointed by the mayor to head its planning and building operations. These architect-administrators, in cooperation with the political authorities, had jurisdiction over all building activity in the city and were also responsible for shaping a comprehensive development plan. Each, in consequence, was able to put his stamp on the building program of his city.¹⁵ This was not the case in Vienna. As we have seen, there was no city planner or city planning authority in interwar Vienna, a situation deplored by the editorial board of *Der Aufbau* and one that Neurath had attempted unsuccessfully to rectify with his *Generalarchitekturplan* project in 1924.¹⁶ No single architect in the building department had anything like the authority that May and Wagner had over planning and building operations in Frankfurt and Berlin.

In Vienna, politicians rather than design and planning professionals were in charge. The problem with this arrangement, according to Hegemann and the editors of *Der Aufbau*, was that the politicians were not qualified to make decisions regarding planning or design. "A politician, who has hitherto concerned himself with general political questions, can hardly be expected to be better schooled in cultural and architectural matters than the building authorities and specialists responsible for these matters. . . . The politicians and bureaucrats were not the people to give a task of such overwhelming importance a cultural, urbanistic, and artistically significant direction." Hegemann wrote in the *Wasmuths* article.¹⁷ But, he insisted, the blame was not to be laid at the feet of the politicians whose "attitudes were liberal" and who would have been "easy to influence in architectural matters, if the architectural community in Vienna had had this aim in view and wanted more than merely to secure building contracts for itself. The Austrian architectural profession deserves the greatest possible reprobation for taking up the political program to build 25,000 dwellings, without developing and improving the cultural and social aspect of that program."¹⁸

Hegemann's assessment that the politicians were unqualified but amenable to professional counsel, and the architects complicit in the socialist municipality's failure to develop a coherent architectural program for its buildings, is perhaps accurate. But it is equally likely, as Friedrich Achleitner suggests, that "politics did not give architecture that importance of priority which the architects would have wished."⁹⁹ Indeed, according to Margarete Lihotzky contracts seemed to be distributed without discernable principle, so haphazardly that some architects speculated that the distribution was made by "alphabetical order."¹⁰⁰

With the exception of intellectuals like Gustav Seheu and Otto Neurath who, through their associations with Loos and Frank, were engaged (albeit marginally) in the architectural debates of the time, particularly regarding functionalism and rationalism, Social Democratic politicians in Vienna evinced little knowledge or interest in the architectural or ideological debates of the avant-garde. An article in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* titled "Neue Bauformen" ("New Building Forms"), reviewing an exhibition of housing designs by students of Hoffmann, Srnad, Frank, and others at the progressive Kunstgewerbeschule, reflects the prevailing attitude of Social Democratic officialdom to avant-garde work. While it was noted that the exhibited designs showed cognizance of "the contemporary need for planned, large-scale conception based on modern technology," few of the "often revolutionary design solutions are directed toward proletarian-socialist development." Indeed, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* reviewer scolded, they "tended toward the playful" and were too "fanciful," the emphasis being on "originality" rather than the "stern reality of providing useful proletarian housing" or "earnest social work."¹⁰¹ This suggests that the editors of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* espoused a sober "socialist realism." It also suggests the possibility, raised by Achleitner, that "being conventional and even reactionary in other sectors is precisely part of the character of revolutionaries

in whatever sector."¹⁰² Certainly the prohibition of flat roofs, and Siegel's stated preference for Gessnerian embellishment over Loosian simplicity, would seem to bear this out.

But Siegel's praise of Gessner also raises one of the central and as yet unanswered questions regarding the Viennese building program: What was it in the work of Wagner School architects that made their buildings so satisfying to Social Democratic politicians as well as to the working-class tenants of the buildings themselves? What aspects of their training or professional formation equipped these architects to give satisfactory expressive form to the social contents of the Social Democrats' municipal program? Some of the factors have already been touched on.

ROLE OF THE WAGNER SCHOOL In the previous two chapters I argued that Wagner School architects played a key role in shaping both the revolutionary spatial organization of the *Gemeindebauten* and their relationship to the traditional city. The evolution of the *Gemeindebau* as an urban building typology was traced in the Metzleinstalerhof by Hubert Gessner and the Fuchsenfeldhof by Schmid and Aichinger, buildings that established a new relationship between private and public space; building and city in Vienna. Furthermore, I argued, the approach to building on a large scale in the city, represented by these and other *Gemeindebauten* designed by Wagner School architects, derived from their prewar training in Otto Wagner's master class and atelier. By the 1920s, most of these architects were in their forties and fifties, and well-established professionally. In their experience and training, therefore, they were singularly well equipped to handle the scale and complexity of the architectural problem presented by the Social Democrats' building program. But there are other, more elusive factors in the Social Democrats' affinity for *Wagnerschule* architects.



The intellectual leadership of the Social Democratic party shared with Wagner a positive orientation toward the *Grossstadt*, a belief in the technological and social progress associated with metropolitan life, and the significance of Vienna as a *Weltstadt*—a world city with an imperial heritage and cosmopolitan future, entirely modern yet historically fully self-aware.⁶¹ Though many of Wagner's students had distanced themselves (even before World War I) from the radical modernity of Wagner's *Grossstadt* and from his enthusiasm for the technological social character of the great city,⁶² in their own apartment and office buildings designed in the 1910s, a number of them—including Hubert Gessner, Emil Hoppe and Otto Schönthal, and Rudolf Perco—sought to reconcile their teacher's concept of the deracinated *Grossstadt* with the *genius loci*, to (re)root the modern, technologically advanced, cosmopolitan life of the metropolis in local traditions and conditions of building.⁶³ Of course Wagner's own "expanding metropolis" in *Die Grossstadt* was clearly modeled on Vienna itself—divided into boroughs/districts, interconnected by concentric ring roads—and therefore rooted in the historical city.⁶⁴

Many of Wagner's students turned explicitly to local traditions of building as well as to Camillo Sitte's "artistic" principles of urban composition. Ferdinand von Feldegg, editor of *Der Architekt*, documented the shift in 1908: "Around fifteen years ago, when the modern movement appeared with elemental force, the younger generation believed with the total commitment of their enthusiasm that they were striving for something that was artistically quite new and had never existed before. Otto Wagner's *Moderne Architektur* was their breviary. Since then things have changed. Following the initial enthusiasm came a calming-down period, critical reflection set in. . . . Suddenly we are peering not into the blue future but into the gray of the past."⁶⁵ Feldegg here is not referring to the Czech, Hungarian, Slovenian, and Cro-

atian students who returned to their native provinces and whose work was directed toward a politically motivated break with Vienna and aimed at developing an anti-cosmopolitan national regionalism.⁶⁶ He instead has in mind those Wagner students who remained in Vienna and continued to espouse Wagner's big-city ideals as well as to "embrace a scintillating traditionalism."⁶⁹

But it would be wrong to understand by this that Wagner School architects retreated from the economic and political realities of their time into a regressive and sentimental *Heimatkunst* (folk art), and that the rationalist, positivist, and cosmopolitan ideals of Wagner were transmuted by his students into a romantic, traditionalist regionalism. The engagement of Wagner School architects with local traditions of building and with the vernacular was instead something both more creative and more complex. It was informed by the same progressive ideals that underlay the school's typological research into building forms appropriate to contemporary conditions of urban life, and it was fully theorized within the context of that investigation.

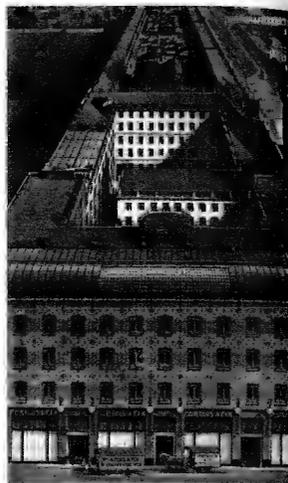
Wagner School, Vernacular, and the Metropolis
Wagner School interest in the vernacular began at the Academy of Fine Arts and was fostered by Wagner himself. Students were encouraged to study the indigenous rural architecture of the countries they visited while traveling on the many travel *Stipendien* (stipends) awarded by the Academy. The Wagner School itinerary, which was broader than the usual academic travel plan, included not only Italy but also North Africa, the Balkans, and Turkey as well as Western Europe—France, Belgium, England, Holland, and often also Germany and Switzerland. Wagner counseled his students to study not only the rural vernacular of those countries (and especially the Mediterranean house) but also the modern urban vernacular of Western Europe's capital cities and industrial centers. He is re-

9.2 Porrois & Fix (III), Max Fabiani architect, 1899–1900. This unusual aerial view reveals Fabiani's building, with commercial space below and apartments above, as the street front for an extensive complex of buildings and courtyards that house the furniture factory. (Das Neue Wien (1926), 2:733)



corded to have advised a student who intended to visit classical sites in Italy to also study developments in the modern metropolis: "Don't look so long at the old trash; rather go to Paris and look around."⁷⁰

In the Wagner design curriculum, study of the vernacular was closely related to the first-year design problem; the standard Viennese apartment building, or *Mietsbau*. Within this context, Wagner developed a theoretical concept of modern urban building. The concept itself was grounded in Gottfried Semper's *Bekleidungslehre*, a central tenet of Wagner's pedagogy and practice.⁷¹ The theory of *Bekleidung* (dressing or cladding), which Semper referred to throughout his theoretical work but developed most fully in *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder praktische Aesthetik* in the early 1860s, posited the origins of architecture itself in craft work, particularly in the textile arts.⁷² Cladding and structure, though separate systems representing the spiritual and material demands of the architectural object, evolve together in Semper's theory to shape standard building types that are themselves in constant evolution.⁷³ The implications of this idea for practice were twofold. On the one hand, vernacular buildings could be understood to represent an architecture that had evolved out of use and custom, and was therefore inextricably bound to the social and technical practices of the time and place in which it was produced. On the other hand, the concept of *Bekleidung* identified the facade as an expressive field for architecture, a covering that had an all-important communicative function with respect to the city: to convey the specific (as opposed to typological) meaning of the building and to mediate between it and the world. Thus conceived, the idea of an urban vernacular architecture that was in constant evolution provided a foundation for semantic as well as typological research in Wagner's master class—a way, as the Wagner School architects themselves described it, of "leaving stereotype behind" and breaking with historicism.⁷⁴ The tile-faced Porrois & Fix building, of 1899–



1900 (figure 9.2), by Max Fabiani, who was not a Wagner student but worked for Wagner during this period, is exemplary of this development. Edward Sekler noted that for Josef Hoffmann (as well as for other Wagner students) the forms of vernacular buildings "were believed to owe nothing to the historical styles of 'high art' and accordingly appeared acceptable as sources of inspiration, especially since they were supposed to be an inspiration in matters of principle, not of form."⁷⁵

Wagner School engagement with vernacular forms of building, therefore, was part of a sustained investigation into type and language, a line of research directed toward formulating an architecture adequate to the demands of modern urban society.⁷⁴ The central concern was thus not with the preindustrial roots but with the contemporary conditions, of constantly evolving and therefore still vital local traditions. "This was different from the ideological populism of some upholders of folk style," Franco Borsi and Ezio Godoli point out. "The Wagner School reclaimed tradition as a repository of values beyond history. It aimed at founding its architectural idiom on elementary laws of building. . . . [an investigation that] went beyond geographical, ethnic, and national boundaries."⁷⁵

The distinction is important. Wagner School interest in vernacular forms of architecture was distinct from the preservationist concerns of conservative groups such as the German Bund für Heimatschutz (Preservation League), founded in 1904, for whom the preservation of indigenous architectural traditions was part of a nationalist cultural agenda. The fostering of regional *Heimatkunst* by preservation groups in Austria and Germany, as well as (early on) by the journal *Hobe Warte*, was part of a larger effort to identify a common cultural heritage that would unite all social classes by habit, custom, and historical affiliation, rather than by consent, in a regionally conceived *Volk* (people).⁷⁶ For the most part, the locus of that heritage was the rural countryside and small provincial towns, where connections to the land and preindustrial culture were imagined to be still vital. Ideologically, therefore, notions of *Volk* and *Heimatschutz* were often associated with a narrowly conceived nationalism and with "pan-German" attitudes that were antiurban, antiindustrial, anticapitalist; antihetical, in other words, both to the big city and to notions of technologically based social progress.⁷⁷

Adolf Loos, who viewed the movement as pernicious, wrote in 1914 of the proponents of *Heimatsstil* in

Vienna, "Instead of taking the newest achievements of our culture and of our intellectual life, inventions, and experiences, to the countryside, the vernacular artists are trying to transport the rural manner of building to the city." Vienna, he warned, was in danger of becoming "despiciously countrified," of being transformed by "Munichization," as Bavarian and other imported vernacular forms were grafted onto standard Viennese building types. For Loos, it was not the introduction of foreign elements in Viennese building that was pernicious, but provincialism, the fact that the proponents of *Heimatkunst* wanted "to reduce great cities to small towns, and small towns to villages."⁷⁸ The metropolitan vernacular, represented by his own Haus am Michaelerplatz (see figure 9.19), Loos claimed, was—like the cosmopolitan culture of the big city itself—both a richer and a more subtle concoction. Like "the Viennese cuisine, [which] is Viennese even though it uses herbs from the distant orient," the Haus am Michaelerplatz incorporates techniques and materials from ancient Greece and twentieth-century America and still remains Viennese, tied in all essentials to the traditions of "building [of] our fathers."⁷⁹

Wagner, according to Friedrich Achleiner, "probably had liberal, German nationalist sentiments," though his "political convictions were not stressed and did not appear to play a role [in his pedagogy]."⁸⁰ Whether or not they played a role in his teaching, Wagner's German nationalist sentiments were in any case firmly rooted in the cosmopolis and in a centrist conception of both national culture and executive power. Wagner's students, in contrast, who came from all parts of the Habsburg lands, brought with them a profound intuitive knowledge of the folk traditions of their native provinces. A few—among them some of Wagner's most gifted students: Josef Plečnik, István Medgyaszay, Jan Kotěra—responded to the experience of turn-of-the-century Vienna and nationalist form in their homelands (as much as to Wagner's teaching) by developing these traditions into a mod-

ern, politically charged national idiom when they returned to build in their countries of origin.⁸⁵ But the locus of Wagner's pedagogy, like his practice, was Vienna, the cosmopolitan capital of the Danube monarchy. Wagner himself repudiated the idea of national styles of architecture, claiming that more significant cultural differences existed between city and countryside, urban and rural life, than between cities or rural areas on opposite sides of national borders. Within his teaching, the notion of indigenous art or *Heimatkunst* had a very particular meaning, elucidated by Wagner in notes on his Neustiftgasse building of 1909 (see figure 7.30), "the political, economic, and climatic conditions, the living habits, taxes, building regulations, land prices, inventions, available materials, rates of pay, etc. etc. influence the manner of building in every country, and in particular in every city. These real conditions must, consequently, find artistic expression. As these things are more or less different in each country and city, it follows that the appearance of the buildings in each must also be different. It is possible, in this sense, to speak of a '*Heimatkunst*.'"⁸⁶

It was this materialist and urban conception of *Heimatkunst* that drew Wagner's students to early-nineteenth-century Biedermeier architecture in particular, seeing in it a precedent for building that was both urbane and firmly rooted in place and local practice. They were, of course, not alone in this. The widespread appeal of Biedermeier culture in the early 1900s has already been noted. It was due in part to the precapitalist, communitarian social values associated with the style and period. For progressive as well as conservative architects (of all political stripes) the building of "around 1800" was valued as authentic; an architecture bound up with local conditions, customs, and artisanal practices. Most saw their efforts to connect with this tradition not as historicist but as re-establishing ties to still-vital traditions of building and conditions of civic life. Rather than reviving Biedermeier forms, they were constructing a bridge across

nineteenth-century (*Gründerzeit*) revivalism to connect the present day with architectural practice that was rooted in the historical city, but was not itself revivalist.⁸⁷ Unlike historicist Ringstrasse architecture of the previous generation, this effort to reconnect with a tradition of building that was urban, developed from craftwork, and suited to local customs was viewed as both progressive and modern. For the Wagner School architects, connecting with Viennese Biedermeier traditions was a way of rooting modern architecture fit for the *Grossstadt* in the material, cultural, and social conditions of the local urban landscape.

Yet, as Iain Boyd Whyte and others have pointed out, Wagner's students were drawn to Biedermeier architecture not only by the symbolic significance of the style but also by the formal properties of the buildings themselves; their "simple beauty," elegant proportions, clear elementary forms, straight lines, broad areas of flat unadorned wall surface, restrained ornament concentrated around doors and windows, and their comfort, livability, and light.⁸⁸ Tutored in Semper's *Bekleidungslehre*, Wagner's students would have been especially sensitive to the compositional self-sufficiency and urban significance of the Biedermeier facade.⁸⁹

Biedermeier facades, as Elisabeth Koller-Glück has demonstrated in *Wiener Biedermeier Häuser*, were composed by means of a geometrical (as opposed to an arithmetical) proportional system based on the golden section. The harmonic major-minor proportional ratios resulting from this method of composition, Whyte has observed, gave the Biedermeier facade its own abstract geometric composition that was independent of the spatial organization of the building behind it.⁹⁰ The Biedermeier facade was also (as we noted in chapter 2) carefully adjusted to the width of the street as well as to the other spaces and buildings around it (see figures 2.10 and 2.11). The idea of the independent urban street facade, oriented outward toward the public spaces of the city, reappears in Wagner's *Moderne Architektur*, where at the end of the



chapter on composition he lists among the principal concerns of the architect designing urban buildings "constant respect of the vista in the projection of the street" and "planning the size and importance of buildings and monuments in harmony with the image of the city, square, or street."⁸⁹

While there is no indication that Wagner used the golden section to design his facades, some evidence suggests that Wagner's students Hoppe, Kammerer, and Schönthal may well have done so in some of their prewar apartment buildings.⁹⁰ But whether Wagner or his students actually used a geometric method of composition when designing their facades is less important in the current context than the correspondence between Wagner's principles regarding the composition of urban buildings "for two viewing distances"—the double register of point and counterpoint he described in *Moderne Architektur*—and the major-minor proportional ratios calculated in relation to the urban spaces around them, which distinguished Viennese Biedermeier facades. The result in both cases is balance and containment; integrity of the whole sustained by the carefully calibrated adjustment of part to part and part to whole. We have already identified balance, containment, and relationship of whole to parts and parts to each other as distinctive features of Schmid and Aichinger's Fuchsenfeldhof (see figures 7.17–7.23) as well as other *Gemeindebauten* designed by Wagner's students. Deliberate or not, that correspondence—in terms of urban sensibility and abstract compositional meter—between the Wagner School buildings and Vienna's indigenous urban vernacular may have been one reason that the *Gemeindebauten*, as Achleitner observes, "appeared as the most natural thing in the world" in the urban space of the Vienna.⁹¹

There is, of course, another reason that they appeared so natural in Vienna. For the Wagner School, the *genius loci* involved not only Vienna's indigenous urban vernacular, the Biedermeier, but also the Viennese baroque. Indeed, the work of Vienna's baroque architects, in particular Johann Bernhard Fischer von

Erlach, was as important for the collective memory of Vienna as—if not more important than—the work of Kornhäusel and the anonymous craftsmen who shaped the Viennese Biedermeier. Wagner himself was often portrayed as the heir and successor to Fischer von Erlach in Vienna. Particularly in his projects for public buildings, Wagner engaged and "modernized" the monumental urban typologies shaped by Fischer in the early eighteenth century. Werner Oechslin argues that Wagner's appropriation of the architectonic syntax of Fischer von Erlach's grandiloquent baroque compositions was informed by both the *Bekleidungslehre* of Semper and Carl Bötticher's distinction (in *Die Tektonik der Hellenen* [1844]) between the decorative stylistic *Hülse* (husk or shell) and the tectonic and spatial essence or *Kern* (kernel or core) of the architectonic work of art.⁹² In monumental urban compositions such as the War Ministry design of 1907–1908 and the Kaiser Franz-Josef-Stadtmuseum of 1907–1909 (figure 9.3), Wagner embodied Fischer's architectonic syntax, its ordonnance and massing, in a shell that contained within it the kernel of a new spatial and structural concept appropriate to the modern character and purpose of the building.⁹³

The disengagement of decoration, or of the surface elements of style, from the tectonic and spatial essence of architecture was a fundamental tenet of Wagner's practice and his teaching, and the theory of *Bekleidung* as well as the concept of *Kern* and *Hülle* that informs it provide important insights into not only how Wagner appropriated, adapted, and modernized the Biedermeier and baroque traditions of Viennese architecture but also how his students modified Wagner's own monumental urban idiom in their *Gemeindebauten*. In the massive gateways of the Rabenhof, Karl-Seitzhof, and Karl-Marx-Hof, for example, Schmid and Aichinger, Gessner, and Ehn stripped away the ornamental overlay and assimilated Wagner's monumental compositions to the new sociospatial and structural conditions of the underlying coreform.

9.3 Project for the Kaiser Franz-Josef Stollmuseums, (Kaiser-Josef-Museum), by Otto Wagner, 1909, showing projected museum in situ on the Kärntnerplatz east to Placette von Erlach's Karlskirche (right).



The relationship of the forms of the *Gemeindebauten* to the sculpture conceived by artists and commissioned separately from the architecture, with which the *Gemeindebauten* were often embellished is telling in this regard. As we know, the division of tasks between architects and sculptors in Red Vienna was part of the city's employment policy and a fundamental part of the Social Democrats' economic program. Yet the fact that in Viennese architectural traditions there was both precedent and premise for the separation of decoration from building, or surface from underlying structure was not mere coincidence. And when that principle was conceived in terms of a division of labor the effect on the work, was novel (figure 9.4). "It is as if certain blanks which had been marked

our 'decoration' on the drawings, had been filled by creations conceived for another purpose," Margaret Gillett, an English architecture student, wrote of the *Gemeindebauten* she saw in 1930. After visiting a construction site on the Margareten Gürtel, Gillett recorded that "the bricklayers and other workmen grumble at the lack of detail. 'One has only to build one portion and the rest goes the same,' they say. . . ."¹⁹⁴ Indeed, it is in the construction photographs commissioned by the city that the stripped coreform of the buildings is most boldly revealed (see, for example, figure 4.5).

Although it is possible to identify certain general tendencies, one cannot speak of Wagner School archi-



ecture as an entity. There was a great deal of difference among the architects and the buildings they designed for the municipality. Furthermore, some Wagner students played a major role in the program, designing several key projects, while others were only marginally involved and designed at most one or two small buildings. Of those who were most important to the program, in particular Hubert Gessner, Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger, Karl Ehn, and to a lesser degree Rudolf Perco and Josef Hoffmann (many of whose buildings have been considered in other contexts already), there was wide divergence in terms of formal vocabulary, articulation, and detail.

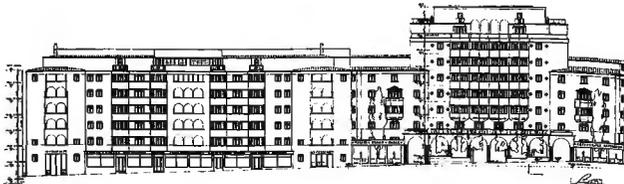
Hubert Gessner, Heinrich Schmid, and Hermann Aichinger Both Gessner, who came from Moravia, and Schmid and Aichinger, who came from small towns in the provinces of Lower and Upper Austria, incorporated regional vernacular forms and ornamental motifs into their early *Gemeindebauten* designs: ornamental glazed tiles, pedimented door and window frames, and angular projecting bays on the Metzleinsalterhof (plate 1); stucco moldings, terra-cotta panels, round-arched openings, and oriel windows on the Fuchsenfeldhof. In their later buildings, the transcription of folk-art forms and Biedermeier motifs is less literal. The forms themselves become increasingly abstract, and their relationship to Biedermeier or other indigenous architectural traditions more a matter of proportions, massing, and composition than imitation. Both firms achieved a synthesis of baroque monumentality and Biedermeier intimacy, of *Grassstadt* anonymity and rooted local identity. Yet in their buildings the firms showed significant differences as well.

Gessner adhered more faithfully than Schmid and Aichinger to the organizational precepts elucidated by Wagner in *Moderne Architektur*: his plans, particularly for the Reumannhof (1924) and Seitzhof (1926), are geometrical, classicizing, and symmetrical. In their massing, Gessner's *Gemeindebauten* are monumental



9.4 Kieselhof, front portal, Josef Hoffmann architecture, 1924-1925. Sculpture, Die fruchtbare Eve (The Fertile Eve), by Anton Hanak, 1925.

9.5 Reumannhof, partial elevation of Margaretenhof residential block, by Hubert Gessner, 1924.



and cubic like his prewar factory buildings. The tower piece of the Reumannhof appears to have been taken almost literally from Gessner's bread factory building of 1921–1922 for the Czech *Grasankfangenfabrik* in Morava-Ostava.⁹⁴ In both the Metzleinstalerhof and Reumannhof this larger monumental scale, or *Grasformigkeit* (bigness, of scale and conception), is offset by small-scale surface pattern—the rhythmic play of windows, bays, arched openings, and surface ornament, often of Biedermeier derivation (figure 9.5, plates 1–4)—that registers the more intimate spaces of dwelling and community life inside. In this way the intimate domestic character of the *Gemeinde-Hof* is hierarchically interwoven with its monumental metropolitan identity.

In the Lassallehof (1923) and Seitzhof, the vernacular detailing, window bays, balconies, and other signifiers of private dwelling and of the intimate scale of daily life are confined to the interior courtyard facades (figures 8.39, 8.91, 8.92, and plates 5–6). On the exterior, *Grasformigkeit*—in which images of American grand hotel and skyscraper megastructures and socialist factory buildings (figure 9.6) are combined with baroque scenography and classical symmetries—is untempered and speaks mostly of power.

Schmid and Aichinger's buildings, though equally monumental, are less rigidly scanned and more intuitive, empirically planned, and integrative than Gessner's. Their design is driven by considerations of urban context and site rather than by geometric patterns and classical symmetries. In general, the large idea or *Grasform* of Schmid and Aichinger's buildings, once conceived, is molded and reshaped by small-scale adjustments to site, angle of view, local character, and issues of use, practice, and custom. In this the partners followed the emphasis Wagner placed in *Moderne Architektur* on urban considerations in the composition of monumental buildings; his emphasis on the need to extend the scale of composition "to include the total picture," by encompassing not only the space inside the building but also the spaces outside and around it.⁹⁶

In Am Fuchsenfeld (1924–1925), the Biedermeier-inspired ornamental details of the Fuchsenfeldhof (1922–1925) have been simplified and geometrically abstracted (figures 9.7 and 9.8). The principal effect derives from proportional relationships and spatial hierarchies. Broad areas of color (dark red or green below, white above), and standardized windows and doors variously grouped and shaped, differentiate, in



their relation to each other, the commercial, public, communal, and private spaces inside the buildings. While much of the detailing can be related to Biedermeier forms, the core of the *Grasform* is decidedly Wagnerian. In particular the monumental gateways with arched openings, through which the streets traversing the site are channeled, are in all but detail the realization of unexecuted designs by Wagner such as the centerpiece of the main facade of the War Ministry of 1907–1908 (figure 9.9).

The vocabulary of forms in these buildings and Schmid and Aichinger's other *Gemeindebauten* along the Margaretengrübel (V), the Rabengasse (III), and the Hüteldorfer Strasse (XIV) is highly eclectic.

Biedermeier-inspired pedimented door and window frames, small balconies with iron railings, angular bay windows, and intimate garden terraces play across the broad masses of the buildings. The triumphal archways in these buildings (see figures 8.12, 8.53, and 9.8) recall the grand urban *portis* of Otto Wagner, Bruno Möhring's postwar skyscraper megastructures, and the Amsterdam School housing of Michael de Klerk and Piet Kramer.²⁹ The patterned brickwork throughout the Rabenhof (figure 9.10) and the partners' somewhat later Somogyhof (1927) also recalls the bonded brick of the Dutch housing. Elsewhere Schmid and Aichinger used explicitly medievalizing forms; for example, in the stepped gables of the Julius-Poppohof (see



9.6 Karl-Sattlhuber, tower element hemicycle facade, Hubert Gessner architect, 1926–1927, photo ca. 1928.



9.7 Am Fachsenfeld, Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger architects, 1924-1925, photo 1925.



figure 8.10) and the picturesquely conceived arcades in Am Fuchsenfeld and the Rabenhof. But the terraced gardens, grand T-shaped staircase, and curious "incarcerated" concrete columns in the Herweghof courtyard (see figure 8.9) suggest Renaissance and baroque rather than Gothic inspiration.

In the Rabenhof, Schmid and Aichinger's masterpiece, all of these historical allusions are merged with modernist abstract neoplastic asymmetries, broad expanses of sheer wall surface slashed by horizontally extended window bands and balconies, constructivist reinforced concrete lampposts, and tensile metal flag-staffs and balcony railings (plates 7–11). Beneath the eclecticism, distinct spatial hierarchies and a consistent use of materials bind the Rabenhof together and clearly demarcate its private, public, and semipublic zones. Margaret Gillett's description of these spaces conveys the sense of discovery and narrative unfolding experienced when the Rabenhof courtyards and public spaces are traversed for the first time.

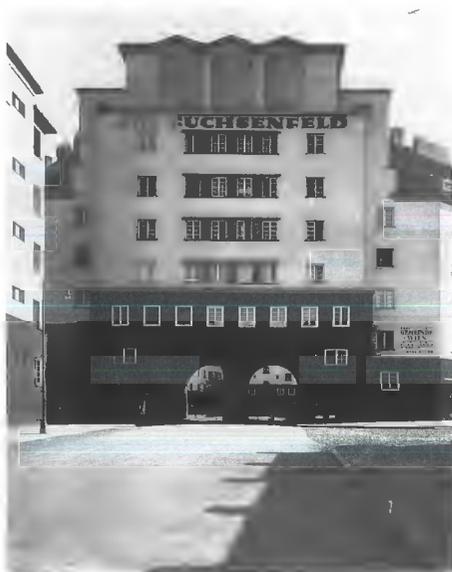
In the courtyards . . . a system of irregular alley ways . . . wears an air of adventure. The interest of a shadow round a corner is an invitation to investigate further. A hidden light at night gives an atmosphere of mystery. There are terraces at different levels, pointed archways leading to enclosed courtyards over which hang an almost monastic peace. The public buildings have been given their right significance. The theatre and laundry stand a little way back from the Rabengasse frontage. They have a stately reserve in contrast with the eager showy spirit of the shops that toe the building line on the opposite side in a graceful curve. . . . Dimensional interpretation of ideas seems the shortest way to describe the effect produced by this modern simplicity.⁹⁸

The debt to Wagner is unmistakable in the hierarchical spatial order, the precisely choreographed movement from courtyard to covered passageway to terrace and street, and the carefully considered practical details such as brick facing, metal fittings, and light fixtures.

Karl Ehn Karl Ehn also moved from a more literal engagement with local building traditions in his early *Gemeindebauten* to a freer "dimensional interpretation of ideas." Ehn's first *Gemeindebau* on the Balderichgasse (1923) made explicit use of Biedermeier surface ornament (see figure 9.1). In the *Siedlung Hermeswiese* of 1923 (see figure 3.28), Ehn combined the local vernacular with elements of the fashionable English Arts and Crafts-inspired garden city architecture.⁹⁹ Ehn appears to have been keenly aware of trends in architectural fashion. Over the course of the building program his designs became increasingly free of applied ornament or direct references to regional styles, embodying instead a heterodox eclectic modernism.

In the Lindenhof of 1924 (see figure 8.20) Biedermeier references have all but disappeared, reduced to a concentration of ornamental relief around windows and doors. Otherwise there are local references; the long narrow courtyard and gated entrance flanked by vestigial pilasters particularly evoke the early-nineteenth-century buildings that stood near the Lindenhof. In general, however, the Lindenhof moves toward simple classical massing and a rational ordering of parts, a move that has been attributed to the influence of Peter Behrens, who began working for the city of Vienna in the same year.¹⁰⁰ But the facades also show the influence of Amsterdam School housing, which we know *Stadtbaumeister* architects had visited in the early 1920s; the rounded bays that function visually to link the stepped masses of the Lindenhof's long facades give them the dynamic urban quality that distinguished the street facades of de Klerk and Kramer in Amsterdam South.

Ehn used similar dynamic linking devices on the facades of the Bebelhof of 1925 (see figures 8.18 and 8.19), where the balconies create an irregular sculptural grid that infuses the surfaces with a nervous energy evocative of the syncopated rhythms of big-city traffic. Thus the symmetry of the whole gives way in the details to dynamic modernist asymmetries. At the



9.8 Am Fuchsensfeld, towered gateway, photo 1925.

same time, the battered forms at the base of the building and the fortresslike character of the main entrance give the Bebelhof the appearance of a geometrically abstracted medieval keep. The expressionist energy of the Bebelhof also animates the facades of Ehn's Svidznanahof of the same year (figure 9.11). Here, although the *parti* is derived from Wagner's University Library project of 1910, the bold horizontal striation and folded surfaces recall the faceted street facades of the prewar "cubist" buildings of Wagner's Czech students, Pavel Janák and Josef Chochol, in Prague.¹⁰⁴

In the Karl-Marx-Hof the disparate elements of Ehn's eclectic modernism are most powerfully brought together. Though elements of the earlier buildings, particularly the balconies used to enliven and visually unify long street facades, are still there, the expressionist details and faceted surfaces have been replaced by smooth walls and bold cubic massing. Ehn's formal language was heterodox; filled with memory and local references, it was also attuned to the new rhythm and syntax of international modernism. For example, at the south end of the kilometer-long Heiligenstädterstrasse facade the Karl-Marx-Hof terminates in a round glazed corner pavilion that housed the BEST furniture showrooms and a café (see figures 4.5, and 8.86). A popular device of the period, the glazed corner was also something of a modernist signature piece; it had been used a few years earlier in housing projects by J. J. P. Oud in Hook of Holland (1924–1927) and by Hendrik Wijdeveld in the Hooftweg housing in Amsterdam (1925–1927).¹⁰⁵ Elsewhere, in the strategic manner of Schmid and Aichinger, Ehn used exposed brick to emphasize corners, frame balcony openings, and set off some of the communal and commercial spaces from the private dwelling spaces of the Karl-Marx-Hof.

But the principal effect of the building derives from the composition of its elemental masses and contrasting colors (plates 12, 13, and 14). At intervals along its enormous length great hemicycle arches, at

the base of massive cubic blocks (originally painted sky-blue or red), bridge the streets that cut through the Hof. It has often been pointed out that these structures, stripped of ornament, resemble the primordial triumphal arches and geometric solids of French "revolutionary" architecture. But far more significant than the correspondence between Ehn's elementary geometries and the early neoclassical projects of Claude-Nicholas Ledoux and Etienne Louis Boullée is the fact that these simple cubic masses are embedded—as indeed is the entire composition of the Karl-Marx-Hof—in the "fantastic" design projects of Wagner's master class, on which students (including Ehn) concentrated in their second and third years of instruction.¹⁰⁹ As if its design had been dipped in an acid bath of modern moral aesthetics, the Karl-Marx-Hof (figures 9.12 and 9.13) emerges from the encrusted *Sublime* of these "imaginary" student projects as a *Kernform*, still organized according to the grandiloquent spatial hierarchies of these projects but with the ornamental detail stripped from their triumphal archways, towers, linked pavilions, porticos, portals, and arcades.¹⁰⁴ Margaret Gillert's observations regarding the unadorned surfaces, enormous scale, and bold massing of the Karl-Marx-Hof, under construction at the time she viewed it, are telling: "The new block has no detail, the ironwork has been constructed of plain bars of metal. The lamps are taken from stock, and the curved line with two exceptions [the round archways below the towers and the glazed corner pavilion housing the BEST] has vanished completely, and more stress has been laid on coloured plaster."¹⁰⁵

It is by these means, by relying on the "dimensional interpretation of ideas" and an abstract vocabulary of elemental forms and colors rather than using historical reference or timeworn formal typologies, that Ehn establishes the dialectical terms of Wagnerian composition—the double register of point and counterpoint, civic and domestic scale, type and program—in the Karl-Marx-Hof.



9.9 War Ministry project, central entrance pavilion, by Otto Wagner, 1907-1908.

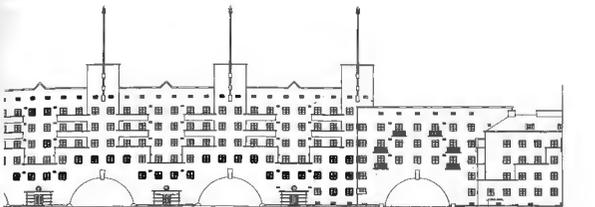
9.10 Top: Rabenhof, Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Abtlinger architects, photo 1930.

9.11 Saldtrahof 020, Karl Ehn architect, 1925, photo 1926.



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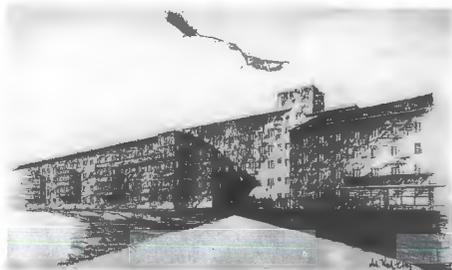
TAGENSTRASSE - HAGENWIESE MASSSTAB 1:100



NEW ARCHITECTURE
NEW STREET, NEW LIFE IN
NEW SOCIAL ORDER

9.12 Top: Karl-Marx-Hof,
partial elevation main front,
by Karl Ehn, dated March
1927.

9.13 Karl-Marx-Hof, per-
spective along Boeschtzasse,
1926.



The dialectic itself is most dramatically conceived in the composition of the main front of the building (plates 15 and 16), where the monumental figure of red arches, tiered towers, and masts for flying banners stands out—visible for miles—against the ochre ground of the block behind it. Embedded in this abstract composition of elemental forms and colors are images of profound significance for the collective memory of Vienna. Aside from the vestigial Biedermeier pediments that poke up above the roofline between the towers, the frontispiece itself contains within it both the towers, and banners of the *Rathaus*, Vienna's neo-Gothic city hall, and the rounded arches of the *Burgtor*, the neoclassical city

gate in front of the *Hofburg*. It is easy to understand why the frontispiece of the Karl-Marx-Hof—combining images of Vienna's urban domestic culture, civic authority, and boundary wall—was such a powerful symbol and became the emblem of Red Vienna. Yet Ehn's consummate achievement in this building, and the ultimate significance of the Karl-Marx-Hof design, is that it merged this symbolic presence with the quotidian (plates 17 and 18). It joined tiered tower and apartment balcony, monumental figure and modest habitation, civic presence and residential purpose in a composition that registered the distinct dimensions of each while constructing a unified identity for both.

9.14 Professor-Jodlhof, Rudolf Perco, Rudolf Fress, and Karl Dorfmeister architects, 1925, photo 1926.



Rudolf Perco and Josef Hoffmann Two other Wagner School architects developed distinctive architectural languages in their work for the Gemeinde Wien. Rudolf Perco, who designed the Friedrich-Engels-Platz-Hof, one of the last large *Gemeindebauten* of Red Vienna, had already designed three smaller *Gemeindebauten* (two in collaboration with other Wagner School architects) before he received the commission for the Engels-Platz-Hof in 1930. His first two buildings, the Professor-Jodlhof of 1925 (with Rudolf Frass and Karl Dorfmeister) and Wienerbergstrasse 16–20 of 1926 (with Frass, Dorfmeister, Camillo Discher, and Paul Gütl) were primarily distinguished by their expressionist detail. Jodlhof (figure 9.14) in particular (noted earlier for its ingenious site plan) combined cubistic folded and faceted surfaces with constructivist metalwork in balconies, lampposts, and flagpoles to create a highly animated, plastic composition that exploits the sculptural possibilities of its exposed corner site. Perco's slightly later Holyhof (1928) was also on a corner site, but it employed a completely different formal vocabulary. Rather than jagged angular facets, the Holyhof facades are smooth and classically balanced with horizontal stringcourse and quoin moldings, and bull's-eye attic-story windows. On the corner, the mass of the building recedes behind balconies, shaped into a great constructivist pin-jointed clamp.

The Holyhof contains in germ the stylistic vocabulary of the Engels-Platz-Hof: Wagnerian paneled surfaces and broadly classicizing massing, combined with modernist transparencies and constructivist asymmetries (figure 9.15). The dimensions of the latter building, which contained just under 1,500 units (the Holyhof contained just over 100), are so enormous that the grid of paneled walls, windows, and balconies—referents of human scale and dwelling—become by endless repetition a modular system that makes the building itself seem scaleless. Yet in its details, particularly the transparent metal balcony screens (plate 19)



9.15 Friedrich-Engels-Platz-Hof, electrowerk, Rudolf Perco architect, 1930–1933, photo ca. 1933.

9.16 Sandeleinhof, 1924–1926, Emil Hoppe and Otto Schönthal architects, photo 1926.

and the plastic sculptural forms of the brick clock-tower and reinforced concrete balconies, the Engels-Platz-Hof shows the significance of the Wagnerian dialectics of *Grossform* and constituent part.

For Josef Hoffmann, unlike most of the other Wagner School architects who built extensively for the Social Democratic *Gemeinde*, the most brilliant and productive phase of his career was already behind him. The most famous Wagner student to build for the Gemeinde Wien, Hoffmann had a definite cachet as one of the founders of the Wiener Werkstätte and an architect with an international reputation. But he was also a controversial figure in the context of Red Vienna. Known as a designer of houses for the rich, he was deemed to have little affinity for the socialist building project and the primitive technology and stripped forms of its “poor man’s modernism.” His contributions to the building program, particularly the Klosehof of 1924 (see figures 8.71–8.73), which was sharply criticized in the press, seemed to bear this out. Yet in the three buildings he designed for the municipality (the Klosehof; Winarskyhof, 1924 [see figure 8.61]; and the much later Laxenburgerstrasse 94, one of the last buildings commissioned by the *Gemeinde* in 1931), Hoffmann endeavored to develop an architectural language that was both distinctive and appropriate to the *Gemeindebau* and its programmatic contents. Considered within the terms of Hoffmann’s own creative engagement with Biedermeier forms and proportional systems, these buildings represent the coherent shaping of an idea; a consistent, carefully thought out, and elegantly proportioned solution to the problem of proletarian dwelling based on a conception of the apartment block as a house writ large. The task for Hoffmann was to translate the refined formal language developed in his prewar houses into an economical large-scale syntax appropriate to the socialist multiple-unit dwelling form. Hoffmann’s solution—a unified and simplified conception of the whole, with primacy of place given to the wall as

an independent field for expression—was founded on Semperian *Bekleidungslehre*. But it also derived from Hoffmann’s profound understanding of early-nineteenth-century Biedermeier facade design, where surface pattern was characteristically detached from underlying form; and the most original aspect of this idea, which Hoffmann elaborated in his defense of the much-maligned Klosehof design, was to let nature ornament the otherwise undecorated walls of the *Gemeinde-Hof* by training vines, in particular ivy and ailanthus, up its facades.¹⁰⁴

The other Wagner School architects who built for the city were less involved in the program and thus less engaged with the essential character of the *Gemeindebau* as a distinctive architectural problem. These included Emil Hoppe and Otto Schönthal (Sandeleinhof, 1924 [figure 9.16], and Züricherhof, 1928); Franz Kaym and Alfons Hetmanek (Herderplatz, 1925 [see figure 8.37]), and four *Gemeinde Siedlungen* designed between 1921 and 1931 [see figure 3.26]; Alfred Chalusch and Heinrich Schopper (Gallhof, 1924; Hueberhof, 1929; and Goethehof, 1928, with Frass, Mayer, Mitrag, Hauschka, Rotmüller); and Camillo Fritz Discher and Paul Gürl (Anton-Kohlhof, 1927; Pernerstorferhof, 1925; Wienerbergstrasse 16–20, 1926, with Perco, Frass, and Dorfmeister). They, together with the Stadtbauamt architects Mang, Stöckl, and Michal, assimilated vernacular neo-Biedermeier detail onto *Grossstadt* monumentality with varying degrees of success.

There were of course also exceptions among the Wagner students; for example, Leopold Bauer, an outspoken conservative, conceived his work in direct opposition to Wagner School “modernism” and adopted a straightforward Renaissance classicism in the Vogelwiedhof (1926) and his contribution to the Paul-Speiserhof (1929).¹⁰⁵ Another Wagner student, Ernst Lichtblau, in the Julius-Offnerhof (1926) and especially his block in the Paul-Speiserhof, 1929 (figure



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9.17 Paul-Speiserhof, block by Ernst Lichtblau, 1920, photo ca. 1921.



9.17), developed an abstract classicism characterized by strong corner accents, clear articulation of parts, and sheer wall surfaces offset by rhythmically grouped windows and (in the case of the Speiserhof) glazed balconies. It is possible that Lichtblau's work, as well as the later buildings of Ehn, Wlach, Srnad, and others that move away from surface ornament to formal abstraction and the simple classical massing of monumental forms, owe something to the presence of Peter Behrens in Vienna.

THE PRESENCE OF BEHRENS Behrens began teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts in 1921, and in 1924 he designed buildings (discussed in chapter 8) in the

Winarskyhof and on the Konstanziagasse (XXI). Both buildings (see figures 8.63 and 8.69) are notable for their containment, organizational clarity, and elegant classicizing proportions. Tafuri maintains that they were exemplary in providing an abstract classicizing alternative to the complex historically rooted dialectics of Wagner School composition. The cubic massing of Behrens's buildings was informed by a conception of type based on a model of perception—mobile, kinesiastic, distracted—identified with the city and metropolitan life. The rapid pace of urban life, Behrens had argued in 1914, required the simplification of architectonic means. "Our age no longer sees architecture in the formation of detail, but rather in





9.18 Architect's model of housing block (possibly *Reinischstrasse 21 VIII*) by Alexander Popp, ca. 1928, photo ca. 1930.

the proportional grouping of great masses . . . to secure a wholly appropriate total effect.¹⁰⁸ In order to be easily and quickly grasped by an urban populace in perpetual and rapid motion, architecture must communicate its purposes through typification. In the case of a multiple-unit urban housing block, this meant the clear and unambiguous articulation of its fundamental components: commercial base, dwelling floors denoted by grouped windows and balconies, and communicating stair. Behrens's last building for Red Vienna, the *Domeshof*, 1928 (see figure 8.70), seems to embody both his idea of the *Gemeindehaus* and his own conception of urban building designed to be apprehended in a state of distraction. Straightforward ar-

ticulation of parts is combined with bold sculptural massing, particularly where the building meets the intersection of two busy streets. Instead of evoking the dynamism of modern city life and traffic in the forms of the *Domeshof* itself, Behrens gathers together the weighty volumes of the building in a composition that seeks to counterpose those kinetic forces.

The *Gemeindebauten* by Behrens's students—in particular Alexander Popp, who was his teaching assistant at the Academy and ran his Vienna office—are very much in the manner of the master: bold plastic compositions, apparently developed in the studio in plasticine models (figure 9.18), and characterized by strong corner emphasis and sculptural massing of bal-

cony and stairwell volumes.¹⁰⁹ The wider reach of Behrens's influence in Vienna—on architects such as Ehn, Lichtblau, Wlach, and Strnad—is debatable. The reception of his work in Vienna was mixed. Neurath, for example, was skeptical; "Behrens fluctuates! [in and out of a] classicism of the proletariat. If nothing else he practices [the] cubic-romanticism [*Würfelromantik*] associated with the Weimar Bauhaus."¹¹⁰ Certainly the classicism and bold cubic massing were evident in these architects' earlier works and had their own Viennese roots in the prewar architecture of Wagner, Loos, and Frank, which had moved emphatically away from small-scale decoration to monumental formal abstraction. Furthermore, the urbanistic features of Behrens's buildings—the clear demarcation of functional zones and the strong corner emphasis—were already identifying features of the *Gemeindebauten* long before Behrens used them to such great effect in the Domeshof in 1928; they probably owed more to the influence of the Amsterdam School. Finally, the reduction of decorative moldings and projecting bays in the later designs of Ehn, Lichtblau, and others probably have as much to do with the introduction of new building codes in Vienna in 1929/1930 as with the example of Behrens's work. Aside from legalizing the municipality's guidelines regarding density, ventilation, and so on, the code specified uniform building height within zones and discouraged the use of "nonutilitarian" building methods. It also permitted the use of glazed balconies, which proliferated after 1929 and distinguished Lichtblau's Speiserhof block in particular.¹¹¹

THE PARTICULAR CASE OF LOOS As he had done earlier in the Siedlungsamt, Loos took on the role of "insider outsider" in relation to the city's *Gemeindebau* construction as well.¹¹² He shared the monumental cosmopolitan *Grasstrasse* ideals of Wagner, and his grandiose unexecuted urban projects, including the Plan of Vienna (1909–1912) and the Monument to



Emperor Franz-Josef (1917) are as monumental, classifying, and imperial in dimension and pretension as any design by Wagner.¹¹³ But Loos approached the design of the *Gemeindebau* in the same way that he had approached the problem of the *Siedlung* house; as a cultural problem. The solution, in his view, was the *Terrassenhaus* (discussed in chapter 8), which was rejected by city building authorities.

The only *Gemeindebau* designed by Loos, the Durchlaufstrasse wing of the Otto-Haashof, 1924 (see figure 8.60) was apparently conceived by him but revised and executed under the direction of Lihotzky, and Schuster.¹¹⁴ Since Loos, by all accounts, did a lot of designing on the construction site, one can assume that he was far less involved in the design development of this building than he was in his other built work.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, the mute facades of Loos's Haashof block provide an instructive contrast to Wagner School work. Like Hoffmann, Loos conceived of the *Gemeindebau* typologically, as a house writ large. For Loos, however, this signified an anonymous, elegantly proportioned, conventionally clad civic exterior that conveys its purposes without rhetoric or condescension—with neither the *Grasfürwigen* (bigness) of Ehn, Gessner, and Schmid and Aichinger, nor the "poor man's" aesthetic refinements of Hoffmann, it is instead a simple, uncompromising statement of fact.

But there is another, more significant way in which Loos's work affected the larger architectural program of the *Gemeindebauten*. Under the title "Problems of Form," the editors of *Der Aufbau* (Schuster and Schacherl) published a pair of images in the August–September 1926 issue of the journal (figure 9.19): Loos's Haus am Michaelerplatz (popularly known as the "Loos-Haus") and the entrance front of Schmid and Aichinger's Fuchsenfeldhof. In the text accompanying the images the editors noted that when the Loos-Haus was built in 1910–1912, "it brought forth a storm of indignation—authorities, press, and public declared it impossible—the 'façade' was too

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KAFFHAUS GOLDMAN & SALATZCH
WIEN & HIERSENFELDPLATZ
ARCHITECT ADOLF LOOS 1910



DER „FUCHSENFELDHOFF“
VOLKSGARTENWEG 101 DER GEMEINSCHAFT WIEN VII
ARCHITECTEN H. SCHINDL UND H. ARNSTADT

9.19 "Farmproblemen" comparison of "Loos-Haus" and Fuchsenfeldhof. From Der Aufbau, nos. 47 (1926): 180-181.

simple—was not ‘architecture’—in the Vienna City Council an excited ‘Loos-Haus-discussion’ took place. [Yet] today the ‘building style’ [*Baustil*] of the 25,000 dwellings built by the municipality of Vienna is closely related to the spirit of the ‘Loos-Haus’—today this architecture is generally accepted—indeed, superficially, it has become the architecture of the broad public.¹¹⁶ Irony aside, Schuster and Schacherl’s paired images (cropped to emphasize the similarity of the buildings) vindicate the claim Loos made for his architecture generally and for the Haus am Michaelerplatz in particular: that it was a modern metropolitan vernacular, conventional in form and conception because its forms were conditioned by the historical and cultural, as well as the economic and social, circumstances of their production.

Indeed, the comparison suggests something far more important than the acceptance by 1926 of the stripped forms of the Loos-Haus, which had appeared so radical in 1910. Underlying the forms of both the Loos-Haus and the Fuchsenfeldhof are the ordnance and massing, the tectonic and spatial *Kern* or coreform, of Vienna’s traditional urban building typologies. What the paired images therefore show is that the particular changes rung on the shell of that core form—in the case of Loos’s building, shearing away surface ornament to reflect the novel organization of the plan and to leave the walls unadorned and the windows without “eyebrows”; in the case of the Fuchsenfeldhof, manipulating that syntax of wall and window to register both the individual and mass presence of the newly enfranchised working-class population of Vienna—not only give it new significance, but signal the transformation of the core form itself. Although the innovations introduced in such buildings may eventually become conventional, Schuster and Schacherl point out, the ideas driving those changes remain as threatening and revolutionary as they were when the buildings themselves were new.¹¹⁷ This is a point to which we will return.



SCHUSTER, FRANK, AND THE POLEMICS OF “PROLETARISCHE ARCHITEKTUR” Like Loos, Franz Schuster was a harsh critic of both the Wagner School and socialist building authorities, and his block for the Haashof was similarly characterized by an economy of expressive means. But simplicity for Schuster was not, as it was for Loos, a function of relentless logic applied to the analysis of custom and use. Rather it was a process of formal reduction—elimination of the “inessential” directed toward the development of impersonal, timeless, ideal types. Schuster’s conception of type as an immutable distillate is very different from Loos’s concept of “conventional building,” which understands traditional practice and contemporary social, economic, and technological conditions as vitally interrelated and therefore convention itself as continuously changing.

These divergent notions of type underlie each architect’s critique of the Social Democrats’ building program and reflect the very different ideological positions from which their polemics were launched. For Loos the issue was not so much the proletarian dwelling as Viennese *Wohnkultur* and the cultural significance of modern urban life. For Schuster, a socialist, the issue was fundamentally political. The task of the architect, he argued, was to develop architectonic forms and an expressive language appropriate to the new social and economic order. In two articles in *Der Aufbau* (1926) Schuster developed this theme. In “Der Zusammenbruch der Kunst” (“The Collapse of Art”) he argued that high art and culture are no longer vitally connected to society. The mass of humanity, Schuster claimed, is alienated from the artifacts of industrial culture because those artifacts no longer bear any relationship to their everyday life. “It is high time that we stop speaking past one another,” he declared, and develop ways of “making ourselves understandable to each other.” Since the form chaos of contemporary art and architecture is a reflection of the general chaos of modern experience, it is necessary to establish

some common ground of human experience on which to base a widely comprehensible language of forms.¹¹⁸ In "Von der Notwendigkeit einer Baugesinnung" ("On the Necessity for Conviction in Architecture"), Schuster proposed that the common ground was "the great social, economic, and intellectual changes that have taken and are still taking place." These were primarily socialism and industrialization.¹¹⁹ He warned that the *Gemeindebauten*, in emulating "palace [and] castle architecture," betrayed a petit bourgeois "romanticism, a superficial self-aggrandizing sentimentality that masks, disavows, and fearfully avoids the inexorable, relentless clarity—the pure will-to-form—of a great mass of humanity toward unity, community, and the suppression of individualistic self-interest."¹²⁰

In "Proletarische Architektur," Schuster and Franz Schacherl claimed that the socialist will-to-form expressed itself eloquently in the mass demonstrations and parades of proletarian organizations in which hundreds and thousands march in formation and in uniform. They argued, "precisely this image of large-scale unity, of impersonality moves us . . . [while] we find disturbing the groups of women, children, and men dressed in their casually selected, fashionable, intentionally individualistic clothes, which follow these highly organized, cohesive, and in outward appearance unpretentious and objective phalanges" of working men. These images of seriality and mass identity typified the new social and economic order. Therefore, "Why should not architects develop a corresponding technologically advanced language of seriality and typification in their buildings for the new society?"¹²¹

Schuster's efforts, both in his polemical writing and his architecture, were directed toward synthesizing this rationalized serial notion of typification with his mentor Tessenow's conception of rooted, pure, simple, understandable forms, "about which there is something primitive" ("The very best we could do with a house would be to make a rather careful box,"

Tessenow wrote in *Hausbau und Dergleichen*.)¹²² As "Proletarische Architektur" reveals, this was not merely a matter of form but involved the "proletarianization" of the middle-class values and middle-class virtues—"diligence, seriousness, straightforward perseverance, love of order, practice of cleanliness"—that were the ideological underpinnings of Tessenow's concept of type.¹²³ Schuster's own block for the Otto Haasshof (discussed in chapter 8) embodies the tension between, and essential incompatibility of, proletarian mass organization and bourgeois particularity.

Josef Frank, an acerbic critic of both the Wagner School and the German "functionalists," was quick to recognize the inherent contradiction in Schuster's critico-architectural project. Frank's own position was defined by rejection of both Wagner School rhetoric and the rationalist and functionalist polemics of the German modernists. In a lecture, "Was ist Modern?" ("What Is Modern?"), delivered to the German Werkbund at its annual congress in Vienna in 1930, he directly attacked the position taken by Schuster in "Proletarische Architektur": "The striving for complete simplicity is pathetic; it is pathetic to want to make everything the same, so that variations are no longer possible, to want to organize everything, to force all people into a large homogeneous mass."¹²⁴ It was not his first salvo; earlier he had written, "All uniformity has pathos; our modern architecture that to a large extent strives for uniformity in order to finally bring the wild confusion of individualistic building forms to a deserved end, is essentially pathetic."¹²⁵

In his principal theoretical work, *Architektur als Symbol: Elemente deutschen neuen Bauens (Architecture as Symbol: Elements of New German Building, 1931)*, Frank argues against the functionalist claims of German modernism and for a nondoctrinal, inclusive modern architecture "that can absorb all that is alive in our time, yet still remain an organically integrated artistic creation [*organisch gewachsenenes Gebilde*]." Modern German architecture, he complains, "may be *sachlich*, prac-

tical, in principle correct, often even charming, but it remains lifeless" because it has so little to say about modern human experience—about "the multiplicity of our world" and "our very legitimate feelings, which are a fundamental part of modern life and its symbol, modern architecture."¹¹⁸ Man needs symbols, Frank asserts, and does not know the significance of what he is seeing, if that meaning is not conveyed through slogans or catchwords: "The architectural symbol, once comprehended, is slogan become form. We can therefore call the style of a particular time a collection of its symbols. It follows from this that the architecture of our time cannot be conceived as a *Zweckkunst* [functional art], the task of which would be ostensibly to fulfill a function, since the fulfilling of functions can be neither completely comprehended nor given lasting form" (11).

Although Frank does not present a rigorously formulated theory of architectural signification in *Architektur als Symbol*, he does offer a sustained critique of functionalism. The new German architecture is far from reaching its expressive potential, largely because it fails to aspire to it: "The endlessly repeated nonsense that once upon a time all architecture was representational and that now it serves functional needs . . . is a lie; the only difference is that now [rather than pomp and monumentality] poverty is represented" (129). This, Frank maintains, is one of the principal reasons that the "new architecture" has so little appeal for the working classes. "The question is often asked, Why is the modern style, which was ostensibly invented for the lowest classes, not greeted with enthusiasm by them?" The reason, Frank suggests, has to do with the representational nature and political significance of architecture itself. The working class has never had desirable images of its own; therefore the concept of self-representation has had little appeal.¹¹⁷ "The proletariat today is fighting for the same symbols that the middle class [wrested from the aristocracy] in the nineteenth century . . . Power

and representation are inextricably bound together. And the worker distrusts the symbols bestowed upon him, so long as others exist and the new ones fundamentally belong to artists who live outside society and are regarded from all sides as fools" (116).

The worker resists the forms of the new architecture not because they are incomprehensible to him but because they are in fact illogical; "the whole world strives to make life as comfortable as possible and therefore railway carriages and ship cabins are modeled as far as possible on the domestic spaces of the house; [contemporary] German architecture instead strives to model the dwelling on the railway carriage, in which one can, if one has no alternative, sleep for one night" (131). Indeed, Frank charges, the rationalist rhetoric of the Modern Movement involves a serious self-deception; "The words functionalism, constructivism, elementarism and such like are developed in order to propagate a new type of ornament that no longer encompasses the decoration of finished objects, but everything from plan to orthography—and elevates decoration to such monumentality that it is no longer recognizable as such" (129). Despite the claims of its proponents, the forms of modern German architecture do not have much to do with function, simplicity, or machine production; they instead derive from an aesthetic preference for certain classically derived forms, geometric solids, and a machined "look."¹¹⁸ The machine itself, Frank points out, never invented a form; it was always used to manufacture objects once their form had been invented (130). The notion that by eschewing historical reference the forms of the new German architecture somehow free themselves of the cultural baggage of the past is a further misconception. "There is no such thing as traditionlessness"; tradition is an essential part of cognition—the means by which we know our world (134, 166).¹¹⁹

Like Loos, Frank conceived his own work in relation to a complex notion of convention or tradition, and in terms of a dialectic of type and idea.¹¹⁹ Frank's





9.20 Sebastian-Kelch-Gasse
1-3, Josef Frank architect,
1926, photo 1930.

buildings for Red Vienna—the Wiedenhoferhof, 1924 (see figures 8.74 and 8.75); Winarskyhof, 1924 (see figures 8.64 and 8.65); Sebastian-Kelch-Gasse 1-3, 1928 (see figures 8.76, 8.77, and 9.20, and plates 21 and 22)—are among the most satisfactory architectural solutions to the problem presented by the Social Democratic *Gemeindebauten*. Responsive to custom and place, they are at once spare and empathetic, carefully planned in relation to use and site, individualistic in terms of color and detail yet thoroughly integrated into the urban context of their sites. Much of the original color has since disappeared, but contemporary descriptions document their effect. The Wieden-

hoferhof (plate 20), for example, was described by Margaret Gillett as “a symphony . . . of orange plastered wall, white windows and [metal] railings, concrete balconies, and green gates. There is nothing but the unpretentious homeliness, the warm colouring, and satisfying grouping of balconies . . . to mark it out beyond its fellows, but its simplicity is its genius and the proportions its beauty.”¹¹

Frank pointedly eschewed the rich allusions and monumental posture of the Wagner School and of Behrens in his buildings. But his conception of simple straightforward building was also at variance with that of Schuster—not only because he used bright color

(which Schuster's mentor, Tessenow rejected outright as "superficial, dilettante, or inappropriate," particularly for urban buildings),¹¹² but also because of the evident focus in his buildings on incidental aspects of program and site, rather than on the development of timeless type forms. Sebastian-Kelch-Gasse, 1–3 (figure 9.20), a small infill building in the XIV district, is exemplary in this regard and seems to embody most completely Frank's concept of the modern building tradition. Once again Gillett, who visited the building just after its completion, provides a vivid description of the original impact, color, and detail (plates 21 and 22). Situated in one of the most "disreputable districts" of Vienna, it was "like a diamond in muddy waters." She continues:

The scrap of land upon which it is built abuts on an old building, and Professor Frank . . . has attached the new building to it, so that the whole plan lies in the shape of an ancient arrow head or letter A. It is difficult to imagine a greater contrast between the two styles, yet the connection is a great deal less crude than some of the pseudo-style additions which are usually thought essential for the extension of beautiful old buildings at the present time. Professor Frank has carried on the line of facade and guttering, and the slope of the roof. The silhouette is thus uninterrupted. The old window levels and cornice are disregarded, and the vertical rather than the horizontal line of the new windows is emphasized by the tiers of balconies on one side and by a long staircase window on the other. The block is in the severest mode of the moderns, the ironwork mere crisscross, interlaced wire, the doorways simple openings and the columns round shafts without entasis which give the building a delicate look, not as if it were springing from the earth, but rather as if gently poised upon it, and this feeling is enhanced by the taller balcony on the top story. The walls are coloured plaster, . . . the south front is pale eggshell blue with brick-red painted balconies, the courtyard tending on the dark side is cheered by redly sand and cement walls in sections finished on the line in the plaster which is there to allow expansion



and contraction to take place. The lettering . . . is in dark blue."¹¹³

Typical and idiosyncratic at the same time, this building even more than Frank's larger *Gemeindebauten* embodies his notion of a modern architecture that is alive to the variability of human nature and experience, and that serves rather than dictates habits of use. "The new architecture," he wrote in *Architektur als Symbol*, "will be born of the whole bad taste of our period, of its intricacy, its motley, and sentimentality, it will be a product of all that is alive and experienced at first hand: at last, an art of the people instead of art for the people" (188).

DIVERSITY IN DETAIL, UNIFORMITY IN ALL ESSENTIALS

It is impossible to account for the full range of formal solutions and artistic personalities contained in the building program of Red Vienna. One group has not yet been acknowledged: beyond the Stadtbauamt, the Wagner School, Peter Behrens, Adolf Loos, Franz Schuster, Josef Frank, and those whose contributions to the building program have been considered and whose sphere of influence extended beyond the parameters of their own work, there were also more than a hundred other architects who built for the Gemeinde Wien.

They were almost all local, in their practice if not training; many had received their professional education in Vienna as well.¹¹⁴ Like the architects who had trained with Otto Wagner, they were influenced by their master: Friedrich Ohmann or later Peter Behrens and Clemens Holzmeister at the *Akademie*; Carl König, Max von Ferstel, and Karl Mayreder at the Technical University; or Heinrich Tessenow, Josef Hoffmann, Oskar Strnad, and Josef Frank at the Kunstgewerbeschule. That influence often took the form of reaction, as in the case of Loos, Frank, and Strnad, who moved purposefully away from the historicism of their teachers at the Technical University. Frank and

Strnad in turn, together with Wagner students Josef Hoffmann and Ernst Lichtblau, put their stamp on the Kunstgewerbeschule, the progressive, craft-oriented school where they taught in the 1910s and 1920s. Frequently students would spend a year or two with different professors at the Academy and the Technical University, so that there were few "schools" centered around a single figure (comparable to the Wagner School).

Along with Wagner, Carl König (1841–1915) was one of the preeminent teachers in turn-of-the-century Vienna. For thirty years (1883–1913) he occupied the chair in classical and Renaissance architecture at the Technical University; he has received little critical attention, although he taught the most significant Vienna-trained architects active in the 1920s, including Loos, Frank, Strnad, Wlach, Holzmeister, Theiss, and Jaksch. König, whose own work was in an expansive yet elegant neobaroque style, was stylistically conservative in relation to Wagner. Yet his teaching focused on the underlying structural and linguistic foundations of classicism; here, though not in his own practice, König was progressive and liberal, open to new ideas and accepting of positions that differed from his own. He was highly regarded by his students, including Loos and Frank, who both rejected the historicism of his work but remained profoundly engaged with the classical tradition in their own formulations of a modern building practice.¹¹⁵

At the Academy of Fine Arts, Friedrich Ohmann (1858–1927) ran the second master class or *Spezialschule für Architektur*. Ohmann was an expert in the Bohemian baroque; like Wagner, he began his career as a historicist "Ringstrasse architect" who in the 1890s, turned to a fluid Secessionist style, of which his pavilions and Wien River regulation structures (1903) in the Stadtpark are exemplary.¹¹⁶ Unlike Wagner, Ohmann's work was considered "romantic" and lyrical; it was often presented in highly evocative and beautifully rendered drawings.¹¹⁷

The work of Ohmann's students, who included among others Viktor Mittag and Karl Hauschka (who designed the Eberthof and Thuryhof in 1925), and Franz Freiherr von Krauss and Josef Tölk (who collaborated on the Sandleitenhof, 1924), was characterized by picturesque massing, vernacular forms, bold color, and Sitteque principles of urban composition.¹¹⁸ Karl Dirnhuber, another of Ohmann's students, adopted a modern vocabulary of dynamic "streamlined" curved surfaces in a series of corner buildings—including Weimarerstrasse 1 (see figure 8.43) and part of the Otto-Haashof in 1924—that nevertheless retained the picturesque compositional principles of his teacher and are scenographically conceived to take full advantage of their exposed urban sites.¹¹⁹ Before setting up his own practice in 1921, Dirnhuber worked for the firm of Theiss & Jaksch, one of the more successful architectural practices of the interwar period. Originally from Slovakia and northern Bohemia, Siegfried Theiss, who was appointed professor for ornament and interior design at the Technical University in 1918, and his partner Hans Jaksch had also studied briefly with Ohmann after first training with Carl König at the Technical University. Theiss and Jaksch's work was eclectic, technically sophisticated (making extensive use of reinforced concrete), sometimes ingeniously planned (particularly the "butterfly" floor plans of their Sandleitenhof buildings), and marked by a profusion of animated surface ornament drawn from Biedermeier and a whole range of regional folk art traditions (plates 23 and 24). Interestingly, the *Heimatkunst* or folk themes that distinguished the firm's *Gemeindebauten* are generally absent from Theiss and Jaksch's work for private clients in the same period.¹²⁰ In their suburban villas of the late 1920s and the famous "Hochhaus"—Vienna's first actual "skyscraper," an eight-story apartment block with a thirteen-story tower, built (by the Creditinstitut für öffentliche Unternehmen und Arbeiten) on the Herrengasse in the heart of the inner city in 1930 to 1932—they

9.21 Diehlgasse 20–26 (V),
Fritz Judtman and Egon
Riss architects, 1928, photo
ca. 1930.

adopted the sleek formal austerity of *das neue Bauen*: large expanses of industrial glazing, white walls, flat roofs, porthole windows, and so on.¹⁴¹ For Theiss and Jalsch, as for a number of other architects who designed housing for the “red” *Gemeinde* (Kaym and Hetmanek, for example), monumentality and vernacular detailing constituted a “proletarian” style in their work. The modernist forms of the *neues Bauen*, fostered by middle-class and corporate clients, were reserved for industrial buildings, bourgeois houses, and institutions of high culture. Of course, there were many architects who did not distinguish in this way between public and private work. Aside from Frank

and Wlach, other graduates of the Technical University—including the partners Fritz Judtman and Egon Riss, who incorporated glazed balconies into their small block on the Diehlgasse in 1928 (figure 9.21)—eschewed vernacular themes in their *Gemeindebauten* as in their private work and attempted to mold the standardized elements of the socialists’ program into their own straightforward and *soziallich* language of form.¹⁴²

Other architects who trained at the Technical University and elsewhere adopted folk themes in their housing. Sometimes these were given an expressionist medievalizing inflection, as for example by Karl Krist



Robert Oerley, the self-trained architect whose professional schooling (at the Kunstgewerbeschule) had been in painting and drawing, also made much use of geometric figures in his designs. Yet in Oerley's buildings the figure remains graphic in quality, part of a larger pattern that appears both embedded in the plan and incised on the wall. In Oerley's *Hanuschhof*, 1923 (see figures 8.24 and 8.25), the geometric shape, in this case a triangle, is the organizing figure of site and building plan, and it appears on the facades and in the stacked balconies.¹⁴⁴

It is clear from the foregoing examples (and of course as many others could be cited) that the number of variations that could be produced on the typified structural and organizational framework of the *Gemeindebau* was extraordinarily large. The building program not only accommodated but fostered diversity. Whether this phenomenon was due, as Tafuri would have it, to the weak political resolve of Red Vienna or, as Achleimer suggested, to the fact that "politics did not give architecture that importance of priority which the architects would have wished" depends largely on the position from which the phenomenon itself is observed.¹⁴⁵

THE IMPACT OF STANDARDIZATION There is still another dimension to the architectural pluralism of the building program that has not yet been fully examined: the extensive and unprecedented use of standardized building parts in Red Vienna.¹⁴⁶ The visual impact of this standardization on the city was enormous. The dominant impression given by the buildings scattered throughout Vienna was diversity in detail, but uniformity in all essentials.¹⁴⁷ The individual changes rung on this standardization by the 190 architects who designed the nearly 400 buildings constructed in Vienna between 1923 and 1934 have to be seen in relation to the dominant and persistent note the standardized elements struck throughout the city.



The standardized elements themselves were designed by architects in the Architecture Bureau of the *Stadtbaumeister*.¹⁴⁸ The principles followed in their conception were simple design, solid materials, sound construction, durability, ease of manufacture, and economy of production. Their forms were based on preexisting types; they were conventional in the sense that their designs derived from "evolved" types and represented a refinement of readily available industrial products that could be (and were) ordered in large quantities from established producers of such objects. The visual impact of these objects and standardization generally was recorded in drawings (figures 9.24 and 9.25) and words by Margaret Gillett;

the standardised details [in the new buildings] reach a very high level of perfection. They have been used with that kind of grace that allows one to meet a familiar lamp standard or staircase moulding in a strange building as one would meet an old friend. . . . The makers and designers have reduced their productions to the simplicity of bath taps, gas jets, and electric light switches. The vague impression of uniformity that one feels at first is made by their unobtrusiveness. . . . [The mouldings] are mere wood-blocks with rounded or splayed angles. They are frames for simply proportioned windows, with broad, square panes or two-panelled doors. . . . The fittings are widely different from the complicated neo-Georgian trash so often met with in England. There are no vulgar door-knockers to fray the temper of the postman, nor curly imitation door-handles or window-catches: even the lamps, with a few exceptions, are marshalled into a few varieties plain enough to form a part of a good many designs.¹⁴⁹

The standardized proportions and parts, even more striking at the time the *Gemeindebauten* were built—before many of their distinctive features were written into the building code in 1929/1930—provided a typified structural and organizational framework on which

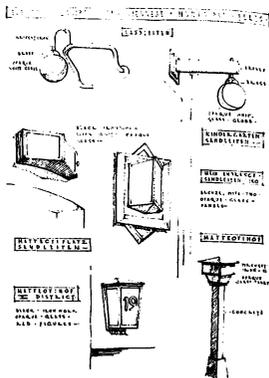
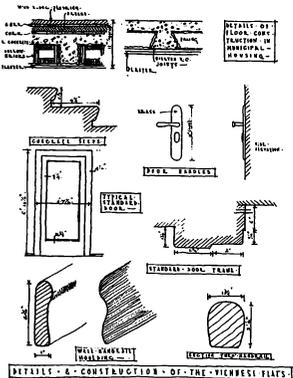
ARCHITECTURE AND PROLETARIAT



923 Blutthof (XIV), Clemens Holzmeister architect, 1924, photo 1925.

Left: "Details and construction of the Viennese." Drawings by Margaret N., ca. 1930.

"Electric lamps on Mu-dl flats." Drawings by Janet Gillett, ca. 1930.



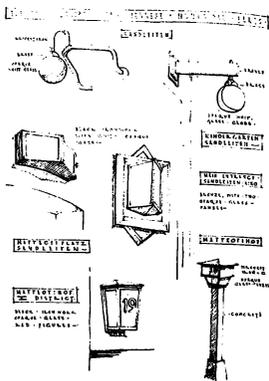
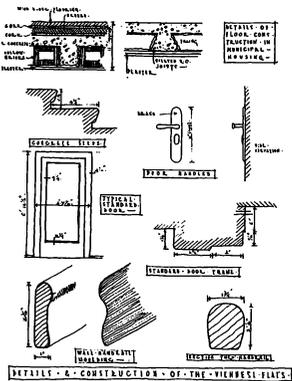
each architect could, and was encouraged to, ring his own idiosyncratic changes. These seemingly contradictory aspects of the new buildings—their standardization and striking individuality—were constant themes of contemporary discourse on the buildings. "Standardization [is] one of the main factors in the evolution of [the Viennese] new style. . . Upon [these conditions] each architect has built his own interpretation of the age and by the similitude of these interpretations comes the gradual moulding of the style. Evolution appears as a species of fatalism seasoned with ideas, and in its odd originalities uncannily in order," wrote Gillett.¹⁵⁰ The *Gemeindebauten* were easily recognized as interrelated because of their similarities—their distinctive proportions, window sizes, spatial organization and hierarchies, as well as by the

proliferation of balconies, bay windows, terraces, and loggias on their facades. But they were also distinctive, recognizably related to each other, and easily distinguished from the (privately built) buildings around them by the extraordinary individuality of their detailing. This stamp of difference was both important and intentional, because it represented the willful reversal of standard practice in Vienna.

Vienna's speculatively built prewar tenements were distinctive for the elaborate mass-produced poured cement ornament applied to their street facades. This ornament could be ordered *en gros* from the Wienerberger Brick Factory, whose catalogue included a wide range of decorative details.¹⁵¹ The tenements were also distinguished by their absence of standardization.

9.24 Left: "Details and construction of the Viennese flats." Drawings by Margaret Gillett, ca. 1930.

9.25 "Electric lamps on Municipal flats." Drawings by Margaret Gillett, ca. 1930.



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The *Gemeindebauten*, in contrast, were distinctive for the rigorous typification of windows, doors, and other building components, and the unregimented, highly individualized, often handcrafted ornamentation of their facades. In other words, that which had been standardized in the speculative tenement was individualized in the *Gemeindebauten*; that which was random and unregulated in the tenement was brought under firm control and typified in the *Gemeindebauten*. Again Gillett's observations are to the point; "On the first tour of inspection, two differences from the popular idea of municipal buildings are noticed. First there is the obvious effort after beauty of design, and then the buildings are well built and of sound materials: there is only that slight flavour of impersonality, a vague uniformness, not unpleasing. . . . On closer acquaintance it is discovered to be caused by the subtle ringing of changes on this one economy of the Viennese authorities, standardization."¹²

FROM PICTURE EDUCATION TO TYPE-FORM Yet this economic program of standardized moldings, window frames, fittings, lamps, and so on did not translate into or even imply an overarching aesthetic or architectonic program. And Tafuri, Achleitner, and others who have addressed the issue are correct in asserting that the Viennese Social Democrats did not develop a coherent aesthetic program for their buildings.

They did, however, develop a method of visual communication through standardized type-forms as part of a wide-ranging program of public education and information that had far-reaching implications for the architecture of Red Vienna. Indeed, if we examine the buildings in light of this work, it becomes evident that by means of a carefully conceived language of type-forms, the discourse regarding architecture and politics in Vienna—stymied in the press by partisan politics—was displaced from the printed page to the street. It was translated from slogan and headline in

pamphlet, poster, and newspaper to the facades of the buildings themselves.

Before they began building on a large scale in 1924, the Austro-Marxist theorists and Social Democratic politicians who conceived Red Vienna may not have had a precise concept of either the architectural forms their buildings should take or the urban form appropriate to the socialist city; but they did, as we have seen, have very clear ideas about the role of space in politics and, more particularly, the role that architecture and urban form could play in the construction of an urban socialist society. And, though historians of Red Vienna have generally failed to examine it any depth, the Viennese Social Democrats also had a very well-developed idea about how architecture communicates—or to put it another way, how social and political ideas can be communicated through built form.

This understanding was rooted in the theoretical foundations on which the Austrian Social Democratic party itself had been built. In chapter 1 the origins of Austrian Social Democracy were traced to nineteenth-century workers educational associations (*Arbeiterbildungsgesellschaften*), the only labor organizations permitted under the repressive laws of the Habsburg Empire. Both in theory and practice the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria (founded in 1888/1889) continued to put particular emphasis on its pedagogical, acculturating role and on the central importance of *Bildung*, of educating the proletariat toward socialism and power.¹³ The primary instruments of reform, and the cornerstone of Red Vienna's municipal program, were its social, cultural, and pedagogical institutions: the clinics and counseling services of the health and welfare program, the schools, kindergartens, infant care and adult education centers, youth organizations, public libraries, theaters, art and music organizations, sport clubs and festivals, and of course the housing program, which were all designed to reshape proletarian life in Vienna along socialist lines.

9.26 Exhibit in the Rathaus, showing models and drawings of projected Gemeindebauten, photo 1925.

An important component of all of these programs was public dissemination of information about them. In lectures and publications, including newspapers, magazines, books, posters, films, radio broadcasts, exhibitions, and other forms of public presentation, the purposes and methods of the Social Democrats' programs were continually set before the public; carefully explained in words and images, they were represented in all the media available at the time.¹⁵⁴ To supply the agencies responsible for disseminating information, a vast archive of visual and written materials was assembled. The new buildings and the innovative social facilities located in them (kindergartens, clinics, etc.) were systematically and comprehensively photographed, as were the more ephemeral events associated with the building program: the official opening ceremonies, other celebrations held in their spaces, visits by foreign or local dignitaries, open houses, and the many exhibitions staged by the city in the buildings and elsewhere.¹⁵⁵ Aside from photographic documentation, the municipality hired artists to render buildings and events in drawings and carpenters and model makers to build scale models of buildings, parks, and internal furnishings. Extensive film footage was shot, some of which was screened at the International Town Planning Congress in 1926. And of course a vast number of working drawings and written documents were collected by the city building office.¹⁵⁶

Among the most successful instruments of representation was the ongoing series of exhibitions organized by the municipality and often held in the *Rathaus* itself (figures 9.26 and 9.27). These exhibitions were concerned primarily with the building program, but also with a wide range of municipal programs and included the Health and Welfare Department's *Hygieneausstellung* (hygiene exhibition) of 1925 (see figure 6.12), which featured a full-scale furnished mock-up of one of the new *Gemeindebau* apartments, and the BEST furniture and housewares showrooms (see fig-

ure 6.15) located in the Kari-Marx-Hof. The building program and the issues associated with it, from town planning to fittings and furnishings, were not only physically present in the lives of Viennese workers but were also—because of the drawings, models, photographs, and so on generated in its production—particularly well suited to presentation in an exhibition.

The exhibition format for disseminating information on housing, town planning, and building techniques was first exploited by the Österreichischer Verband für Siedlungs- und Kleingartenwesen (ÖVSK) and Gemeinwirtschaftlichen Siedlungs- und Baustoffanstalt (GESIBA), who (with assistance from the municipality) jointly organized a series of five annual Allotment Garden and Settlement Housing Exhibitions beginning in 1921. Held on the Rathausplatz in front of city hall, they featured full-scale model houses with interiors and furniture designed by architects associated with the settlement movement (see chapter 3). These immensely popular open-air exhibitions spawned the first permanent exhibition on housing and town planning (figure 9.28), comprising materials from the Rathausplatz exhibits, which opened in 1923 and was located on the Ringstrasse at Parking 12. Known as the *Museum für Siedlung und Städtebau* (Settlement and Town Planning Museum), it was organized by Otto Neurath (who was general secretary of the ÖVSK at the time) and was conceived as both a didactic exhibition and a practical advice center for settlers who could consult with the architects and other professional staff of the ÖVSK (including Adolf Loos), who were on hand to answer questions.¹⁵⁷

In 1924, after the ÖVSK closed its *Baubüro* and ceased to play a significant organizational role in the municipal housing program, Neurath turned his attention to the “intellectually more gratifying problem” of developing a museum to publicly disseminate information about the housing program, its objectives, and achievements. In particular, as he wrote to the German art historian Franz Roh, what was needed was



ARCHITECTURE AND PROLETARIAT



9.27 Exhibition of new buildings erected by the municipality of Vienna, prepared for International Town Planning and Housing Congress, 1926.

"furniture, household objects, but also pictures (graphic art)"¹⁵⁹ Thus Neurath requested that Roh share with him his knowledge of "contemporary graphic techniques, color lithography etc. as well as pictures" that could be useful for presenting information about worker housing, hostels, child-care facilities, and so on. "We are just at the beginning," he wrote in late 1923 or early 1924. "We have large organizations at our disposal for the purposes of propaganda, but very little to show or communicate at this point. It is often sad."¹⁶⁰

The situation changed once large-scale building operations commenced. In 1924 Neurath wrote again to Roh, "We are in an activist frame of mind here, because the worker administration in our city is building and decorating so much! Our organization has great plans . . . we are convinced that the *realization* [Neurath's emphasis] of the new art will fall to the organized proletariat. The currently so inventive bourgeoisie appears to be no longer capable of driving the artistic cultural politics of a whole city; it creeps along at a snail's pace."¹⁶⁰ In October 1924 Neurath took Hugo Breimer, Red Vienna's councillor for finance, around the museum and proposed the foundation of a *Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum* (Social and Economic Museum). By the end of the year the city council had voted in favor of the proposition, and the new municipal museum, with Neurath as its director, was founded on 1 January 1925.¹⁶¹ Neurath recalled in *Architectural Record* some years later: "It was our purpose to build up a museum and expositions so that every one could understand how the government was using the taxation revenues. We had to show not only the problems of housing, of public health, of educational organization in Vienna, but also similar problems and their solutions in other countries, and their social and economic background and the interrelationships between all these problems."¹⁶² In December 1927 the *Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum* (GWM) opened its new permanent exhibition space

in the *Volkshalle* (hall of the people) on the ground floor of the *Rathaus*. It was conceived in the spirit of Neurath's other work, "not for experts, [but] for the public," as an instrument in the radical democratization of cultural life. The space itself consisted of two square rooms. One was a lecture hall in which slides could be projected. The other was permanent exhibition space in which there was a large map of Austria made of illuminated glass panels onto which a constantly changing set of magnetic symbols of natural resources, industries, and the like was attached. The remaining exhibits consisted of specially designed didactic wall panels with graphic and photographic information on the building and other programs. There were also models (made of plasticine or wood) of the new buildings, parks, and other works under construction throughout the city. Neurath experimented with a new kind of building model made of layered sheets of glass on which the floor plans of the building were drawn, which enabled the viewer to see the vertical and horizontal organization of the internal spaces. There were still other larger scale models of *Siedlung* houses with finished interiors, into which visitors could peer, and then relate their visual experience to abstract representations of the same spaces—orthographic drawings: plans, sections, and elevations—that were affixed to the pedestal on which the model itself was placed (see examples in figure 9.28). The wall displays were mounted on movable panels that divided up the space of the hall and could be easily rearranged. The didactic panels themselves came in one or two standard sizes so that they could be slotted into picture moldings that ran continuously around the room. These were placed at what was considered to be optimal viewing height; three feet of wall space was left beneath them so that three-dimensional displays—models, books, apparatus, and so on—could be placed on tables below (figure 9.29).¹⁶³

In acknowledgment of the fact that the working man has time to visit a museum only after work the







museum itself was open at night. The displays were also artificially lit with night viewing in mind. In addition, there were branch exhibition spaces in different parts of the city; the original Parking space, as well as on the Tuchlauben (I) and in Am Fuchsenfeld (XII). The centrally located Tuchlauben space, in which the displays were topical and changed frequently, was open all through the day as well; it was conceived and used as a "drop-in" location that could be visited on the way to and from work.¹⁶⁴

The exhibits and representational techniques employed in these displays were developed by Neurath together with a team of graphic designers headed by the Swiss and German graphic artists Erwin Bernath and Gerd Arntz. There were also consultants (in fields such as medicine, biology, etc.) and one architect, Josef Frank, who designed the exhibition space and layout. To Neurath, Frank had distinguished himself as "the one socialist [architect] who tries to make his style accessible to young people, the settlers, the *Gemeinde*."¹⁶⁵ Frank's ideas on architectural semantics resonate throughout Neurath's descriptions of the museum, its purposes, and the techniques of presentation developed.

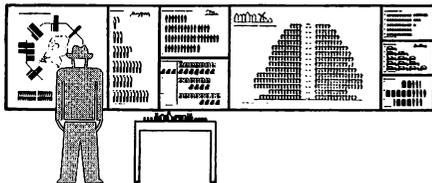
In May 1926 Neurath published an article in *Der Arbeiter*, "Rationalism, Working Class, and Building Form," in which he framed the principles, regarding the formal language of modern buildings and how information about them should be conveyed pictorially in publications, exhibitions, and the like, on which the GWM was founded. Neurath began by stating that "the necessity for an ornament- and decoration-free architecture, the need to regard the building as a kind of machine, is self-evident and yet happens so little, despite the fact that it is so much talked about!" The reason, he suggests, has to do with a fundamental misconception about the machine and its relation to building. To regard the building as a kind of machine is to make a judgment not about appearance but rather about the appropriateness of the forms of its compo-

nent parts to the tasks it (like the machine) is designed to perform. "One can only judge if a machine is well-designed if one understands its inner workings."¹⁶⁶ The same holds true for architecture. Yet, Neurath claims, most popular newspapers and magazines, even proletarian ones, only illustrate buildings—including technologically advanced new baths, communal buildings, and housing complexes—by means of exterior photographs. These give information about proportions, roofs, moldings, bays, balconies, arcades, and the like, but make it impossible to judge whether or not the architect has provided the maximum light, air, bathing facilities, meeting space, and so on possible within the limits of his budget.¹⁶⁷ Such information should be of particular interest to the proletariat for whom these buildings are being built; indeed, Neurath asserts, the current situation in Vienna has cast the worker in a new role, that of client. And if the proletariat today is not yet capable of generating new forms, it can certainly foster innovation by its own discrimination, by exercising the client's prerogative to make choices.

In order to develop a real understanding of *Wohn-technik* (the technicalities of housing design), however, the worker must be given adequate visual information by which to judge the effectiveness of a design. The study of floor plans is a beginning, according to Neurath, and "[t]he number of people who can read a plan,

9.28 Opposite: Permanent exhibition, showing settlement house models, *Museum für Siedlung und Städtebau*, photo 1925.

9.29 Example of display techniques employed at GWM. From Otto Neurath, *International Picture Language* (1936), picture 24.



7.30 Figures 7 (Fernand Leger's *The Scaffold*) and 8 (left). From Otto Neurath, "Rationalismus, Arbeiterschaft und Baugesellschaft," *Der Aufbau*, no. 5 (1926): 52.



Abb. 7. „Das Gerüst.“ Konstruktivistisches Gemälde des französischen Malers Fernand Léger.

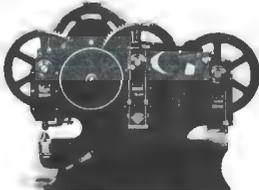


Abb. 8. Dampfmotoreinheit.

not just to orient themselves but to be able to judge the effectiveness of a design, is increasing." Still, there is much work to be done; Neurath asks, "when will workers who visit an architecture exhibition direct their attention primarily to the plans?"¹⁷⁸ Basically, he concludes, when they are properly educated to do so.

Neurath sees the current emphasis on external appearances as a bourgeois phenomenon fostered by high art, and particularly the "machine art" of avant-garde painters, including the socially engaged Fernand Léger. Implicit in a painting such as Léger's *The Scaffold* (*Das Gerüst*), which had been recently exhibited in Vienna (figure 9.30), is the assumption, Neurath claims, that the rationalization known to the worker through his familiarity with machines, with political, union, and cooperative organizations, is perceptible in paintings filled with disembodied machine parts, gleaming rods, gears, wheels, interlocking cylinders and planes, and that these images evoke the visual sensation of stepping into a modern factory. But it is precisely these expressions of the machinelike, and this play of external appearances, that have so little to do with either the essence or substance of the machine itself. The idea that the worker will identify with the industrial, mechanistic imagery of modern constructivist painting is ill-conceived. The representation of machinelike objects in these paintings by a jumble of machine parts—pistons, gears, and the like—has as little to do with the rationalist essence of the machine as the poetic description of a locomotive as a fire-breathing dragon has to do with the actual workings of a steam engine. Constructivism, Neurath charges, "seems satisfied to make a spectacle of rationalism rather than to strive for a deeper engagement with its principle." It is a form of "romanticism that evades reality."¹⁷⁹

Neurath as well as Frank had many connections (personal and professional) to the Bauhaus. Both had visited the new building in Dessau and had lectured there and in Weimar.¹⁷⁸ Neurath in particular agreed



with the technical, socially driven agenda of the school and understood its primary purpose to be "the building of houses and the production of furniture, fittings, and type-models that can be used by industry and the trades as prototypes for mass production."¹⁷¹ Yet both Neurath and Frank were skeptical of the ideology of *neuer Sachlichkeit* that informed Bauhaus design and were critical of the superficial "functionalist" stylism of much modern German building. Regarding Gropius, who lectured in Vienna in 1924, Neurath wrote, "He brought us nothing new. He himself is certainly not a significant architectural personality. But the fact that attempts are being made to close the Bauhaus on political grounds is scandalous."¹⁷²

"Why is it that until now our architecture has not very strongly reflected the spirit of rationalism?" Neurath asks in the *Aufbau* article. The answer, he suggests, is that a social organization that puts so little store by united effort or solidarity will have little use for an architecture informed by such ideas. Only after the proletariat has been a client for a long time—and has learned to read building plans with a knowledgeable and critical eye and to understand how the character of its own organization can be translated into architectural forms and spaces—will rational architecture win the day.¹⁷³

Neurath's conclusion underscores the significance of his efforts at the GWM: "Dissemination of knowledge about housing and the organization and equipment of dwelling space is becoming an increasingly significant component of worker education."¹⁷⁴ But the purpose of that education is not merely to develop in the working class an appreciation for unornamented simple forms and efficiently planned spaces, but rather to develop discrimination of a very high order—the ability to distinguish between appearance and substance at every level of the work. Like Frank, Neurath attacks the functionalist claims of German *neuer Bauen*. An absence of ornament, he asserts, does not necessarily mean that an object is either well-built or useful.

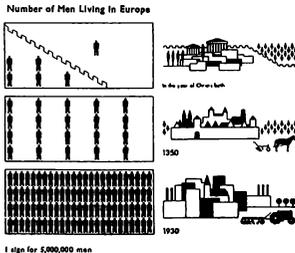
The appearance of function is not itself functionalism. The problem then, is how to educate a politically organized but multiethnic, multilingual, and semiliterate working-class population toward such high levels of awareness.

In another article published later that year in *Der Aufbau*, titled "Tasks of the Social and Economic Museum in Vienna," Neurath directly addressed this question.¹⁷⁵ The primary task of the museum, he stated, is to "make clear complex relations in society and economics, in biology, the engineering sciences, and a number of other fields," to present abstract ideas and quantifiable information about a diverse range of subjects—from industrial production to emigration, mortality, unemployment, commodity exchange, the fight against tuberculosis and alcoholism, nutrition, the significance of sport, education, housing, and so on—in a clear, universally comprehensible fashion.¹⁷⁶

Words, he decided, were inadequate to the task. "Words make division, pictures make connection," he wrote in *International Picture Language*. What was needed was an international language of form, a "system of optical representation."¹⁷⁷ The existing methods of graphic representation most often used to present social scientific facts—line and bar graphs—were too abstract and intimidating for people who had not been trained to read them. The solution, Neurath declared, was "Pictures!" But, he noted, "this insight is not in itself sufficient; one has to know how to use pictures correctly."¹⁷⁸

How, for example, should one represent quantitative differences in pictures? Usually, Neurath points out, this is done by juxtaposing large and small versions of the same figure. But this method, as he shows, is problematic. If one takes the figure of a man, for example, and doubles the size of the original figure in order to represent two men, the quantitative relationship between the two figures becomes unclear, because in order to double the height of the figure, one must also increase its width. In terms of area, therefore, the

9.31 ISOTYPE technique for picturing quantitative differences, by Otto Neurath. From *International Picture Language*, picture 5.



larger figure ends up being considerably more than twice as big as the smaller figure. In order to make it clear that the larger figure represents exactly twice the quantity signified by the smaller figure, a written caption is necessary. The correct method of showing quantitative differences with precision in pictures, Neurath suggests, is to multiply rather than increase the dimensions of the figure. Thus one needs only to double the number of figures to indicate that a quantity is twice that represented by a particular figure. The image is self-explanatory, unambiguous, and needs no verbal elaboration. The entire meaning can be read, unmediated, directly from the picture itself (figure 9.31).¹⁷⁹

Between 1925 and 1934 Neurath and his team of graphic designers, typographers, and scientific experts at the Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum developed and refined these ideas regarding representation into a syntactical language of pictorial imagery. In numerous articles as well as in the book *International Picture Language* (published in England in 1936, after Neurath had emigrated to Holland and established the International Foundation for the Promotion of Visual Education in The Hague in 1934), Neurath outlined

the basic rules of structure and use of this picture language, which became known as “the Vienna method.”¹⁸⁰ Although this is not the place for a full account of the rules and structure of the picture language developed at the GWM, a brief digression into the “Vienna method” is warranted by the insights it provides into the semantic discourse of the *Gemeindebauten* themselves.

The Vienna Method “Man needs symbols, but he doesn’t know what he is seeing if the meaning of what he observes is not articulated in easily understood slogans,” Josef Frank wrote in the introduction to *Architektur als Symbol*.¹⁸¹ One of the frequent mistakes made in education based on verbal language, Neurath claimed in *International Picture Language*, was to take note only of details and to see nothing of the general view. Teaching-pictures, as he called the figures of his pictorial language, are particularly well suited to keeping the general view in mind.¹⁸² Part of the reason is that pictures are not signs in the manner of words, but are statements. A teaching-picture that uses the system properly gives all the important facts in the statement it is picturing. “At the first look you see the most important points, at the second, the less important points, at the third, the details, at the fourth, nothing more—if you see more, the teaching picture is bad” (23). A well-designed teaching-picture excludes all unnecessary details and puts facts before the eye in a simple, straightforward way. Because of its simplicity, the picture can be kept in the memory far better than either a verbal description of the same facts or a more complex image.

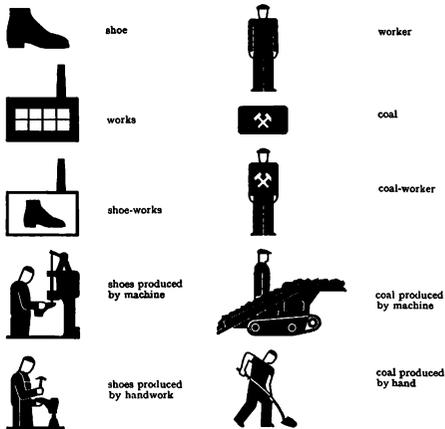
The teaching-pictures used by Neurath in the didactic panels of the GWM are type-forms; typified figures of buildings, cars, people, and so on. But they also picture activities, professions, practices. They are informed by an idea of type as convention that is very different from the concept of generative prototype underlying the ideology of *neue Sachlichkeit*. Neurath’s



pictorial signifiers were designed to endure. "Giving a sign its fixed form for international use, possibly for a great number of years, is responsible work," Neurath wrote. "The signs have to be like good letters. It will not do to take the taste of the present day as our only guide; we have to take into account the experience of history" (30).

Type-forms or "ISOTYPES" (an acronym for "International System Of Typographic Picture Education"), as Neurath named his system in 1935,¹⁰ had to be clear in themselves without the help of words as far as possible. They also had to be significantly different from one another, so that they could not be confused. Each sign had to be so simple that it could be put in lines like letters, yet it also had to have enough visual interest that the viewer would not tire of seeing lines of the same sign (26). "It would be an error," Neurath wrote, "to put a number of pictures before the eye which were as uninteresting as the statements they take the place of" (43). The figures had to be appealing as well as easily understood in order to awaken interest in the subject.

Though the ISOTYPE picture language is not a sign-for-sign parallel of word language—Neurath notes that the "parallel in a normal language of a complete 'language picture' is a complex group of statements; and an account in words of what is in a group of language pictures would make a book" (20)—ISOTYPES nevertheless function in syntactical relationship to each other as linguistic signs do. The significance of each part of the picture is dependent on the sense of the complete picture and on its relation to the other parts of the picture. Thus "shoe" and "factory" can be joined in a single image to signify "shoe factory" and so on (figure 9.32). Like words, ISOTYPES also signify in relation to each other, and can be used "again and again to make quite different statements." They can be combined in a number of different ways; for example, by superimposing one image upon another ("root idea and addition"), where one is



'the dominant form and the other a qualifying figure. Or a sign can be placed outside the root picture and function as a "guide-picture"—providing an adjunct to, rather than showing a quality of, the root idea (figure 9.33) (36). The governing principle in the composition of all signs is that "The order of signs seen by the eye has to be in relation to the best order for keeping in memory marks on the mind. . . . Our fact pictures have to give as small an amount of detail as possible. In this they are the opposite of . . . a camera picture. Every ISOTYPE picture has to make use only of such details as are necessary for an account in the language of science" (42).

There are of course many more rules for the combination of signs as well as for the use of color in the

9.32 Left: ISOTYPE techniques for putting signs together; by Neurath. From *International Picture Language*, picture 17.

9.33 ISOTYPE examples of "root idea and addition" and "guide-picture," by Neurath. From *International Picture Language*, picture 18.

ISOTYPE picture language elaborated by Neurath in *International Picture Language* and his other books on the subject. And much could be said about their relationship to Neurath's philosophical work and associations with Vienna Circle logical positivism, to early-twentieth-century theories of structural linguistics, and to the experimental work in typography and color carried out at the Bauhaus and elsewhere at the time—all of which warrant further study.¹⁸⁴

Here I want to concentrate on one other possible, and unexplored, connection—that between the rules of ISOTYPE developed at the Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum and Red Vienna's municipal building program—and to propose that the techniques of representation and the ideas regarding communication developed in the museum and used to disseminate information about the building program were incorporated into the buildings themselves. I am not suggesting that city officials made a programmatic effort to translate the rules of picture language into architectural form, which would be an absurd claim, or even that the former directly influenced the latter. Rather, I hypothesize that both programs were informed by a similar set of ideas regarding language, communication, and ways of “making clear complex relations in society and economics” to an ethnically and culturally diverse working-class population with little or no formal education.

Both the building program and the apparatus for disseminating information about it were part of a comprehensive effort to give visible, tangible, and easily comprehensible form to abstract social and political concepts. The word, as Helmut Gruber has shown, and especially the printed word, played a key role in this project and in the Social Democrats' efforts generally to raise the workers to a higher cultural level and create a proletarian counterculture in Vienna.¹⁸⁵ The party's publishing efforts were enormous. By 1930, Gruber documents 127 newsmen and journals were

published by party organizations; these included 7 dailies, 68 specialized periodicals, and 52 trade union weeklies.¹⁸⁶ Generally, the Social Democrats put tremendous emphasis on literacy in their program, not only in Otto Glöckl's school reforms but also in the party's adult education programs, the network of worker libraries it created, and the broad range of cultural activities it fostered. These efforts demonstrate how greatly the Social Democrats valued education and learning. But they also attest to the party's embattled stance throughout the 1920s and early 1930s; its need to garner popular support for its programs in Vienna in order to counterbalance the party's visibly eroding power in the Federation. The result was a preoccupation with techniques of communication, with representation, with disseminating information about itself and countering the attacks of political adversaries. The buildings constructed by the municipality participated in this effort. Like the information contained in Neurath's didactic panels about the policies that produced the *Gemeindebauten*, the buildings themselves also had to communicate not only their own material purposes but the ideas that engendered them, in a clear and straightforward manner.

In the slew of official publications that have been cited many times in the foregoing pages, the municipality of Red Vienna put forward the purposes of its building program in terms of a set of distinctive features of the *Gemeindebauten* that distinguished them from the prewar worker tenements they were built to replace. These features included garden courtyards, communal entryways, balconies, directly lit rooms, stairwell or stack organization, and of course the wide range of communal facilities provided in the new buildings. These were the constant tropes of this literature. Repeated over and over again they imprinted themselves on the consciousness of every Viennese worker, as they had already done on the buildings themselves. These elements—illustrated in city publications, and insisted by the municipal building offi-

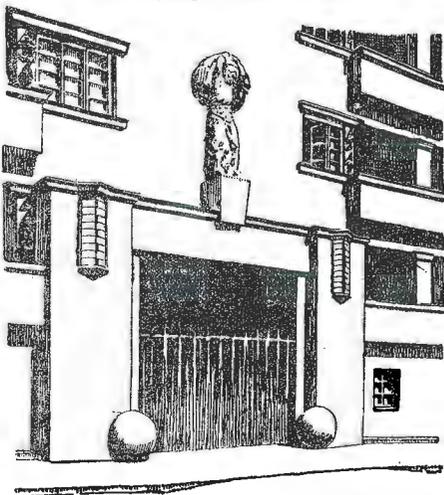


cials who oversaw the execution of the program—became the typological markers, as well as objects of identification, for the new socialist housing. And by their dominant presence they bound together the 400 variously shaped *Gemeindebauten* constructed by the “red” municipality throughout Vienna. (Tellingly, housing built after the demise of Red Vienna, between 1934 and 1938—including buildings designed by architects like Karl Ehn who had shaped the “red” *Gemeindebauten* in the 1920s—is almost entirely lacking in these markers of type.)¹⁹⁷ Like the details in Neurath’s ISOTYPEs, which “have to have teaching-value,” these architectural details have a quality of indispensability and purposefulness about them.¹⁹⁸ “One feels on looking at the new buildings,” wrote Gillett, “that every line has its reason. Even the decoration, in the form of sculpture, balconies and entrance gates seems to be there with a purpose.”¹⁹⁹

That sense of purposefulness manifest in the buildings was reinforced by their representation in party-sponsored newspapers and magazines. A good example is *Das kleine Blatt*, a small tabloid that began circulation in 1927 and was intended to draw working-class readers away from reactionary popular tabloids such as the *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*.²⁰⁰ In 1927 and 1928 *Das kleine Blatt* published a series of short articles, “Die Kunst im neuen Wien” (“Art in the New Vienna”), each illustrated with a freehand drawing (by an artist named E. O. Braunthal) of a detail of one of the new buildings. Once again, text and images focus on the distinctive typological markers of the *Gemeindebauten*: portals, courtyards, arcades, balconies, standardized windows, communal facilities, kindergartens, and so on (figure 9.34). By emphasizing the common features of the *Gemeindebauten* and at the same time providing vivid illustration of the diverse ways in which these features could be, and were, individually shaped in different buildings, the articles reinforced both the idea of type and the value of difference associated with the *Gemeindebauten*; they also underscored

Das moderne Portal.

Die Wohnbauten der Gemeinde zeigen, daß die neuen Bauformen künstlerischen Schmuck nicht anfügen und auch an Gefäßlichkeit den Bauten aus der Zeit, wo die Häuser mit Schmuck und Stier überladen worden sind, nicht nachleben. Die Flächen und Linien entsprechen bei den modernen Bauten dem Zweck und der Raumgestaltung im Innern. Sie werden nicht als Rechteck, als falsche Verkopplung, als Prozeß von Zeit, auf die das Wert angenommen werden konnte, Wägen hin, tunen hin. Sie bezeichnen die Einengung von künstlerischen Schmuck bringt diesen nur besseren Wirkung. Sie den vielen schenkbaren Bauten, die nicht nur kleine Kunstwerke der Kleinmengenfertige Menschhaltung sind, geben der vom Künstler durch den unermesslichen Einfluß in die Wirkung, von dem hier eines feiner Portales abgeleitet ist. Die Zeitungen an den Bauschritten, durch die neue Ideen sind immer weiter expandiert über die Städte neue Ideenmischungen, die in verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit geschaffen wurden.



9.34 Detail of *Gemeindebau* “Das Moderne Portal” (the modern portal). From *Das kleine Blatt*, 1 February 1928, 5.

the significance of the dynamic interplay between them that underlies the conception of the whole program.

The municipality's "prohibition of flat roofs," noted by Siegfried Theiss in 1927, is significant in this context.¹⁹ Aside from the fact that flat roofs were considered more expensive to build and maintain, the visible roof had a representational significance for the Social Democrats that was unrelated to (and arguably uninformed by) either the allegorical significance attached to the pitched roof by traditionalist modern architects like Heinrich Tessenow or the ideological significance attached to the flat roof by its proponents in Germany (as the preeminent symbol of the Modern Movement).²⁰ One of the cardinal principles upheld by Viennese city building officials was that the *Gemeindebauten* should have an "easily comprehensible form." The concern was not so much that the roof be angled rather than flat, but that it be evident, clearly visible, and recognizable as roof. It was not the pitch but the visibility of the roof, its "clear and simple appearance," that was important for the legibility of the form.²¹

The value placed on the roof illustrates both how the buildings were designed to communicate and what the message was that they were intended to convey. Like the ISOTYPEs, the *Gemeindebauten* communicated by means of conventionalized type-forms. And like the statements embodied in the conventionalized ISOTYPE pictures, which were structured according to the internal logic of "root-idea," "additions," "guide-pictures," and so on, the significance of the *Gemeindebauten* was conveyed by the interrelation of dominant and qualifying figures. Within this system the visible roof had syntactical value as a sign, a constituent part of the "easily comprehensible form" of the *Gemeindebauten*. It was by means of such signs or conventions—balconies, arcades, portals, roofs—that the *Gemeindebauten* became legible in themselves and in relation to the city, communicating how each building was to be used and what its relationship was to the

larger program of Red Vienna, as well as to traditional building practices and the physical fabric of the historical city of Vienna. The effectiveness of these easily comprehensible type-forms in communicating their purposes and significance is attested by the remark of a foreign visitor that "every office and factory worker [encountered on a tour of the *Gemeindebauten* in 1926] is precisely informed about the buildings; interest in the program is universal."²²

But there is also another way that the *Gemeindebauten* signified according to the structural logic of Neurath's ISOTYPE language. Historically Vienna is a city of walls, gateways, portals, arcades, courtyards, balconies, and terraces. It is a city built on many levels and several vertical planes; it is spatially divided and interconnected by defensive walls, viaducts, bridges, and tunnels through which its inhabitants are habituated to circulate on many levels above and below ground. The *Gemeindebauten* appropriated both the spatial patterns and markers of city and dwelling, not only because they were so deeply rooted in the cultural fabric of Vienna, but also because it was precisely these markers of place and identity that had been so resolutely denied the tenants of Vienna's outlying working-class tenements. By appropriating the formal typologies of the historical city, the *Gemeindebauten* took possession of the cultural symbols of Vienna and laid claim to the collective memory of its citizens. This goes some way toward explaining why the forms of the *Gemeindebauten* were so satisfying to their inhabitants and to the Viennese working-class in general. It also explains why the same buildings—and particularly the Karl-Marx-Hof (figure 9.35), in which city wall and arched gateway, town hall and domestic courtyard are powerfully merged in a single iconic figure—were so infuriating to those whose exclusive right to those symbols was challenged by the new order.

Like Loos on the Michaelerplatz, the Social Democrats who built the New Vienna in and around the Old Vienna had (in Karl Kraus's words) "built an





9.35 Karl-Marx-Hof, Karl Ehn architect, 1927-1930, photo 1930.

idea," the full force of which is only really evident in the program as a whole.¹⁹² As signs, the typological markers of the *Gemeindebauten* functioned syntactically in relation to each other; but also individually and collectively in terms of an absent referent. By their presence, therefore, the *Gemeindebauten* predicated the absence of the Old Vienna, whose forms and spaces they had appropriated for their own (plate 28). It was in this sense too that the *Gemeindebauten* were conventional, rooted in the formal typologies of the historical city. Like Loos's Haus am Michaelerplatz, their novel syntax soon ceased to shock and became "accepted as the architecture of the broad public."¹⁹⁶ Yet even though their forms were gradually reassimilated into the urban vernacular of Vienna, and some of the more

distinctive features of the *Gemeindebauten* were absorbed into the legal building code in 1929/1930, the idea of Red Vienna from which the forms themselves derived, lost neither its force nor its capacity to inspire hatred and fear. Indeed it was at the idea of Red Vienna that the reactionary forces of the *Heimwehr* leveled their guns when they fired on the Karl-Marx-Hof and the other *Gemeindebauten* in February 1934. And in the end, it was the idea, not the buildings, of Red Vienna that they destroyed. The buildings survived, and their continued presence in Vienna as social housing and protected monuments of Austrian national heritage attests to the instability and mutability of built ideas.

Notes

Introduction

1 Anson Rabinbach, introduction to Anson Rabinbach, ed., *The Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism, 1918–1934* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1985), 3.

2 See, for example, Peter Haiko, "Die Wohnhausbauten der Gemeinde Wien 1919–1934," *Archibese*, no. 12 (1974): 49–54; Gottfried Pirhofer, *Der Beitrag der Grosswohnanlagen der Ersten Republik zu einer neuen Architektur des Massenwohnbaus* (Vienna: Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung, 1978); Wilhelm Kainrath, "Die gesellschaftspolitische Bedeutung des kommunalen Wohnbaus im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit," in Karl Mang, ed., *Kommunaler Wohnbau in Wien: Aufbruch 1923–1934 Ausstrahlung* (Vienna: Presse- und Informationsdienst der Stadt Wien, 1977), n.p.; Klaus Novy, "Der Wiener Gemeindeförderungsbau: 'Sozialisierung von unten,' oder: Zur verdrängten Dimension der Gemeinwirtschaft als gegenökonomie," *ARCH+45* (1979): 9–25; Manfredo Tafuri, ed., *Vienna 1918: la politica residenziale nella Vienna socialista, 1919–1933* (Milan: Electa, 1980); Helmut Wehsmann, *Das Rote Wien* (Vienna: Promedia, 1985).

3 Quotations from George Eric Rowe Gedy, *Heirs to the Habsburgs* (London: Arrowsmith, 1932), 75, and idem, *Fallen Batsians: The Central European Tragedy* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1939), 105.

4 The end of World War I brought not only defeat to Austria but also the end of Habsburg rule, and the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Czech, Hungarian, southern Slav, and other national groups within the empire, which had been agitating for independence before the war, broke away to form independent states. What remained was a group of German-speaking provinces, which became the "residual" state of Austria.

5 When the Republic of German-Austria was proclaimed in November 1918, it was generally believed to be economically *lebensunfähig*, incapable of survival. See Bruce F. Pauley, "The Social and Economic Background of Austria's *Lebensunfähigkeit*," in Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*, 21–37.

6 For discussion of the immediate postwar years in Austria, see chapter 1.

7 See Gerhardt Kapner, "Der Wiener kommunaler Wohnbau: Urteile der Zwischen- und Nachkriegszeit," in F. Kadrnoska, ed., *Aufbruch und Untergang: Österreichische Kultur zwischen 1918 und 1938* (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1981), 135–165.

8 For Weimar housing, see Manfredo Tafuri, "Sozialpolitik and the City in Weimar Germany" in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Garde and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pellegrino d'Acerno and Robert Connolly (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 197–263, and Richard Pommer and Christian Otto, *Wissenhof 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). The relationship between the German and Viennese programs is discussed in chapter 5.

9 Werner Hegemann, "Kritisches zu den Wohnbauten der Stadt Wien," *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau* 10 (1926): 367; Martin Wagner, "Der Internationale Wohnungs- und Städtebaukongress in Wien," *Wohnungswirtschaft*, nos. 18/19 (1-October 1926), 155–156.

10 The quotation is from Friedrich Achleitner, "Viennese Architecture between the Wars: First Split between Form and Content of Modernity," *Lotus International* 29 (1980): 117.

11 Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1941).

12 Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* 1958; reprint, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), 472.

13 Leonardo Benevolo, *History of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1971), 2: 549, 509.

14 See Otto Antonia Graf, *Die Vergessene Wagnerschule* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1969); idem, "Wagner and the Vienna School," in J. M. Richards and Nikolaus Pevsner, eds.,

The Anti-Rationalist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 85–96. An exception is Jörg Mauche, "Der phantastische Gemeindebau," *Alte und moderne Kunst* 6 (1961): 17–20.

15 Among other publications on Wagner, in 1979 Löcker Verlag in Vienna published a facsimile of Otto Wagner, *Die Baukunst Unserer Zeit* (1914), the fourth edition of Wagner's seminal text, originally entitled *Moderne Architektur* (1895). In the same year an English edition was published of the monograph by Heinz Geretsegger and Max Peintner, *Otto Wagner, 1841–1918: The Expanding City, the Beginning of Modern Architecture*, trans. Gerald Onn (New York: Rizzoli, 1979 [Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1964]).

16 Friedrich Achleitner, "Comments on Viennese Architectural History: Motifs and Motivations, Background and Influences, Therapeutic Nihilism," in Kenneth Frampton, ed., *A New Wave of Austrian Architecture* (New York: Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1980), 11.

17 Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, trans. George R. Collins and Christiane Crazemann Collins (New York: Random House, 1965 [1889]); George R. Collins and Christiane Crazemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), a revised and expanded version of the earlier book, with a critical introduction and bibliography. One of the more fruitful offshoots of this renewed interest in Sitte was the research into urban morphology of Colin Rowe and his students at Cornell, and their conceptualization of "collage city." See Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, *Collage City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978). Carl Schorske's chapter titled "The Ringstrasse, Its Critics, and the Birth of Urban Modernism," in *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980), 24–115, which was concerned with the opposing urban ideas of Wagner and Sitte, was also influential in disseminating those ideas to an English-speaking readership in the early 1980s.

18 Vincent Scully Jr., *Modern Architecture: The Architecture of Democracy*, rev. ed. (New York: Braziller, 1974).

19 See, for example, Renate Wagner-Rieger, ed., *Die Wiener Ringstrasse: Bild einer Epoche*, 12 vols. (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1969–1980); idem, *Wiener Architektur im 19.*

Jahrhundert (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970); Hans Bobek and Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Wien: Bäuliche Gestalt und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1978). See also note 20 below.

20 See in particular the monumental exhibition "Traum und Wirklichkeit," which spawned several related publications in addition to the official catalogue: Robert Waisenberg, ed., *Traum und Wirklichkeit: Wien 1870–1930* (Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1985); Otto Antonia Graf, *Otto Wagner: Das Werk des Architekten*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1985); Eduard F. Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann: The Architectural Work: Monograph and Catalogue of Works* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Burkhardt Rulschcio and Roland Schachel, *Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1982); Marco Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagners 1894–1912* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1980); Damjan Predoski, *Josef Plečnik: Wiener Arbeiten von 1896 bis 1914* (Vienna: Edition Tusch, 1979); Franco Borzi and Ezio Godoli, *Vienna 1900: Architecture and Design* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986); Werner J. Schweiger, *Wiener Wohnstätte: Design in Vienna, 1903–1932*, trans. W. G. Fischer (New York: Abbeville, 1984).

21 Charles O. Hardy, assisted by Robert R. Kuczynski, *The Housing Program of the City of Vienna* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1934). The book was based on a 600-page memorandum compiled by Robert R. Kuczynski from statistics supplied by the municipality of Vienna. Charles A. Gulick, *Austria from Hapsburg to Hitler*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948).

22 Felix Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik der Gemeinde Wien in der Ersten Republik (1919–1934)*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 6, 11 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1958, 1959); idem, *Liberaler, Christlichsozialer und Sozialdemokratischer Kommunalpolitik (1861–1934): Dargestellt am Beispiel der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1962). Both works are based on administrative reports, city council minute books, budget reports, etc. (*Sitzungsprotokolle des Gemeinderates, Verwaltungsberichte, Vorschläge und Rechnungsschlüsse der Gemeinde Wien, Berichte des Kontrollrates*, etc.).

23 Renate Schweitzer, "Der staatlich geförderte, der kommunale und gemeinnützige Wohnungs- und Siedlungsbau in

Österreich bis 1945," 2 vols. (Ph. D. diss., Technische Universität Wien, 1972). See also the short chronology of Viennese housing policies ca. 1900-1945 by Anton Seda, "Ursachen und Entwicklung des Kommunalen Sozialen Wohnungsbaus," *der Aufbau* 20 (1965): 34-40. An earlier article by Helfried Kodré, "Die Entwicklung des Wiener Sozialen Wohnungsbaus in den Jahren 1919-1938," *der Aufbau* 19 (1964): 343-350, is a stylistic analysis of the buildings, as is the somewhat later thesis by Fritz C. Wulz, "Stadt in Veränderung: Eine architekturpolitische Studie von Wien," 2 vols. (Ph. D. diss., Stockholm, 1976).

24 Much of this research, including the atlas, has been published under the auspices of the Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien (Felix Czeike, series editor).

25 For publications of these institutions, see R. John Rath, "Writings on Contemporary Austrian History, 1918-1934," in Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*, 47-55.

26 Norbert Leser, *Zwischen Reformismus und Bolschewismus: Der Austromarxismus als Theorie und Praxis* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1968), Anton Pelinka, "Kommunalpolitik als Gegenmacht: Das 'rote Wien' als Beispiel gesellschaftsverändernder Reformpolitik" in Karl-Heinz Nassmacher, ed., *Kommunalpolitik und Sozialdemokratie: Der Beitrag des demokratischen Sozialismus zur kommunalen Selbstverwaltung* (Bonn: Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, 1977), 63-77; Rainer Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik im sozialdemokratischen Wien, 1919-1934* (Salzburg: Verlag Wolfgang Neugebauer, 1979), Noy, "Der Wiener Gemeindewohnungsbau"; Maren Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie und Kommunalpolitik in Wien: Zu einigen Aspekten sozialdemokratischer Politik in der Vor- und Zwischenkriegszeit*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 49 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1980). This important text was followed by Felix Czeike, *Geschichte der Stadt Wien* (Vienna: F. Molden, 1981), the monumental history by Maren Seliger and Karl Uecker, *Wien: Politische Geschichte*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1985), and Emmerich Talos et al., *Handbuch des politischen Systems Österreichs: Erste Republik 1918-1933* (Vienna: Manzsche Verlags- und Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1995).

27 Anton Rabinbach, *The Crisis of Austrian Socialism: From Red Vienna to Civil War, 1927-1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934* (New York: Ox-

ford University Press, 1991). See also papers presented at a colloquium at Harvard University's Center for European Studies in 1984, collected in Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*. For the exhibition catalogues, see in particular Helene Maimann, ed., *Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit: Arbeiterkultur in Österreich 1918-1934* (Vienna: Habarta and Habarta, 1981); Helene Maimann, ed., *Die Ersten 100 Jahre Österreichische Sozialdemokratie 1888-1988* (Vienna: Verlag Christian Brandstätter, 1988).

28 Karla Krauss and Joachim Schlandt, "Die Wiener Gemeindeförderungsbau—Ein sozialdemokratisches Programm," in Hans Helms and Jörn Janssen, eds., *Kapitalistischer Städtebau* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1970), 113-124; Joachim Schlandt, "Die Wiener Superblocks," *Werk 4* (1970): 221-226; idem, "Economic and Political Aspects of Social Housing in Vienna between 1922 and 1934," trans. Sima Ingberman, *Oppositions*, no. 13 (1978): 84-87; Peter Haiko and Mara Reissberger, "Die Wohnhausbauten der Gemeinde Wien 1919-1934," *Architect*, no. 12 (1974): 49-54; Kainrath, "Die gesellschaftspolitische Bedeutung" in Mang, *Kommunaler Wohnbau*, n.p.; Gottfried Pirhofer, "Linien der kulturpolitischen Auseinandersetzung in der Geschichte des Wiener Arbeiterwohnungsbaus," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, no. 33 (1978): 1-23; Noy, "Der Wiener Gemeindeförderungsbau;" Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindeförderung des Roten Wien 1919-1934* (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980). When they were being built, the Gemeindeförderung were criticized from both the left and the right. See Kapner, "Der Wiener Kommunaler Wohnbau"; Gottfried Pirhofer and Michael Tripes, *Am Schöpferwerk neu Bedacht: Ungewöhnliches vom Wiener Gemeindeförderung* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1981), 22-25, 35-36.

29 Achleitner, "Viennese Architecture between the Wars," 117.

30 Ibid.

31 See, for example, Friedrich Achleitner, *Wiener Architektur: Zwischen typologischem Fatalismus und sensanctischem Schlamassel* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), a volume of essays on Viennese architecture written between 1980 and 1996; Johannes Spalt and Hermann Czech, *Josef Frank, 1885-1967* (Vienna: Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, 1981); Johannes Spalt, ed., *Osaka Stradl 1879-1935* (Vienna: Hochschule

(für angewandte Kunst, 1979); Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*; Burkhardt Rukschcio, ed., *Adolf Loos* (Vienna: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1989).

32 See, for example, Manfred Wagner, ed., *Frans Schuster 1892-1972* (Vienna: Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, 1976); Ernst A. Plischke, *Ernst A. Plischke. Ein Leben mit Architektur* (Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1989); August Sarnitz, *Ernst Liblikau, Architekt 1883-1963* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1994); Renate Allmayer-Beck et al., *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky: Soziale Architektur Zeitzeugin eines Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1993).

33 For the "view from below," see Helmut Gruber, "Socialist Party Culture and the Realities of Working-Class Life in Red Vienna," in Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*, 225. For Posch, Novy, Förster, and the *Siedlung* movement in Vienna, see chapter 3.

34 Georg Schwalb-Theiss, *Theiss & Jaksch, Architekten 1907-1961* (Vienna: Edition Christian Brandstätter, 1986); Peter Nigst, *Robert Orley*, vol. 3 of *Portraits österreichischer Architekten* (Vienna: Springer-Verlag, 1996).

35 Helmut Weismann, *Das Rote Wien: Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934* (Vienna: Promedia, 1985); Gert Kahler, *Wohnung und Stadt, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Wien: Modelle sozialen Wohnens in den zwanziger Jahren* (Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg und Sohn, 1985); Alfred Georg Frei, *Rotes Wien: Austromarxismus und Arbeiterkultur: Sozialdemokratische Wohnungs- und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934* (Berlin: DVK-Verlag, 1984).

36 See Gottfried Pirhofer and Reinhard Sieder, "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie im Roten Wien. Familienpolitik, Kulturreform, Alltag und Aesthetik," in Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder, eds., *Historische Familienforschung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982), 326-368; Reinhard Sieder, "Housing Policy, Social Welfare, and Family Life in 'Red Vienna,' 1919-1934," *Oral History* 13, no. 2 (1985): 35-47. For further discussion, see chapter 6.

37 Gruber, "Socialist Party Culture"; Doris Beyer, "Sexualität-Macht-Wohlfühl: Zeitgemässe Erinnerungen an das Rote Wien," *Zeit Geschichte* 14 (1987): 453-459. For a similar perspective, see Siegfried Mattl, "Red Vienna Revisited.

Die Sozialdemokratie als Moralanstalt," in Renate Banik-Schweitzer, ed., *Wien Wirklich* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1992), 283-287; Pirhofer and Sieder, "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie"; Gerhard Melinz and Gerhard Ungar, *Wohlfahrt und Krise: Wiener Kommunalpolitik 1929-1938* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1996).

38 Giorgio Ciucci, "The Formative Years," *Casabella*, no. 59, special issue on the historical project of Manfredo Tafuri (January/February 1995): 13-27. See also Jean-Louis Cohen, *La coupure entre architectes et intellectuels, ou les enseignements de l'Alphabille*, Ecole d'Architecture Paris Villemin, 1984 (coll. *In Extremis*, vol. 1, 182-223); idem, "Transalpine Architektur: Der französische Italianismus zwischen 1963 und 1980," *architectes* 4 (July/August 1988): 68-72; Luciano Semerari, ed., "School of Venice," *Architectural Design Profile* 59, *Architectural Design* 55, nos. 5/6 (1985).

39 Manfredo Tafuri, "'Das Rote Wien'; Politica e forma della residenza nella Vienna socialista, 1919-1933," in Tafuri, *Vienna Rassa*, 7. Tafuri's earlier treatment of the subject appeared as "Astromarxismo e città 'Das rote Wien,'" *Contropiani*, no. 2 (July 1971): 259-311. He also discussed the Viennese architecture in "Realismus und Architektur; zur Konstruktion volksbezogener Sprachen," in Vittorio Magrigo Lampugnani, ed., *Das Abenteuer der Ideen* (Berlin: Fröhlich und Kaufmann, 1984), 131-148, and in Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture*, trans. Robert Erich Wolf (New York: Abrams, 1979), 191-197.

40 Tafuri, "'Das Rote Wien,'" 8, 94. For Tafuri's studies of Weimar housing, see Manfredo Tafuri, "'Radical' Architecture and the City" in *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, trans. Barbara Lurgia La Penta (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976), 104-124, and "Sozialpolitik and the City in Weimar Germany." Tafuri's criticism of the Weimar housing was founded on the principle that reform in one sector, isolated from a complex of institutional reforms coordinated in a coherent political strategy, is doomed to failure.

41 Tafuri, "'Das Rote Wien,'" 94, 119-139.

42 See Manfredo Tafuri, "L'Architecture dans le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language," *Oppositions*, no. 3 (May 1974): 37-62, and "The Historical Project," *Oppositions*, no. 17 (Summer 1979): 55-75.

- 43 Robert Maxwell, "The Role of Ideology," *Architectural Design* 3 (1977): 188; Tafuri, "Das Rote Wien," 7.
- 44 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 116.
- 45 Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), 127, 129.
- 46 A great deal has been written in the last two decades on the Enlightenment concept of type. Among the more important texts are Anthony Vidler, "The Idea of Type: The Transformation of the Academic Ideal," *Oppositions*, no. 8 (Spring 1977): 95-113; Rafael Moneo, "On Typology," *Oppositions*, no. 13 (Summer 1978): 23-45; Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992); Micha Bandini, "Typology as a Form of Convention," *AA Files*, no. 6 (May 1984): 73-82; Werner Oechslin, "Premises for a Resumption of the Discussion of Typology," *Assemblage* 1 (1986): 37-53 (in the same issue see also essays by Stanford Anderson, "Critical Conventionalism in Architecture," 7-23, and K. Michael Hays, "Theory-Constitutive Conventions and Theory Change," 117-128); Alan Colquhoun, "Typology and Design Method" (1967), in *Essays in Architectural Criticism: Modern Architecture and Historical Change* (New York: Oppositions Books, 1981), 43-50. See also Jorge Silveti, "On Realism in Architecture," *Harvard Architecture Review* 1 (1980): 11-39; Terrance Goode, "Typological Theory in the United States: The Consumption of Architecture 'Authenticity,'" *Journal of Architectural Education* 46, no. 1 (1992): 2-13; and two anthologies of essays by architects and architectural and urban historians: Karen A. Frank and Lynda H. Schneekloth, eds., *Ordering Space: Types in Architecture and Design* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), and Garth Rockcastle, ed., *Type and the (In) Possibilities of Convention* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991).
- 47 See n. 46; the quotation is from Quatremère de Quincy, "Type," in *Encyclopédie Méthodique, Architecture*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (Paris, 1825); reprinted in English in *Oppositions*, no. 8 (Spring 1977): 148. The key figure here was J. N. L. Durand, professor (1795-1814) at the newly founded École Polytechnique in Paris, whose lectures were published as *Précis des leçons d'architecture données à l'école polytechnique* (Paris: J. N. L.
- Durand, 1802-1805). Durand's *Recueil et parallèle des édifices de tout genre, anciens et modernes, remarquables par leur beauté, par leur grandeur ou par leur singularité, et dessinés sur une même échelle*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. N. L. Durand, 1800), was a history of architecture according to (functional) building type. See further Georges Teyssot, "Type, Program, and Regularity: The Diffusion of Architectural Principles in the Conseil de Batiments Civils," *Canon* 3 (1988): 119-137.
- 48 See Klaus Herdeg, *The Decorated Diagram: Harvard Architecture and the Failure of the Bauhaus Legacy* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983) and Frederic J. Schwartz, *The Workbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
- 49 The recovery of Quatremère's concept is credited to Giulio Carlo Argan; see Argan, "Sul concetto di tipologia architettonica," in *Progetto e Destino* (Milan: Electa, 1965), 75-81. See also idem, "On the Typology of Architecture," trans. Joseph Rykwert, *Architectural Design*, December 1963, 564-565.
- 50 For Muratori, who conceived of type as a tool for understanding urban morphology, see Saverio Muratori, *Studi per una operante storia urbana di Venezia* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1959), and Massimo Scolari, "Un contributo per la fondazione della scienza urbana," *Contrappunto*, nos. 7/8 (1971): 40-47. For the later work of the neo-rationalist *tendenza*—Rossi, Aymonino, and others—see in particular Massimo Scolari, "Avanguardia e Nuova Architettura," in Franco Angeli, ed., *Architettura Razionale, XV Triennale di Milano* (Milan: Electa, 1973); Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982), 35-45; Carlo Aymonino, M. Brusatin, G. Fabbri, M. Lena, P. Loverro, S. Lucianetti, and A. Rossi, *La Città di Padova, saggio di analisi urbana* (Rome: Officina edizioni, 1970); Carlo Aymonino, *Lo Studio dei Fenomeni Urbani* (Rome: Officina edizione, 1977).
- 51 See in particular Colquhoun, "Typology and Design Method," 48-49. The notions of collective consciousness and cultural memory have been challenged by feminist critical theory, which has introduced gender and other differences into the discourse on type and the social production of space. See Alice T. Friedman, "Just Not My Type: Gender, Convention, and the Uses of Uncertainty" in Frank and

Schneekloth, *Ordering Space*, 331–344; Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1996); Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson, eds., *Architecture and Feminism* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996); Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway, and Leslie Kanes Weisman, eds., *The Sex of Architecture* (New York: Harry U. Abrams, 1996), especially the essay by Mary McLeod, “Others’ Spaces and ‘Others,’” 15–28.

Chapter 1. “Against the Idea of Force, the Force of Ideas”

Chapter epigraphs: Louis Pink, *The New Day in Housing* (New York: John Day, 1928), 66. The book has an introduction by New York mayor Alfred E. Smith, who had set up co-ops and low-cost housing in New York and was seen as a big-city advocate, and who also that year ran against Herbert Hoover for president. Charles O. Hardy, assisted by Robert R. Kuczynski, *The Housing Program of the City of Vienna* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1934), 108, 111.

1 *Survey Graphic*, 1 March 1934, quoted in Werner Hegemann, *City Planning Housing*, 3 vols. (New York: Architectural Book Publishing, 1936–1938), 1:226. (After Hegemann’s death in 1936, the book was completed by William W. Foster, Robert S. Weinberg, and others.)

2 The prime movers in American public housing policy in the 1930s, who initiated and carried out many of these studies, were women: in particular, Edith Elmer Wood (1870–1945) and Catherine Bauer (1905–1964). See Edith Elmer Wood, *Housing Progress in Western Europe* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923); Catherine Bauer, *Modern Housing* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1934). See also, regarding Wood and Bauer, Eugenie Ladner Birch, “Woman-Made America: The Case of Early Public Housing Policy,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 44, no. 2 (1978): 130–144. See also Pink, *New Day in Housing*; Elizabeth Denby, *Europe Re-housed* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1938); Robert E. Chaddock, “Housing in Vienna: A Socialistic Experiment,” *American Journal of Sociology* 37 (1932): 560–568; E. L. Schaub, “Vienna’s Socialistic Housing Experiment,” *Social Service Review* 4 (1930): 575–586; Ernest L. Harris, “Workingmen’s Housing in Vienna,” *Monthly Labor Review* (1931): 6–16; *Garden Cities and Town Planning* 21, no. 7 (1931), a whole issue devoted to European housing projects of the 1920s; James Ford, *Slums and Housing* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936).

3 Pink, *New Day in Housing*, 60.

4 Edwin G. Nourse director of the Institute of Economics, Brookings Institution, preface to Hardy, *Housing Program*, viii.

5 Hardy, *Housing Program*, 116–117.

6 *Ibid.*, 111.

7 Bauer, *Modern Housing*, 295.

8 Born in Mannheim, Germany, Hegemann had degrees in architecture and city planning as well as political science and economics. In the United States he traveled and lectured widely, and he worked as a planner in Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and in Wisconsin. See the biographical note by one of Hegemann’s associates, Ruth Nanda Anshen, in vol. 2 of Hegemann’s last book, *City Planning Housing*, xiii–xxii, published posthumously in 1937.

9 Werner Hegemann, with Elbert Peets, *The American Viennian: An Architect’s Handbook of Civic Art* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing, 1922).

10 Hegemann, *City Planning Housing*, 1:288.

11 Charles A. Galick, *Austria from Habsburg to Hitler*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 1:20.

The bibliography on the history of Austrian Social Democracy is extensive. Selected works in English include two relatively recent studies of politics in Austria between the wars: Anson Rabinbach, *The Crisis of Austrian Socialism: From Red Vienna to Civil War, 1927–1934* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), and Anson Rabinbach, ed., *The Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Autonomatism, 1918–1934* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1985), proceedings of a 1984 conference held at the Center for European Studies, Harvard University, with contributions by U.S. and Austrian scholars. Another important critical history of Red Vienna’s municipal program is Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919–1934* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). For a bibliographic history of Red Vienna, see R. John Rath, “Writings on Contemporary Austrian History, 1918–1934,” in Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*, 47–55. See also Emmerich Talos et al., *Handbuch des politischen Systems Österreich: Erste Republik 1918–1933* (Vienna: Manzsche Verlags- und

- Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1995) and four Austrian exhibition catalogues: Gottfried Pirhofer, ed., *Zwischenkriegszeit-Wiener Kommunalpolitik 1918-1938* (Vienna: Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum, 1980); Helene Maimann, ed., *Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit: Arbeiterkultur in Österreich 1918-1934* (Vienna: Habarta and Habarta, 1981); Helene Maimann, ed., *Die Ersten 100 Jahre: Österreichische Sozialdemokratie 1888-1988* (Vienna: Verlag Christian Brandstätter, 1988); and Walter Ohlinger, ed., *Das Rote Wien 1918-1934* (Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1993). See also the notes below.
- 12 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 7-10.
- 13 Regarding Adler, see two recent psychohistorical studies: Peter Loewenberg, *Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach* (New York: Knopf, 1983), and Mark E. Blum, *The Austro-Marxists, 1890-1918: A Psychobiographical Study* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1985). I am grateful to Carl Schorske for directing me to these works.
- 14 By 1897 the Social Democrats had won fourteen seats in the industrial areas of Bohemia. Their success was due to Count Baden's suffrage reform act of that year, which added a fifth curia to the four privileged ones; see Gulick, *Austria*, 1:32.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 33.
- 16 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 13.
- 17 Rudolf Hifferding left Vienna and moved to Berlin in 1906. Viktor Adler, who was more of a politician than a theorist, contributed little to Austro-Marxist theory. The literature on Austro-Marxism and Austro-Marxist political and social theory is extensive. Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, and Gruber, *Red Vienna*, provide critical analyses of major concepts and texts, as does Tom Bottomore, introduction to Tom Bottomore and Patrick Goode, eds., *Austro-Marxism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 1-44, a compendium of selected texts (translated into English), from which most of the quotations from Austro-Marxist texts in this chapter are taken. Ernst Glaser, *Im Umfeld des Austromarxismus: Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte des österreichischen Sozialismus* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1981), is a much larger compendium of texts. See also Norbert Leser, *Zwischen Reformismus und Bolschewismus: Der Austromarxismus als Theorie und Praxis* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1968).
- 18 Bottomore and Goode, introduction to *Austro-Marxism*, 19.
- 19 Max Adler, "Ideology as Appearance," in *ibid.*, 25.
- 20 Bottomore and Goode, introduction to *ibid.*, 33-34.
- 21 Otto Bauer, "The Concept of the 'Nation,'" in *ibid.*, 107. Karl Renner, who also wrote on the nationalities question, had a very different conception of nationality. In *Marxismus, Krieg und Internationale* (Stuttgart: J. H. W. Dietz, 1917), Renner argued that "The nation state is not the state idea of rising capitalism; the basis of the state is not the economic region, but the region of national settlement" (quoted in Bottomore and Goode, *Austro-Marxism*, 118).
- 22 Bauer quoted in William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind. An Intellectual and Social History, 1848-1938* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 103. Josef Weidenholzer, "Red Vienna: A New Atlantis?" in Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*, 195, notes that industrial conflicts in Austria were overshadowed by ethnic and cultural conflicts. Therefore the central conflicts in Austrian society were not defined as class conflicts to the extent that they were in other industrial capitalist societies.
- 23 Bauer, "The Concept of the 'Nation,'" 110, 107, 111, 110.
- 24 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 15.
- 25 The term "Burgsozialismus" is from Oscar Jaszi, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), 187. See also Rabinbach, *Crisis in Austrian Socialism*, 15.
- 26 Leser, *Zwischen Reformismus und Bolschewismus*, 275-280; see also Julius Braunthal, *Victor and Friedrich Adler: Zwei Generationen Arbeiterbewegung* (Vienna: Wiener Buchhandlung, 1965), 225-245.
- 27 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 19. Even under Adler the party began to shift its course in 1917; see Hans Hautmann, *Die verlorene Räterepublik: Am Beispiel der kommunistischen Partei Deutschösterreichs* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1971); Maren Seliger and Karl Ucakar, *Wien: Politische Geschichte*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1985), 2:993-996.

28 Barbara Jelavich, *Modern Austria: Empire and Republic, 1800–1986* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 140.

29 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 20.

30 Regarding the communist-influenced workers' council movement in the immediate postwar period, see Hautmann, *Die verlorene Räterepublik*, 145–151.

31 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 22.

32 *Ibid.*, 22. This all-party coalition government lasted until October 1919.

33 C. A. Macartney, *The Social Revolution in Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), 84–85.

34 *Ibid.*, 101–102; Gulick, *Austria*, 1:144–145. See also Fritz Weber, "Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung," in Talos, et al., *Handbuch des politischen Systems Österreichs: Erste Republik 1918–1933* (Vienna: Manzsche Verlags- und Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1995):23–39.

35 Macartney, *Social Revolution*, 103; Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Kropf, *Die Österreichische Arbeiterbewegung vom Vormärz bis 1945: Sozialökonomische Ursprünge der Ideologie und Politik* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1974), 126.

36 Hardy, *Housing Program*, 33.

37 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:149.

38 *Ibid.* 1:148–150, 164.

39 Bruce F. Pauley, "The Social and Economic Background of Austria's *Lebensfähigkeit*," in Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*, 26. For the prewar preparation of this legislation, see Emmerich Talos, "Sozialpolitik in der Ersten Republik," in Talos et al., *Handbuch*, 570–586.

40 Maren Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie und Kommunalpolitik in Wien: Zu einigen Aspekten sozialdemokratischer Politik in der Vor- und Zwischenkriegszeit*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 49 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1980), 83–86. The Social Democrats abandoned the socialization program after the party's landslide victory in the May 1919 elections. As part of the elec-

tion campaign the party had called for the city to unite production and distribution of food and other necessities under municipal control and to transfer all land and property ownership to the community. After the election, however, the Social Democrats argued that socialization would be a financial burden rather than a benefit to the community. For example, if the land were communalized it would be necessary, they claimed, to employ 40,000 municipal rent collectors.

41 See Bottomore and Goode, introduction to *Austro-Marxism*, 33–34.

42 Otto Bauer, "Political and Social Revolution," in *ibid.*, 150; *idem*, "Max Adler: A Contribution to the History of Austro-Marxism," in *ibid.*, 52.

43 Otto Bauer, "Problems of the Austrian Revolution," in *ibid.*, 162–163.

44 Otto Bauer, "What Is Austro-Marxism?" in *ibid.*, 47.

45 Bauer, "Political and Social Revolution," in *ibid.*, 146.

46 Max Adler, "The Sociology of Revolution," *ibid.*, 139–140.

47 Bauer, "Political and Social Revolution," in *ibid.*, 150, 151.

48 Otto Bauer and Rudolf Hilferding, quoted in Bottomore and Goode, introduction to *ibid.*, 26, 24; Weidenholzer, "Red Vienna," 195, notes the historical basis for this theory of the state's role in the revolutionary process. Because of the central role played by the state and its bureaucrats in the Austrian economy, it was understandable that the Social Democrats would pursue the goal of influencing the state machinery.

49 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 30.

50 Seliger and Ucakar, *Wien*, 2:1057. This was known as the "two phase theory" of the Austrian Social Democratic party, developed by Red Vienna's councillor for finance, Hugo Breitner. The first phase was to build up the economy, the second phase was to change the social organization.

- 51 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 16.
- 52 Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (1907), quoted in Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 39.
- 53 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 9. See also Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*, especially parts 3 and 4: "Austro-Marxism and the Viennese Intellectual Milieu" and "Red Vienna: Municipal Socialism and Cultural Politics."
- 54 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 30, points out that both concepts were dependent on the growth and expansion of capitalism itself.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 121, 30, 120.
- 56 *Ibid.*, 20–22. See also David F. Strong, *Austria (October 1918–March 1919): Transition from Empire to Republic* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 117.
- 57 Bauer, quoted in Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 21; see also Pauley, "Austria's Lebensunfähigkeit," 21–37; Norbert Schausberger *Griff nach Österreich: Der Anschluss* (Munich: Verlag Jugend und Volk, 1978), 46.
- 58 Cited in Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 36. On the myth vs. reality, see Pauley, "Austria's Lebensunfähigkeit," 32.
- 59 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 21; Bauer, quoted in Bottomore and Goode, *Austro-Marxism*, 108.
- 60 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 20.
- 61 The socialists had been uneasy about the coalition and the idea of shared power, feeling instead that the party's proper position was in the opposition. See Seliger and Ucakar, *Wien*, 2:999–1000.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 992–993, 1023–1026; Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie*, 63–64. Reumann was born on 31 December 1853 and died 29 July 1925. He was the illegitimate son of a working-class mother and a doctor. In 1867 he was taken on as a sculptor's apprentice; later he became a turner in a Meerscham pipe factory. He joined the party when he was still an apprentice, and he was active in the turners' union. Reumann became first secretary of the Social Democratic party and editor of the (then weekly) *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. In 1900, Reumann and Franz Schuhmeier were the first Social Democratic councillors in the Vienna City Council, or *Geneinderat*; in 1917 Reumann became an alderman; in 1918 he was elected vice-mayor; and from 1919 to 1923 he was mayor of Vienna. On Reumann, see his entry in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969).
- 63 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:27–28. The Christian Socialist position that the "red city must be isolated" is presented in Eduard Jehly, *Zehn Jahre Rotes Wien* (Vienna: General Secretariat der Christlichsozialen Partei Österreich, 1930), 8.
- 64 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:109.
- 65 There were several other schemes as well; see Maren Seliger, "Bundesland Wien—Grenzziehvarianten 1919/1920," *Perspektiven* 10 (1992): 71–72. See also Wilfried Posch, "Lebensraum Wien: Die gebietspolitischen Entscheidungen von gestern—die Raumordnungsprobleme von heute," *Bauforum* 73 (1979): 17–23. The complex negotiations regarding Vienna's status are discussed in detail in Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie*, 65–82.
- 66 Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie*, 75.
- 67 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:108.
- 68 Danneberg cited in Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie*, 81–82.
- 69 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:108; Seliger and Ucakar, *Wien*, 2:1001–1007.
- 70 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:108.
- 71 For Vienna's tax structure and financing of the building program, see chapter 4.
- 72 Robert Danneberg, *Vienna under Socialist Rule*, trans. H. J. Stenning (London: Labour Party, 1928) 52. See Gulick, *Austria*, 2:1367.
- 73 Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 1, 27.
- 74 Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie*, 89–90.

75 *Ibid.*, 87, 90, notes that the municipal businesses were often not democratically run. Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 55–56, is critical of the failure of the Social Democrats to communalize the building industry. The municipality did in fact enter into the building materials and construction business in a big way, through the GESIBA; see chapters 3 and 4.

76 Ilsa Barea, *Vienna* (New York: Knopf, 1966), 339. For Schuhmeier, see Helga Schmidt and Felix Czeike, *Franz Schuhmeier* (Vienna: 677 Europa Verlag, 1964).

77 Barea, *Vienna*, 340, 339; Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*, 101.

78 Schuhmeier's proposals were based on the party's Vienna program of 1896 and others put forward at the Graz party congress in 1900. For detailed discussion of the proposals and the subsequent changes to the Vienna program, see Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie*, 22–42.

79 Regarding the regressive public school system and anti-intellectualism of the Christian Socialist education policies, see Barea, *Vienna*, 342.

80 Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie*, 33–42. The Vienna program of 1896 was revised and approved by the national, city, and provincial party organization in 1912. The last part of Schuhmeier's proposal was reinforced at the party's second Austrian *Kasentag* in 1902. The eight points of this program included the establishment of housing offices to periodically examine living conditions, distribution of existing living space, and establishment of standards of sanitation and hygiene. The statement also emphasized the need for an effective appropriation law in the interests of public ownership. See Franz Patzer, *Streiflichter auf die Wiener Kommunalpolitik 1919–1934*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 40 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1978), 39.

81 Leopold Winarsky, *Was Fordern die Sozialdemokraten von der Gemeinde Wien? Das Sozialdemokratische Kommunalprogramm* (Vienna, 1914). Other foreshadowings of the Social Democrats' postwar housing policy were the pertinent passages in the resolution of the second Austrian medical insurance congress held in 1904. They included the following declaration: "That the city administration construct housing, i.e., small inexpensive apartments on city owned land." See

Josef Brod, "Die Wohnungsnot und Ihre Bekämpfung," *Kommunalpolitische Schriften*, nos. 4/5 (1919), 5. Again at a city council meeting of 17 October 1911, a socialist member moved the expenditure of 10 million crowns for housing; reported in *Die Neue Freie Presse*, 18 October 1911, 12. For a general discussion, see Rainer Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik im sozialdemokratischen Wien 1919–1934* (Salzburg: Verlag Wolfgang Neugebauer, 1979), 108–115. Many of Schuhmeier's points were also taken up and developed by Otto Bauer in *Der Weg zum Sozialismus* (Vienna: Ignaz Brand, 1919). See Felix Czeike, *Liberalie, Christlichsoziale und Sozialdemokratische Kommunalpolitik (1861–1934): Dargestellt am Beispiel der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1962), 83–89. Regarding the differences between the 1896 and 1912 program, see Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie*, 39–42. Seliger points out that a significant difference between the prewar and postwar programs was the method of financing (105–122). For discussion of the financial policy of Red Vienna as applied to the building program, see chapter 4.

82 For a detailed account of the municipal program, see Felix Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik der Gemeinde Wien in der Ersten Republik, 1918–1934*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 6, 11 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1958, 1959). See also Seliger and Ucakar, *Wien*, 2:991–1124. Regarding the municipal program in the last years of Red Vienna and after, see Gerhard Melinz and Gerhard Ungar, *Wohlfahrt und Krise: Wiener Kommunalpolitik 1929–1938* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1996). I am grateful to Dr. Maren Seliger for directing me to this work. The municipality itself produced its own account of the municipal programs: *Das Neue Wien*, 4 vols. (Vienna: Gemeinde Wien 1926–1928). A much abridged version was published in English: Danneberg, *Vienna under Socialist Rule*. See also Robert Danneberg, *Zehn Jahre Neues Wien* (Vienna: Wiener Volkbuchhandlung, 1929). For recent monographs and exhibition catalogues, all of which deal in considerable detail with the program, see note 11, above.

83 For administrative reforms 1919–1920, see Seliger and Ucakar, *Wien*, 2:1027–1038.

84 On the constitutional amendment, see *ibid.*, 2:1038–1048.

85 For a detailed account of the administrative history of the city of Vienna, see Felix Czeike and Peter Csendes, *Die*

Geschichte der Magistratsabteilungen der Stadt Wien 1902-1970, Wiener Schriften, Heft 33, 34 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1971, 1972).

86 On Tandler, see Karl Sablik, *Julius Tandler: Mediziner und Sozialreformer: Eine Biographie* (Vienna: A. Schendl, 1983); on the health and welfare program, see *Das Neue Wien*, vol. 2 (1926); Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, 159-165; Patzer, *Streiflichter*. In English the most detailed account is in Gulick, *Austria*, 1:505-543. For a critical analysis of the program see Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 65-73, 146-179; Melinz and Ungar, *Wohlfahrt und Krise*, esp. 30-33, 51-122.

87 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:505.

88 *Ibid.*, 507; Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 16.

89 In 1869 only 21 percent of workers employed in trade and industry in Vienna were married. This increased steadily: in 1890 29 percent were married; in 1910, 35 percent. See Josef Ehmer, *Familienstruktur und Arbeitsorganisation im frühindustriellen Wien* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1984).

90 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:509. See also Dieter Langewiesche, "Politische Orientierung und soziales Verhalten: Familienleben und Wohnverhältnisse von Arbeitern im 'roten' Wien der Ersten Republik," in Lutz Niethammer, ed., *Wohnen im Wandel* (Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, 1979), 171-187.

91 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 146-147.

92 Quoted in Gulick, *Austria*, 1:508-509. Regarding the social Darwinism of Tandler's ideas, see Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 65-73. See also Doris Beyer, "Sexualität—Macht—Wohlfahrt: Zeitgemässe Erinnerungen an das 'Rote Wien,'" *Zeit Geschichte* 14 (1987): 453-459.

93 For the municipal kindergarten system of instruction etc., see Philipp Frankowski and Karl Gottlieb, *Die Kindergärten der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, 1927). The effectiveness of these programs and facilities, which were often located in the *Gemeindebauten*, is discussed in chapter 6.

94 This was one of the most controversial and least successful parts of Tandler's program; see Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 68-

69, 158. Beyer, "Sexualität," 453, underscores the social Darwinism of Tandler's population politics and the frightening implications of some of his eugenic proposals for sterilizing adults considered to be unfit for reproduction and parenthood.

95 Cremation was another controversial part of the socializing health and welfare program. There were fierce public debates (heavily tinged with anti-Semitism) over the practice, which opponents considered un-Christian and which was opposed by the Catholic Church. See Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 72.

96 *Das Neue Wien*, 1:602-605.

97 Beyer, "Sexualität," 453-459; Reinhard Sieder, "Housing Policy, Social Welfare, and Family Life in 'Red Vienna,' 1919-34," *Oral History* 13, no. 2 (1985): 35-48. Further oral histories conducted by Sieder, Gottfried Pirhofer, Peter Feldbauer, and Michael John concern many other aspects of working-class life in Red Vienna as well. Tapes and typed transcripts of the interviews are at the Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Vienna University. See also Gottfried Pirhofer and Reinhard Sieder, "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie im Roten Wien: Familienpolitik, Kulturreform, Alltag und Aesthetik," in Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder, eds., *Historische Familienforschung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982), 326-368.

98 See Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 146-154. These issues are discussed further in relation to the building program in chapter 6.

99 See Sieder, "Housing Policy, Social Welfare," 43-45. For the origins of the concept of the "orderly" or "proper" worker family, see Josef Ehmer, "Familie und Klasse: Zur Entstehung der Arbeiterfamilie in Wien," in Mitterauer and Sieder, *Historische Familienforschung*, 300-325.

100 See Pirhofer and Sieder, "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie," 358. See also Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 71.

101 See J. Robert Wegs, *Growing Up Working Class: Continuity and Change among Viennese Youth, 1890-1938* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989); idem, "Working-Class Respectability: The Viennese Experience," *Journal of Social History* 15 (1982): 627-635; Anton Pelinka,

"Learning from the Civil War: The Political System of the First and Second Republics," in Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*, 93.

102 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 72-73.

103 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:508. See Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 50-55.

104 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:587. See also Josef Weidenholzer, *Auf dem Weg zum "Neuen Menschen": Bildungs- und Kulturarbeit der österreichischen Sozialdemokratie in der Ersten Republik* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1981).

105 On the school reforms designed by Otto Glöckl, see Czeike, *Wirtschafts und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 11, 271-281; Gulick, *Austria*, 1:556-583. For a description of educational values under the monarchy, see Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 73-74.

106 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 73-80.

107 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:668-669. The *Kunststelle* was one of the more problematic and less successful parts of the cultural program, clearly directed toward weaning workers from traditional forms of popular culture. See Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 98-102.

108 Anton Pelinka, "Kommunalpolitik als Gegenmacht: Das 'rote Wien' als Beispiel gesellschaftsverändernder Reformpolitik," in Karl-Heinz Nassmacher, ed., *Kommunalpolitik und Sozialdemokratie: Der Beitrag des demokratischen Sozialismus zur kommunalen Selbstverwaltung* (Bonn: Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, 1977), 63-77.

109 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 101, 102-111.

110 Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 11, 274; Dieter Langewiesche, "Arbeiterkultur in Österreich: Aspekte, Tendenzen und Thesen," in Gerhard A. Ritter, ed., *Arbeiterkultur* (Königstein: Verlagsgruppe Athenäum, Hain, Scriptor Hainstein, 1979), 40-57. See also Maimann, *Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit*, the catalogue of an exhibition in Vienna dedicated to Bruno Kreisky (Social Democratic chancellor of Austria from 1970 to 1983), which documents the entire cultural movement promoted by the Social Democrats.

111 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 52-54. There were, however, a few surveys taken, the most famous of which, concerning women factory and home workers, were carried out by Käthe Leichter, an official in the Wiener Arbeiterkammer (Vienna Labor Board). See Käthe Leichter, *Wie leben die Wiener Hauschöpfung?* (Vienna: Wiener Arbeiterkammer, 1926), idem, *Wie leben die Wiener Heimarbeiter?: Eine Erhebung über die Arbeits- und Lebensverhältnisse von tausend Wiener Heimarbeitern* (Vienna: Wiener Arbeiterkammer, 1928), idem, *So leben wir... 1320 Industriearbeiterinnen berichten über ihr Leben* (Vienna: Wiener Arbeiterkammer, 1932).

112 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 85. See also David Josef Bach, "Programm für das Jahr 1927/28," *Kunst und Gewerkschaft* 6 (1927): 1-8; Hans Tietze, "Demokratie und Kunstförderung," *Der Kampf* 26 (1933): 303-305.

113 Richard Wagner, "Sozialistischer Kulturbund," *Bildungsarbeit* 13, no. (1926): 41-43.

114 For oral histories, see note 97. For an insightful discussion of the relationship between socialist counterculture and traditional forms of working-class culture, as well as new forms of mass culture, see Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 114-145.

115 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 145; Charles S. Maier, "The Weaknesses of the Socialist Strategy: A Comparative Perspective," in Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*, 247-251.

116 Prewar municipal housing is discussed in chapter 2; the methods of financing Red Vienna's building program are discussed in chapter 4.

117 For the chronology and phasing of the building program, see Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 11, 50-59. See also Gulick, *Austria*, 1:434; Hardy, *Housing Program*, 54-55. For a more detailed account of municipal building activities from 1919 to 1923, see Anton Weber, "Wiener Wohnungs- und Sozialpolitik," in *Das Neue Wien*, 1:215-216; "Die Volkswohnungen der Gemeinde Wien," in *Das Neue Wien*, 3:49-51.

118 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 21 September 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/15): 2496.

- 119 Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik*, 128–139; Seliger and Ucakar, *Wien*, 2:1100–1104.
- 120 Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, 2:53–56.
- 121 *Ibid.*, 54–55.
- 122 *Ibid.*, 55.
- 123 Otto Bauer, *Der Weg zum Sozialismus*, 6–9, translated as Bauer, "Political and Social Revolution," 150.
- 124 Regarding Bauer's theory of the balance of class power, see Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 39.
- 125 *Ibid.*, 30.
- 126 See Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*, especially part 2, "Political Power, the State, and Violence" (57–118). Rabinbach himself demonstrates that the institutional strategy of Red Vienna was a source of solidarity but also of dissent within the party, particularly on the part of the *Jugendfront* (youth organizations), which (in opposition to the party leadership) attempted to turn institutionalism into a more active political strategy. See Rabinbach, *Crisis of Austrian Socialism*, 75–79, 157–158.
- 127 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 183. Gruber discusses the origins of the concept of "politics of illusion" in relation to fin de siècle Vienna in Carl E. Schorske's "Politics in a New Key: An Austrian Triptych," *Journal of Modern History* 39 (1967); 343–386, and William J. McGrath's concept of "the politics of metaphor" in *Diavolism Art and Populist Politics in Austria* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974). Gruber points out that in the case of Red Vienna, however, the cultural project was theorized within Austro-Marxist thought as an instrument in the class struggle.
- 128 For his warnings, see Otto Neurath, "Rationalismus, Arbeiterschaft und Baugestaltung," *Der Aufbau*, no. 4 (1926): 49–54, for the claim that political revolution must proceed social revolution, see *idem*, "Lebensgestaltung und Klassenkampf," in Max Adler, ed., *Schriftenreihe Neue Menschen* (Berlin: E. Laub, 1928), 5–8.
- 129 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:504.
- 130 Peter Marcuse, "The Housing Policy of Social Democracy: Determinants and Consequences," in Rabinbach, *Austrian Socialist Experiment*, 215, 218. See also *idem*, "A Useful Installment of Socialist Work: Housing in Red Vienna in the 1920s," in Rachel G. Bratt, Chester Hartman, and Ann Meyerson, eds., *Critical Perspectives on Housing* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 579–580.

Chapter 2. The Historical City

Chapter epigraph: 1. *Das Neue Wien*, 4 vols. (Vienna: Gemeinde Wien, 1926–1928), 1:193.

1 Charles A. Gulick, *Austria from Habsburg to Hitler*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 1:644, notes the idiomatic German usage of the word *Kultur*: "It comprises not only science, the humanities and arts, but also wide aspects of everyday life. It may embrace the various aspects of the *dopo lavoro*, in which instance it assumes the specific character of a value judgment. This becomes apparent when—as here—certain traditional habits of workers are rejected as *Unkultur* (lack of culture)."

2 Charles O. Hardy, assisted by Robert R. Kuczynski, *The Housing Program of the City of Vienna* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1934), 2–3; Anton Weber, *Die Wohnungspolitik der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Deutscher Österreichischer Städtebund, 1926), 7–8.

3 An earlier drinking-water conduit, the Kaiser Ferdinands-Wasserleitung, had used filtered water from the Danube. See Felix Czeike and Renate Banik-Schweitzer, eds., *Historischer Atlas Der Stadt Wien* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1981–). In 1850 the municipality of Vienna for the first time acquired a certain amount of administrative autonomy and was able to operate independently of the imperial court bureaucracy. See Maren Seliger and Karl Ucakar, *Wien: Politische Geschichte*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1985), 2:1201–1202. For the municipal policy and program of the Liberal administration in Vienna (1861–1895), see Felix Czeike, *Liberalie, Christlichsoziale und Sozialdemokratische Kommunalpolitik (1861–1934): Dargestellt am Beispiel der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1962), 30–60; Felix Czeike, ed., *Wien in der liberalen Ära: Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1978). A de-

nated account of the public works carried out during the Liberal and Christian Socialist city administrations is given in Paul Kortz, *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Verlag von Gerlach and Wiedling, 1905–1906). The work of the city building office during this period is outlined in a commemorative volume: Rudolf Tillmann, ed., *Festschrift herausgegeben anlässlich der Hunderjahrfeier des Wiener stadtbaunamtes* (Vienna: Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1935). For the history of urban development from Roman settlement to 1945, see the catalogue of an exhibition by Wolfgang Mayer, *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens bis 1945* (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1978).

4 There is an extensive bibliography on the Ringstrasse; the most comprehensive single work on the development of the Ring and the area around it is the multivolume work Renate Wagner-Rieger, ed., *Die Wiener Ringstrasse: Bild einer Epoche*, 12 vols. (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1969–1980). See also Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970); Hans Bobek and Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Wien: Bauliche Gestalt und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Verlag Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1978); Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Wirtschaftsfunktion und Sozialstruktur der Wiener Ringstrasse*, vol. 6 of Wagner-Rieger, *Die Wiener Ringstrasse*. For Carl Schorske's analysis of the Ringstrasse in terms of the Liberal politico-cultural context, see his *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1980), 24–115. For a comparative study of nineteenth-century urbanism in Vienna, Paris, and London, see Donald Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

5 Kortz, *Wien*, 2:61–64.

6 *Ibid.*, 61–67.

7 *Ibid.*, 66.

8 Renate Banik-Schweitzer, "Liberale Kommunalpolitik in Bereichen der technischen Infrastruktur Wiens" in Czeike, *Wien in der liberalen Ära*, 91–119.

9 For the administrative history of Vienna during this period, see Seliger and Ucakar, *Wien*, 1:289–335, 372–427; Czeike, *Kommunalpolitik*, 27–60. See also Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, 24–62.

10 Wolfgang Häusler, "Von der Manufaktur zum Maschinensturm," in Renate Banik-Schweitzer et al., *Wien im Vormärz* (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1980), 32–56.

11 Kortz, *Wien*, 2:61–62. In 1777 Maria Theresia had proposed the expansion of the inner city by building on the glacis.

12 Renate Banik-Schweitzer and Wolfgang Pircher, "Zur Wohnsituation der Massen im Wien des Vormärz," in Banik-Schweitzer et al., *Wien im Vormärz*, 133–174. For an excellent discussion in English, see Renate Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," in M. J. Daunton, ed., *Housing the Workers, 1850–1914: A Comparative Perspective* (London: Leicester University Press, 1990), 107–148. Before 1848 *Vorstadt* immigration was largely artisanal. The majority of immigrants after 1850 were unskilled workers (servants in the inner city).

13 Engels's book was written in 1844 and was first published in German in 1845: Friedrich Engels, *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England* (Leipzig: Verlag Otto Wiegand, 1845).

14 Kortz, *Wien*, 2:56–57; Seliger and Ucakar, *Wien*, 1:110–113; Renate Banik-Schweitzer and Gerhard Meissl, *Industriestadt Wien: Die Durchsetzung der industriellen Marktproduktion in der Habsburgerresidenz* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1983), 101–103.

15 See Josef Ehmer, "Produktion und Reproduktion in der Wiener Manufakturperiode," in Banik-Schweitzer et al., *Wien im Vormärz*, 107–132, and Banik-Schweitzer and Pircher, "Zur Wohnsituation der Massen," 133–174; Banik-Schweitzer and Meissl, *Industriestadt Wien*, 39–47.

16 Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Die Wiener Altstadt: Von der mittelalterlichen Bürgerstadt zur City* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1977), 110–120.

17 For the court quartering system, see Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Vienna: Bridge between Cultures*, trans. Dietlinde Mühlhagssner and Craig Reisser (London: Belhaven Press, 1993), 15–16, 31; Kortz, *Wien*, 2:60.

18 See Lichtenberger, "Der Beginn der Miethauswesens 1560," in *Wiener Altstadt*, map portfolio; Lichtenberger, *Vienna*, 15.

19 Lichtenberger, *Vienna*, 15–16.

20 See Lichtenberger, *Wiener Altstadt*, 117. Renate Banik-Schweitzer has recently determined that *Hofhäuser* were built in the inner city of Vienna as early as the sixteenth century.

21 For the *Hofhaus* and baroque palace, see Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Das Wiener Bürgerhaus des Barock und Klassizismus* (Vienna: Hollinek, 1957), 7–36. Olsen, *City as a Work of Art*, 58, quotes the comments of English visitors to Vienna in the eighteenth century, who remarked on the brightness of the light in Vienna and its effect on the richly carved surfaces of the buildings.

22 Regarding the Linienwall, see Kortz, *Wien*, 2:55–56.

23 Mayer, *Städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens*, 12–14; Banik-Schweitzer, “Vienna,” 113–115.

24 For modernization of the Linienwall, see Kortz, *Wien*, 2:56.

25 Banik-Schweitzer, “Vienna,” 113.

26 See Czeike and Schweitzer, *Historischer Atlas von Wien*, a fascinating and beautifully produced set of documents. The product of ongoing research in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, it shows in graphic form (primarily maps) the historical evolution of the city of Vienna and its urban forms. Late-nineteenth-century planning practices are discussed further in chapter 8.

27 For the Biedermeier, see Robert Weissenberger, ed., *Vienna in the Biedermeier Era, 1815–1848* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986). William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History, 1848–1938* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 18–23; Elisabeth Koller-Glück, *Wiener Biedermeier Häuser* (Vienna: Herold Verlag, 1985); Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert*, 9–75.

28 Renata Kassa-Mikula, “Architecture from 1815 to 1848,” in Weissenberger, *Biedermeier Era*, 88. See also Mitchell Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 16–17, 163–165; Johnston, *Austrian Mind*, 20.

29 Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory*, 164; Renata Kassa-Mikula, “Architecture,” 139, argues that the middle classes were not subjects of bourgeois culture in Josefine Vienna; “the crucial impulses were prepared by an earlier age and at a higher social level.”

30 Schwarzer also makes this point in *German Architectural Theory*, 165.

31 See Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert*, 43–50; Koller-Glück, *Wiener Biedermeier Häuser*, 11–13.

32 For the building code of 1829, see Wilhelm Gerhard Goutta, *Fortsetzung der von Josef Kropatschek verfassten Sammlung der Gesetze*, 55. Band, Gesetze vom 1. Januar bis letzten December 1829 (Vienna, 1831). See also Kortz, *Wien*, 2:57, 60; Tillmann, *Festschrift stadthausmusem*, 224–225. Though a state law, its enforcement in Vienna was the responsibility of the municipality.

33 See Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert*, 79–88; Kassa-Mikula, “Architecture,” 139–145.

34 Koller-Glück, *Wiener Biedermeier Häuser*, 16–24.

35 For the Stadtverschönerungs-Kommission see Kortz, *Wien*, 2:60. For Loos’s comments about the commission and its role, see Adolf Loos, “Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz,” in *Der Künstlerkreis um Adolf Loos, Aufbruch zur Jahrhundertwende, Parnass*, Sonderheft 2 (1985): ii–xi. (Loos’s comments were made in the context of a lecture delivered in Vienna on 12 November 1911.)

36 Kassa-Mikula, “Architecture,” 139.

37 Wagner-Rieger, *Das Bürgerhaus*, 35; Wagner-Rieger does not relate her observation to the building codes or the Stadtverschönerungs-Kommission. This disconnection between inner and outer also suggests a historical foundation for one of the constant themes of Viennese life and culture, as well as a central preoccupation of nineteenth-century architectural theory, with the relationship between interior and exterior, public and private life. The relationship of Biedermeier architectural composition to mid- and late-nineteenth-century architectural theory, and Gottfried Semper’s *Bekleidungslehre* in particular, is explored in chapter 9 below.

38 Wagner-Rieger, *Wien Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert*, 43.

39 For Kornhäusel, see *ibid.*, 57–62. Georg W. Rizzi and Roland L. Schachel, *Die Zinsbörse im Spätwerk Josef Kornhäusels* (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1979).

40 Theodor Jaeger, "Der Wohnbau auf Wiener Boden," in Tillman, *Festschrift stadtbaumeister*, 187–191.

41 Kortz, *Wien*, 1:55–56; Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 109.

42 Banik-Schweitzer and Meisl, *Industriestadt Wien*, 39–41. The *Nordbahn*, one of the earliest lines, was later extended to Galicia, and played a significant role in immigration from Galicia (mostly Jewish) in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Leopoldstadt (district II), where the main station of the northern railway line was located, was heavily populated by Jewish immigrants.

43 *Ibid.*, 41, 108–121.

44 *Ibid.*, 116–119.

45 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:19.

46 Kortz, *Wien*, 2:65; Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 110.

47 A description of the *Rasterblock* (grid) system of development in these areas in the 1870s and 1880s is given by the future director of the city building office, Heinrich Goldemund, in "Der Städtebau mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der gesundheitlichen Anforderungen an eine Regulierungsplan," in *Separatdruck aus der Monatschrift für Gemeindefrage*, nos. 7/8 (Vienna: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1903), 5.

48 Kortz, *Wien*, 2:67–69; Günther Dürig, "Portraits of a City—Configuration and Change," in Robert Weissenberger, ed., *Vienna, 1890–1920* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984), 21.

49 For the *Terraingulasthofen* and speculative development during this period, see Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 117. For the stock market crash and its consequences, see Banik-Schweitzer and Meisl, *Industriestadt Wien*, 122–133. For the international exposition, see Robert Weissenberger, ed.,

Träum und Wirklichkeit: Wien 1870–1930 (Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1985), 64–67.

50 Banik-Schweitzer and Pircher, "Zur Wohnsituation der Massen," 133–174; Renate Banik-Schweitzer, *Zur sozioökonomischen Gliederung Wiens 1869–1934*, Publikationen des Instituts für Stadtforschung vol. 63 (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1982).

51 Kortz, *Wien*, 2:70.

52 Bobek and Lichtenberger, *Wien*, 216.

53 Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 123–126.

54 The building code of 1829 required running water in all new buildings. See Tillmann, *Festschrift stadtbaumeister*, 224–225; and Hardy, *Housing Program*, 127.

55 For a precise definition of the terms used to describe dwelling space in Vienna, see Anton Weber, *The Housing Policy of the Municipality of Vienna*, ed. Karl Honey (Vienna: Deutsch-Österreichischer Städtebund, 1926), 3: "In Vienna habitable spaces are sharply divided into two kinds: rooms and 'cabinets' (*Kabinett*). This latter local term has not by any means a connotation precisely equivalent to the conception customary elsewhere of a 'small room' (*Kammer*). The cabinet is a habitable space, usually capable of being heated, not always directly lighted from outside, which has just as regularly one window as a room has at least two. It can thus fairly accurately be reckoned equal to half a room. The distinction between room and cabinet is needed, because in a mere enumeration of premises, dwellings of very different kinds would come under one group."

56 Wolfgang Höl and Gottfried Pirhofer, *Wohnen in Wien 1848–1938: Studien zur Konstitution des Massenwohnens* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1988), 12.

57 Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 112.

58 For purpose-built tenements see Bobek and Lichtenberger, *Wien*, 91–92; Jaeger, "Der Wohnbau," 187–201. For a sociospatial study of the same in relation to the city plan of Vienna, see Renate Banik-Schweitzer, "Production and Reduction of Social Segregation in Vienna through the Inter-War Period," in *Urban Space and Identity in the European City*,

1890–1930s, Central European University History Department, Working Paper Series 3 (Budapest: Central European University, 1995), 25–34.

59 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:409; Weber, *Wohnungspolitik*, 3–5.

60 Regarding the building code, see Hardy, *Housing Program*, 127. For the code itself, see *Bauordnung für die k.k. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien, Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich*. Jg. 1859, LII Sdk. vom 29. September 1859.

61 The only stricture regarding sanitation was the provision of one toilet for every two apartments; Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 142. For planning projects carried out during this period in the outer districts of Vienna, see Mayer, *Städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens*, 62–65.

62 The requirements regarding underground dwellings became more stringent with this amendment, however. See Hardy, *Housing Program*, 128.

63 *Ibid.*, 129.

64 Philippovich quoted in Gulick, *Austria*, 1:413. Hösl and Pirhofer, *Wohnen in Wien*, 58–63, note the ideological bias (middle-class values) of Philippovich's critique of working class living conditions. See also Michael John, *Hausberrenmacht und Mieterleid. Wohnverhältnisse und Wohnverfäbrung der Unterschichten in Wien, 1890–1923* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1982), 108–130; *idem*, *Wohnverhältnisse sozialer Unterschichten im Wien Kaiser Franz-Josef* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1984), 95–121; Hubert Ehalt et al., *Glücklich in, wer vergisst . . . ? Das andere Wien um 1900* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1986), in particular the contributions by Josef Ehmer, Peter Feldbauer, Jan Tabbor, and Reinhard Sieder.

65 Hitler is quoted in Werner Hegemann, *City Planning Housing*, 3 vols. (New York: Architectural Book Publishing, 1936–1938), 1:229.

66 Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 129. See also Reinhard Sieder, "Yata, derf i aufstehn?" Kindheitserfahrungen in Wiener Arbeiterfamilien um 1900," in Ehalt et al., *Glücklich in*, 39–112.

67 Gerhard Habarta et al., *Wohnen in Wien: Wohnbau mit Gewinnung* (Vienna: Euopalia 87 Österreich, 1987), 24–32.

68 See notes 32 and 35 above, regarding early- and mid-nineteenth-century building codes. The local characterization of this practice is referred to in Elsie Altmann-Loos, *Mein Leben mit Adolf Loos* (Vienna: Amalthea Verlag, 1984), 308.

69 For Loos's "Potemkinstadt" polemics, originally published in *Ver Sacrum*, July 1898, see Adolf Loos, *Spoken into the Void: Collected Essays, 1897–1900*, trans. Jane O. Newman and John H. Smith (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982), 95–97.

70 Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 143; Korta, *Wien*, 2: 66–70.

71 Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 114.

72 Rodenberg quoted in Hösl and Pirhofer, *Wohnen in Wien*, 15.

73 Olsen, *City as a Work of Art*, 66, notes the absence of omnibus and cab transportation in Vienna in the middle of the nineteenth century.

74 Mayer, *Städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens*, 18, 21.

75 For a detailed discussion of the incorporation and subsequent planning, see Renate Schweitzer, "Der Generalregulierungsplan für Wien (1893–1920)," *Berichte zur Raumforschung und Raumplanung*, no. 6 (1970): 23–41. See also Mayer, *Städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens*, 20–22.

76 The following discussion of the *Generalregulierungsplan* competition and its partial realization is based on Schweitzer, "Generalregulierungsplan," and Heinrich Goldemann, "Der städtebauliche Werdegang Wiens," in Tillmann, *Festschrift städtebaumes*, 69–80.

77 In the meantime a smaller invited competition of three months' duration was held for the development of a building plan for the Stubenviertel, the inner-city quarter along the still-incomplete eastern section of the Ringstrasse. A key site abutting the Danube canal, and at the head of the Aspernbrücke, the Stubenviertel development involved removal of

the Franz-Josefs-Kaserne, a former military barracks built in the 1850s; alignment of the Ringstrasse and inner city with the new bridge; and incorporation of the projected municipal railway and Danube Canal harbor. The winning scheme, by the architectural partnership of Karl and Rudolf Mayreder, was not implemented. Juried before the *Generalregulierungsplan* competition, which also encompassed the Stubbenviertel, it was superseded by the winning schemes for the general development plan itself. See Kortz, *Wien*, 2:76; Mayer, *Städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens*, 22–24, 90–91; Renate Banik-Schweitzer, "Zugleich ist auch bei der Stadterweiterung die Regulierung der inneren Stadt im Auge zu behalten, Die Wiener Altstadt und die Ringstrassenzone im Tertiärisierungsprozess des 19. Jahrhunderts," in Gerhard Tehl and Juan Rodriguez-Lores, eds., *Stadt-Umbau: Die planmässige Erneuerung europäischer Grossstädte zwischen Wiener Kongress und Weimarer Republik* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1995), 110–126. The plan and opposition to it (particularly by Camillo Sitte) are discussed in George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 59.

78 For German planning theory and the concept of three-dimensional functional zoning, see in particular Josef Stübben, *Der Städtebau* (Darmstadt: Bergsträsser, 1890), and Olfert Karnau, *Hermann Josef Stübben: Städtebau 1876–1930* (Wiesbaden: Vieweg, 1996). For the complete publishing history of this volume and Stübben's many other publications, as well as extensive bibliography on German planning theory by Baumeister and others, see the bibliography in Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, 422–431.

79 Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 143.

80 Kortz, *Wien*, 2:72–76; Mayer, *Städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens*, 21–26. The quotation is from "Prize Competition for a General Improvement Plan of the City of Vienna," reprinted in Arthur Cawston, *A Comprehensive Scheme for Street Improvements in London* (London: Edward Stanford, 1893), 123–124.

81 Kortz, *Wien*, 2:76–77; Mayer, *Städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens*, 25–26. On Stübben, see note 78, and Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, 45–50, 348–350. Wagner's scheme was published twice: once privately at his own expense, on 1 March 1894, and again in the *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereins* 9 (1894): 128–130.

82 Schweitzer, "Generalregulierungsplan," 30–41.

83 Tillmann, *Festschrift stadtbauamtes*, 75–76.

84 For Sitte's critique and broader influence, see Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, 41, 59–60.

85 For the interconnected ideas of Stübben and Sitte, see *ibid.*, 97–99.

86 Lueger's ratification as mayor was withheld until 1897 by Emperor Franz-Josef, who objected to his rabble-rousing anti-Semitism and tirades against big business, the established authorities, and Hungary. See Weissenberger, "Politics in Vienna Before and After the Turn of the Century" in Weissenberger, *Vienna, 1890–1920*, 40.

87 For Lueger and the new mass politics, see Schorske, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, 116–180. Other cultural histories of the period include Ilsa Barea, *Vienna* (New York: Knopf, 1966); Paul Hofmann, *The Viennese: Splendor, Twilight, and Exile* (New York: Doubleday, 1988); Hilde Spiel, *Vienna's Golden Autumn, 1866–1938* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987).

88 Kortz, *Wien*, *passim*; Czeike, *Kommunalpolitik*, 61–82.

89 For a comprehensive study of Wagner and the *Stadtbahn*, see Günther Kolb, *Otto Wagner und die Wiener Stadtbahn*, 2 vols., *Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft*, Band 29/1 (Munich: Scang Verlag, 1989). For discussion of the perspectives, see 154–202.

90 In addition to Kolb, *Otto Wagner*; the following works deal with the *Stadtbahn* in the context of Vienna's urban development: Ernst Kurz, *Die Städtebauliche Entwicklung der Stadt Wien in Beziehung zum Verkehr*; *Beiträge zur Stadtforschung, Stadtentwicklung und Stadtgestaltung*, Heft 6 (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 1981); Erich Schöss, *Die Vorortelne* (Vienna: Georg Franchner Verlag, 1987). See also August Winter, "Die Wiener Städtischen Verkehrsmittel, in Tillmann, *Festschrift stadtbauamtes*, 404–410; Kortz, *Wien*, 1:110–122.

91 It should be noted that fares were too high for most workers to use the train as a regular means of transport and from work. Workers tended to live close to their places of work.

92 See note 88. The inner-city street connections were executed in connection with the completion of the last part of the Ringstrasse, the Stubenring, and as part of the Stubenring development; see note 77.

93 Regarding the *Wald- und Wiesengürtel*, see Heinrich Goldemund, *Generalprojekt eines Wald- und Wiesengürtels und einer Höhenstrasse für die Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien*, Sonderabdruck aus der *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereines* 33 (1905); and Mayer, *Städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens*, 97-101.

94 Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, 355 n. 67.

95 Banik-Schweitzer, "Generalregulierungsplan," 41.

96 Goldemund, *Wald- und Wiesengürtel*.

97 For the political significance of the Postsparkasse, see Schorsch, *Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, 90.

98 See note 88.

99 Banik-Schweitzer, *Zur soziahäumlichen Gliederung*.

100 For a detailed account of the housing policies of the Lueger government, see Albert Lichtblau, *Wiener Wohnungspolitik 1892-1919* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1984).

101 Felix Czeike, "Wiener Wohnbau vom Vormärz bis 1923," in Karl Mang, ed., *Kommunaler Wohnbau in Wien: Aufbruch 1923-1934 Ausstrahlung* (Vienna: Presse- und Informationsdienst der Stadt Wien, 1977) n.p. Regarding the organization of the building trades, see Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 118. Generally in Vienna during this period speculative building was carried out by small builders, while the building materials' producers and suppliers were large concerns. Working-class housing in particular was left to small builders because it was not profitable enough for limited companies.

102 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:410. See also Peter Feldbauer, "Wohnungsproduktion am Beispiel Wien (1848-1934)," in Lutz Neidhammer, ed., *Wohnen in Wandel* (Wuppertal: Hammer Verlag, 1979), 317-343. Though some of the worst old

buildings were demolished in the years immediately preceding the war, the size and layout of apartments in the small number of new tenements built in the early teens remained more or less the same as before.

103 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:411. These figures come from *Österreichische Statistik*, vol. 65, part 1 (Vienna, 1904).

104 For description of the system of *Bettgeber* in Vienna, see Gulick, *Austria*, 412; Renate Banik-Schweitzer, "Die Kleinwohnungsfrage in Wien um die Jahrhundertwende," in Juan Rodríguez-Lores and Gerhard Fehl, eds., *Die Kleinwohnungsfrage: Zu den Ursprüngen des Sozialen Wohnungsbau*, Stadtplanung-Geschichte, vol. 8 (Hamburg: Christians, 1988), 432. See also Josef Ehmer, "Wohnen ohne eigene Wohnung: Zur Sozialen Stellung von Untermietern und Bettgehern," in *Niedhammer, Wohnen in Wandel*, 132-150. Renate Banik-Schweitzer, "Wohnverhältnisse in Berlin, Wien und Budapest um die Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert," in Klaus Fehn et al., *Siedlungsforschung. Archäologie-Geschichte-Geographie*, vol. 5 (Bonn: Verlag Siedlungsforschung, 1987), 177-204, points out that bed-tenants existed in Berlin (where they were called *Schlafleute*) and in Budapest. Not all were excluded from the family life of the tenants.

105 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:414.

106 Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 139.

107 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:414; John *Hauservermacht* 29-30.

108 *Albeiter-Zeitung* quoted in John, *Hauservermacht*, 38; reprinted in English in Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 139.

109 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:413.

110 Banik-Schweitzer and Meissl, *Industriestadt, Wien 35-38*, 46-47, 135, 140-141. Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 15, 16, notes that by 1919 there were more middle-sized industries. See also Barea, *Vienna*, 344-353, for a highly evocative description of working-class factory life.

111 Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 136, 122.

112 *Ibid.*, 125, 136; Seliger and Ucakar, *Wien*, 1:455.

113 Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 135.

114 *Ibid.*, 137.

115 *Ibid.*, 137. Landlords also had their own organizations to represent their interests.

116 *Ibid.*, 136. Rent taxes were the largest component of city revenues until 1914.

117 *Ibid.*, 137. For the action taken by the Lueger administration in the field of housing reform, see Hardy, *Housing Program*, 132–133; Gulick, *Austria*, 1:415–416; Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindefaust des Rates Wien 1919–1934* (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), 17–21; Anton Weber, "Wiener Wohnungs- und Sozialpolitik," in *Das Neue Wien*, 1:200–205.

118 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:414–415.

119 Large manufacturers such as the Wienerberger Brick Factory and Building Company, the Südbahn Gesellschaft (Southern Railway Company), and a few others built housing in districts X and XII for their employees in the 1870s and 1880s. These differed little, certainly in plan and amenities, from the speculative tenements built during the same time, although externally they tended (particularly the *Südbahn* housing) to dispense with the typical facade embellishments. On the *Stadterweiterungsfonds* housing as well as the railway housing, see Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 131–132; Kortz, *Wien*, 2:451–458; Karl Mang, *Das Rote Wien* (Vienna: Museum der Stadt Wien, 1993), 46–47.

120 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:415–416. See also note 118 above, and Jaeger, "Der Wohnbau auf Wiener Boden," Tillmann, *Festschrift stadtbanamtes*, 198–199; Hösl and Pirhofer, *Wohnen in Wien*, 82–86.

121 Philippovich quoted in Gulick, *Austria*, 1:420.

122 See chapter 1 regarding the nuclear family as the basic unit of state in the nineteenth-century discourse on housing reform. See Josef Ehmer, "Vaterlandslose Gesellen und respektable Familienväter: Entwicklungsformen der Arbeiterfamilie im internationalen Vergleich, 1850–1930," in Helmut Konrad, ed., *Die deutsche und die österreichische*

Arbeiterbewegung zur Zeit der Zweiten Internationale (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1982), 136–138. For a general discussion of the issue, see Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

123 Kortz, *Wien*, 2:452–453. For an earlier unexecuted design for worker housing with communal facilities (including a library, gym, laundry, kindergarden, and soup kitchen) by Christian Ludwig Förster in 1847/1848, see Habarta et al., *Wohnen in Wien*, 60–62.

124 See, for example, Bobek and Lichtenberger, *Wien*, 111; Czeike, "Wiener Wohnbau," n.p.

125 Hösl and Pirhofer, *Wohnen in Wien*, 87–90. An exception was the Vienna Tramwaygesellschaft (Tramway Co.) that built extensive housing for its employees on land adjacent to its workshops and in renovated stations. See Mang, *Das Rote Wien*, 46–47. The possibility of using taxes to finance housing was also proposed at this time by the Center for Housing Reform in Austria (Zentralstelle für Wohnungsreform in Österreich), an advocacy group founded in 1907 whose members were for the most part middle-class professionals, intellectuals, and Social Democrats associated with the German Garden City Association (Deutsche Gartenstadt Gesellschaft). The objectives of the *Zentralstelle* were published in 1907: *Mitteilungen der Zentralstelle für Wohnungsreform in Österreich*, no. 1 (April 1907), 6–9. For the Austrian Garden City Movement and its relation to the German movement, see Wilfried Posch, *Die Wiener Gartenstadt-bewegung: Reformversuch Zwischen erster und zweiter Gründerzeit* (Vienna: Edition Tusch, 1981), 29–35. In 1909, after unsuccessfully campaigning for a reduction of the rent tax, the *Zentralstelle* proposed that a portion of the city's revenues from the rent tax be used to endow a "welfare housing fund." In 1910, as a concession to the Liberal and Social Democratic interests represented by the *Zentralstelle* and other reform groups, a law (the *Kleinwohnungsförderungsgesetz*) was passed that made funds derived from taxes available to nonprofit building organizations for second mortgages to finance the construction of small dwellings (*Kleinwohnungen*). The effect of this law was the emergence of a large number of cooperative building societies in Vienna—whose number increased from seven in 1910 to sixty in 1912. But the law really served only middle-class building societies, since the mortgages had to be raised on the capital market,

land values were subject to market forces, and 10 percent of the building costs had to be raised by the association in order to qualify for the mortgage—few workers had such capital. See Bank-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 144-145; Wolfgang Hösl, "Die Anfänge der gemeinnützigen und genossenschaftlichen Bautätigkeit in Wien" (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 1979), 162.

126 Maren Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie und Kommunalpolitik in Wien: Zu einigen Aspekten sozialdemokratischer Politik in der Vor- und Zwischenkriegszeit*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 49 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1980), 39, 42.

127 Weber, "Wiener Wohnungs- und Sozialpolitik," in *Das Neue Wien*, 1:204.

128 Hardy, *Housing Program*, 42-44; Gulick, *Austria*, 1: 421-422.

129 Hardy, *Housing Program*, 45.

130 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:422-423.

131 In January 1917 the first of three imperial decrees was issued to protect the rights of tenants against uncontrolled rent increases and summary eviction. Rent increases for small apartments (those with fewer than two full-size rooms) were allowed only to cover changes in the cost of upkeep, taxes, and interest rates—and were prohibited entirely in the case of families of soldiers. A year later this provision was extended, by order of a second decree issued in January 1918, to include larger apartments with two or three full rooms. For small apartments a definite figure was fixed beyond which rents could not be increased. The third decree, of October 1918, imposed even greater restrictions on the rights of the landlord. It mandated that in all but the very largest apartments (with more than four full-size rooms), no increases were permitted except to cover rises in maintenance and administrative costs, taxes, and interest on mortgage loans. All existing leases were prolonged indefinitely, and the landlord was allowed to terminate a contract only in the case of a tenant's failure to pay the rent or if the landlord could prove that his need for the apartment was greater than that of the tenant (*ibid.*, 423-424). For the system of classification of various types of dwellings in Vienna according to size, see Weber, *Wohnungspolitik*, 3.

132 For food deprivation during the war, see Hans Hautmann, "Hunger ist ein schlechter Koch: Die Ernährungslage der österreichischen Arbeiter im Ersten Weltkrieg," in Gerhard Botz et al., *Bewegung und Klasse: Studien zur österreichischen Arbeitergeschichte* (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1978), 661-681.

133 Maria Auböck, "Im Garten: Schrebergärten in Wien—Korrektur und Gegenwart," in *Stadtbuch Wien 1983: Ein Almanach* (Vienna: Falter Verlag, 1983), 107-126.

134 Klaus Novy, "The Rosenhügel Pioneers: On the Real Revolution of Workers' Housing by the Viennese Settlers," *9H*, no. 6 (1983): 46; Auböck, "Im Garten," 112; Hautmann, "Hunger ist ein schlechter Koch," 670.

135 Hans Kampffmeyer, "Die Siedlungsbewegung in Wien," *Kommunale Praxis* 22 (1922): 719-720.

136 Weber, *Wohnungspolitik*, 5-6.

137 *Ibid.*, 6-7; Rainer Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik im Sozialdemokratischen Wien 1919-1934* (Salzburg: Verlag Wolfgang Neugebauer, 1979), 16-19; Hardy, *Housing Program*, 48-53.

138 H. Chapman, "The Housing Situation in Vienna, 1919-1934," *Garden Cities and Town Planning* 11, no. 12 (1921), 270-273.

139 Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik*, 19-22; Weber, *Wohnungspolitik*, 7-8; Peter Marcus, "A Useful Installment of Socialist Work: Housing in Red Vienna in the 1920s," in Rachel G. Bratt, Chester Hartman, and Ann Meyerson, eds., *Critical Perspectives on Housing* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 565.

140 Ludwig Neumann, "Das Organisationsproblem der Österreichischen Siedlungsbewegung," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 136; Severin Baier, "Die Österreichische Siedlungsbewegung," in Ludwig Neumann, ed., *Das Wohnungswesen in Österreich* (Vienna: Thalia, 1929), 235-237.

141 William Otho Potwin Morgan, "Notes on Land Settlements—Austria," typescript, private collection, 12-13, courtesy of Hallee P. Morgan, Morgan's daughter-in-law. I am indebted to Claire Douglas, the author of a biography of

Morgan's wife, Christiana Morgan, (*Translate This Darkness* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993]), for bringing the manuscript to my attention.

142 Ibid., 1.

143 Hans Kampffmeier, *Siedlung und Kleingarten* (Vienna: Verlag Julius Springer, 1926), 6.

144 Hautmann, "Hunger ist ein schlechter Koch," 670.

145 Solita Solano, "Vienna: A Capital without a Nation," *National Geographic*, January 1923, 79.

146 Auböck, "Im Garten," 111.

147 Quotation from Solano, "Vienna," 83; Auböck, "Im Garten," 123.

148 Migge quoted in Inge Meta Hüllbusch, "Everyone Self-Sufficient"—The Urban Garden Colonies of Leberecht Migge," in Lucius Burckhardt, ed., *The Werkbund: History and Ideology, 1907–1933* (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1980), 67. For Migge's prewar ideas, see Leberecht Migge, *Die Gartenkultur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1913).

149 For the *Botenreform* and other back-to-the-land movements, see Joachim Petsch, "The Deutscher Werkbund from 1907 to 1933 and the Movements for the 'Reform of Life and Culture,'" in Burckhardt, *The Werkbund*, 85–93.

150 For anarcho-socialist call for dissolution of the city, see Bruno Taut, *Auflösung der Städte* (Hagen in West: Erschienen im Folkwang, 1920). For an excellent discussion of the intersection of anarcho-socialist politics and expressionist architecture in the postwar period, see Iain Boyd Whyte, *Bruno Taut and the Architecture of Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

151 Marcuse, "Useful Installment," 565.

Chapter 3. Learning to Live

1 *Gartenfreund*, no. 8 (1919): 1. For an account of the wild settlement as a socialist movement "from below" see Klaus Novy, "Selbsthilfe als Reformbewegung: Der Kampf der Wiener Siedler nach dem 1. Weltkrieg," *ARCH* 4, no. 55 (1981): 26–40. See also Klaus Novy, "The Rosenhügel Pioneers: On the Real Revolution of Workers' Housing by the Viennese Settlers," *JH*, no. 6 (1983): 45–51.

2 Peter Marcuse, "A Useful Installment of Socialist Work; Housing in Red Vienna in the 1920s," in Rachel G. Bratt, Chester Hartman, and Ann Meyerson, eds., *Critical Perspective on Housing* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 565.

3 The Austrian garden city movement (which never had a large following) has only relatively recently been examined historically by Wilfried Posch, *Die Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung: Reformversuch Zwischen erster und zweiter Grönderzeit* (Vienna: Edition Tusch, 1981); idem, "Die Gartenstadt-bewegung in Wien: Persönlichkeiten, Ziele, Erfolge und Misserfolge," *Bauforum*, nos. 77/78 (1980): 9–24; Reinhard Gieselmann, Maria Auböck, and Rudolf Szedenik, "Wohnen mit Garten," *Prolegomena*, no. 28 (March 1979). The only comprehensive treatment of the settlement movement is the catalogue of an exhibition held in Vienna in 1985 by Klaus Novy and Wolfgang Förster, *einfach bauen* (Vienna: Verein für moderne Kommunalpolitik, 1985). Further regarding the *Siedlungen* in Vienna, see Reinhard Gieselmann et al., "Wohnen in Wien," *Prolegomena*, nos. 7/8 (February 1974): 5–20; Otto Kapfinger and Adolf Krischanitz, "Siedlungen. Historisches, Gegenwärtiges, Allgemeines," in Diemar Steiner, ed., *Wiener Wohnbau Wirklichkeiten* (Vienna: Compress-Verlag, 1985), 154–158.

4 Rainer Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik im sozialdemokratischen Wien 1919–1934* (Salzburg: Verlag Wolfgang Neugebauer, 1979), 116. In a city council meeting of 19 February 1919, Social Democratic councillor Gustav Schuss (who a few months later became the mayor's advisor on housing questions) presented the party's first programmatic statement regarding the principles on which its housing reforms would be based. "The new housing," he declared, "will not be makeshift emergency housing, but rather housing that will manifest the municipality's reform policies, and to which the

council can point as exemplary of what a house and dwelling, built according to these principles, should look like." See Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 19 February 1919, in *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien* (26.2.1919): 470.

5 With the help of a State Housing Welfare Fund, created at the end of January 1919 to provide subsidies to private builders by assuming responsibility for the nonrecoverable building costs (*verlorener Bauaufwand*), around 5,500 dwellings were built throughout Austria between 1919 and 1922; Charles A. Gulick, *Austria from Habsburg to Hitler*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 1: 433–434.

6 Ibid., 434–435. For a more detailed account of the municipal building activities from 1919 to 1923, see Anton Weber, "Wiener Wohnungs- und Sozialpolitik," in *Das Neue Wien*, 4 vols. (Vienna: Gemeinde Wien, 1926–1928), 1: 215–216; and "Die Volkswohnungen der Gemeinde Wien," in *Das Neue Wien*, 3: 49–51. The new buildings constructed during this time are discussed in chapters 6–8.

7 Wartime rent controls, still in effect, made redistribution both possible and necessary. The wartime rent restrictions applied to small and large dwellings. This meant that occupants of large apartments could continue to occupy them without having to take in subtenants. The requisitioning of underutilized space was a federal program, according to which living space, like food, was rationed. No householder or tenant was allowed to have more than one room per adult, one room for children, and one additional room. Kitchens were not counted as rooms. Occupants had the option either to find tenants for surplus rooms or to have the city billet people in them, with the rent fixed by the municipal housing department. Exemption from billeting could be obtained through payment of a lump sum of a minimum of 50,000 crowns, depending on an assessment by a committee of the housing department. By 1920, the revenues from this "exemption tax" exceeded 11 million crowns. See H. Chapman, "The Housing Situation in Vienna, 1919–1934," *Garden Cities and Town Planning*, 11, no. 12 (1921): 270–273. During the worst period of inflation, from 1919 to 1922, space in approximately 30,000 dwellings was requisitioned and reallocated in this way. The program continued through 1925 and provided a total of 44,838 new living quarters out of a stock of around 500,000 units. The voluntary exchange of housing was encouraged by the municipality and facilitated

by a newspaper (published by the city) in which tenants could advertise for larger or smaller apartments. For the requisitioning of housing between 1919 and 1925, see Gulick, *Austria*, 1: 428–432.

8 Felix Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik der Gemeinde Wien in der Ersten Republik, 1919–1934*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 11 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1959), 16–17.

9 Hans Kampffmeyer, quoted in Novy, "Rosenhügel Pioneers," 46.

10 On Scheu, see Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 46–47; Posch, "Gartenstadtbewegung," 11; Burkhard Rukschcio and Roland Schachel, *Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1982), 236–237, 243–246, 276–277; Yehuda Safran and Wilfried Wang, *The Architecture of Adolf Loos* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1985), 50–55; Herbert Steiner, *Habilitationschrift Teil D: Die Gebrüder Scheu* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1968); Max Ermers, "Gustav Scheu," *Wiener Zeit*, no. 5 (March 1935): 16. Scheu's father, Josef Franz Georg Scheu (1841–1904), had been a composer and founder of the Vienna Workers Choral Union (*Arbeiter-Sängerbund*); a brother, Robert, was a well-known journalist and writer.

11 The new policy was to replace the practice of providing artists' dwellings. See Safran and Wang, *Adolf Loos*, 50.

12 Gustav Scheu, "Zur Wohnungsreform," *Der Sozialdemokrat* (April 1919): 10–13.

13 Scheu, "Zur Wohnungsreform," 10–13. See also Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 47.

14 The Vienna *Stadtbahn* did not at this point extend to the southern factory and tenement districts, which also remained unconnected to the city center; the northwest suburbs were missing connections to the southern, northern, and northwestern railway lines. See Paul Korte, *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Verlag von Gerlach und Wiedling, 1905–1906), 1:73.

15 In its founding statement issued in 1907, the *Zentralstelle* declared: "Of even greater importance than the creation of new housing is the planned development, expansion, and

rejuvenation of the existing and fast-growing city. This involves primarily the comprehensive and planned development of outlying areas and their rapid and economical connection to the inner city. See *Mitteilungen der Zentralstelle für Wohnungsreform in Österreich*, no. 1 (April 1907): 6–9. The members of the *Zentralstelle* were, for the most part, middle-class intellectuals. A number were Social Democrats, who (like Scheu) were later involved in the city's housing program. But an equal number, including Vienna's Christian Socialist mayor from 1912 to 1918, Richard Weiskirchner, were members of the bourgeois and nationalist parties.

16 On the Bund deutscher Bodenreformer and other turn-of-the-century reform movements, see Joachim Petsch, "The Deutscher Werkbund from 1907 to 1933 and the Movements for the 'Reform of Life and Culture,'" in Lucius Burkhardt, ed., *The Werkbund: History and Ideology, 1907–1933* (New York: Barron's, Educational Series 1980), 85–93. For more recent discussions of Werkbund ideology and discourse, see Frederic J. Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Mark Jarzombek, "The Kunstgewerbe, the Werkbund, and the Aesthetics of Culture in the Wilhelmine Period," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53 (1994): 7–19; Hartmut Frank, "Heimatschutz und typologisches Entwerfen: Modernisierung und Tradition beim Wiederaufbau von Ostpreussen 1915–1927," in Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani and Romana Schneider, eds., *Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 1950, vol. 1, Reform und Tradition* (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1992), 105–132. For the history of the German Werkbund, see also Joan Campbell, *The German Werkbund: The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

17 Petsch, "Deutscher Werkbund," 88.

18 Scheu, "Zur Wohnungsreform," 10–13. For the relation of these ideas to early-twentieth-century town planning theory, see chapter 5.

19 They may even have been influenced by the left-wing branch of the German garden city movement, the anticapitalist *Sozialistischer Bund* (founded by Gustav Landauer in 1908), which promoted a combination of decentralization and mutualism in the form of "a union of economically autonomous communities which trade together on mutualist

principles." Landauer, quoted in Iain Boyd Whyte, *Bruno Taut and the Architecture of Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 54.

20 Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 50–51. In 1921 the *Zentralstelle* itself was taken over by the conservative and nationalist Bund österreichischer Bodenreformer (Federation of Austrian Land Reformers) founded by Siegfried Sittl, son of the famous urbanist (see *ibid.*, 46). Meanwhile, however, the more progressive members of the original organization, including Gustav Scheu, had gravitated toward the newly founded Austrian Garden City Association.

21 E. Staudinger, "Gartenstadt und Genossenschaft," *Gartenstadt* 3, no. 2 (1909): 20. For a detailed history of the German garden city movement see Kristiana Hartmann, *Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung: Kultur Politik und Gesellschaftsreform* (Munich: H. Moos, 1976). For a brief discussion of the prewar and postwar ideology of the movement see Whyte, *Bruno Taut*, 11–16.

22 On the origins of the Austrian movement see Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 51 nn. 137, 138. On Ermsch, see *ibid.*, 32–33.

23 On the Scheu House, see Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 174–175, 493–496; Heinrich Kulka, *Adolf Loos, Das Werk des Architekten* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1931), 31, ill. 51–53; Ludwig Munz and Gustav Künstler, *Der Architekt Adolf Loos* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1964), 113–115, ill. 131–133; Martin Palmrich, Gustav Pichelmann, and Gerhard Riedling, "The Scheu House," *9H*, no. 6 (1983): 29–40; Safiran and Wang, *Adolf Loos*, 50–56; Benedetto Gravagnuolo, *Adolf Loos, Theory and Works*, trans. C. H. Evans (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), 146–148. Loos's proposals for terraced workers' housing are discussed in chapter 8.

24 Berlage and his work were well known in Vienna. See, for example, Max Eisler, "H. P. Berlage und sein Erweiterungsplan Amsterdam-Süd," *Der Südtrieb* 13, nos. 10/11 (1916): 112. Eisler also published a book on Berlage: *Der Baumeister Berlage* (Vienna: Hölzel, 1920). On the Amsterdam housing, see Nancy Sieber, *Housing Design and Society in Amsterdam: Reshaping Urban Order and Identity, 1900–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Helen Searing, "With Red Flies Flying: Housing in Amsterdam,

1915-1923," in Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin, eds., *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978), 230-269; idem, "Amsterdam South: Social Democracy's Elusive Housing Ideal," *VLA* 4 (1980): 58-77; Wim de Wit et al., *The Amsterdam School: Dutch Expressionist Architecture, 1915-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983); Mariastella Casciato et al., *Olanda, 1870-1940: Città, Casa, Architettura* (Milan: Electa, 1980). Viennese city building officials traveled to Holland and to the new housing built in Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the 1910s and early 1920s, and Berlage and others visited Vienna and lectured on Amsterdam South. In addition, the International Garden City Association held its annual meeting in Amsterdam in 1924. For postwar notices regarding the above events and Dutch architecture in Viennese newspapers, see "Internationale Städtebaugang in Amsterdam," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 19 July 1924, 12; "Internationale Städtebaugang in Amsterdam," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 9 August 1924, 10; Julius Wilhelm, "Genossenschaftliche Zusammenhänge," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 6 September 1924, 12 (also discusses new English housing); "Die Entwicklung Amsterdams," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 27 September 1924, 13; "Berlage über Amsterdam," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 2 October 1924, 7. Regarding Stadtbaumeister officials' study tours to Holland, Sweden, Germany, Czechoslovakia, see Josef Bitner, "Die neue Bauepoche der Stadt Wien," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 15 September 1926, 22 idem, "Die neue Bauepoche der Stadt Wien," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 5 September 1926, 3; Peter Behrens, "Die Gemeinde Wien als Bauherrin," *Baumwelt*, no. 41 (1928):976.

25 The competition and *Generalsiedlungsplan* itself were clearly conceived in conjunction with the Social Democrats' efforts to enlarge the municipal area of Vienna. Only days after the competition was announced, Scheu commissioned Max Ermer's to draw up a plan for the projected Bundesland Wien. See further note 32 below.

26 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 27 February 1920, in *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien* (10.3.1920):675-677.

27 Muns and Künstler, *Adolf Loos*, 145. The municipality published a pamphlet outlining the underlying principles of the competition: *Grundsätze für einen Wettbewerb zur Erlangung von Vorentwürfen für eine Gartenstadt in Wien* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, 1919).

28 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 20 February 1920, 6; *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien* (10.3.1920):676.

29 Robert Oerley (described by Scheu as "one of the best-known architects in Vienna") was president of the Austrian Association of Architects (Gesellschaft Österreichischer Architekten) and had designed numerous villas in and around Vienna. Siegfried Theiss, senior partner in the firm Theiss & Jaksch, was president of the Austrian Federation of Architects. Before and during the war Theiss & Jaksch had designed several *Siedlungen* for cooperative housing associations as well as private companies. Alfred Keller (an *Oberbaumeister* in the Stadtbaumeister) had designed a number of courthouse buildings before the war. Subsequently he spent three years (1913-1915) in the United States, and during the war he designed a *Siedlung* for the employees of the Alpine Montangesellschaft in Lower Austria. Both Keller and Theiss were professors at the Technical University of Loos, who was notorious in Vienna for the scandal over his Haus am Michaelerplatz in 1910-1911, needed no introduction but was recommended to the city councillors as "a singularly gifted and original artist, who conceives of his architecture in terms of cultural advancement, an idea that is particularly important for the development of a *Siedlungsplan*." The entire report is contained in *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien* (27.2.1920):675.

30 On Tessenow and Hellerau, see Marco DeMichelis, "Modernity and Reform: Heinrich Tessenow and the Institute Dalroze at Hellerau," *Perspecta* 26 (1992): 142-170; idem, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950: Das architektonische Gesamtwerk* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1991); Wilfrid Wang, ed., *On Rigour*, special issue of *JH*, no. 8 (1989), which includes Wang's English translation of Tessenow's "House-building and Such Things" (*Hausbau und Dergleichen* [1916]; 9-33), an introduction to the book by Walter Jessen (6-8), and essays by Giorgio Grassi, "Architecture as Craft" (34-53), and K. Michael Hays, "Tessenow's Architecture as National Allegory: Critique of Capitalism or Protofascism?" (54-71).

31 Each architect was to receive an honorarium of 20,000 crowns; the proposals were to be completed in three months. See *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien* (10.3.1920):676.

32 On Ermer's, see Rulschicchio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 229; Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 58. Ermer's plan,

presented in a series of public hearings in March 1920, incorporated both the industrial districts of Wiener Neustadt, southwest of Vienna, and the agricultural Marchfeld and Tullnerfeld, east of the Danube. See Maren Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie und Kommunalpolitik in Wien: Zu einigen Aspekten sozialdemokratischer Politik in der Vor- und Zwischenkriegszeit*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 49 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1980), 65–82. An alternative scheme, incorporating the industrial districts of the Wien valley as well as rural and forested areas south and west of the city, but not the Tullner- and Marchfeld, had been developed somewhat earlier by Karl Renner, the first president of the new Austrian Republic. He had proposed in 1919 that the boundaries of Vienna as well as other regions in the province of Lower Austria be redrawn according to principles of regional planning based on topographical and economic considerations. At the time Renner had suggested a return to the eighteenth-century system of "Kreisinteilung," or drawing of regional boundaries for administrative purposes based also on sociocultural considerations, which had been introduced in the eighteenth century by Maria Theresia and replaced in 1868 by an arbitrarily drawn regional division. Renner proposed that Vienna be enlarged to include outlying but mutually dependent rural and industrial areas, becoming a separate administrative unit or *Kreis* within Lower Austria. By 1920 he had abandoned the notion of a *Wiener-Kreis* within Lower Austria in favor of a separate Bundesland Wien. In 1926 Max Ermers wrote in *Der Aufbau* that the "strangulation" of Vienna by the defeat of the Bundesland Wien proposals was decisive in determining the outcome of the building program, see "Die Selbstabwürgung des Landes Wien," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 126–128. The Bundesland Wien expansion proposals are dealt with in detail in Rudolph Till, *Wiener Projekte und Utopien* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1972), 55–79; Wilfried Posch, "Lebensraum Wien: Die gebietspolitischen Entscheidungen von gestern—die Raumordnungsprobleme von heute," *Bauforum* 73 (1979): 17–23. See also Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 43; Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 61.

33 See Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 42.

34 Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 241–242. A new administrative structure was introduced in 1922, and a new position created: *Stadtrat für Sozialpolitik und Wohnungswesen*. The first incumbent was Anton Weber (see chapter 4). If any

materials were produced in connection with the competition, these disappeared along with the records of the Siedlungsamt, most likely during the Nazi occupation (1938–1945).

35 *Neue Freie Presse*, 27 September 1920, 4. See also Posch, "Lebensraum Wien," 17.

36 Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 29.

37 In Lieutenant Morgan's words, they were "the best element of the workers [who] usually [had] employment." See William Otho Potwin Morgan, "Notes on Land Settlements—Austria," typescript, private collection. This meant that they could afford the cash deposits required of new settlers after 1919.

38 Marcuse, "Useful Installment," 565–570; Wolfgang Förster, "Die Wiener Arbeitersiedlungsbewegung vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg—Eine Alternative zum kommunalen Wohnungsbau," *der aufbau*, 35 (1980): 410; idem, "Die Siedlungen der Wiener Arbeiter-Baugenossenschaften," *Stadtbuch Wien 1983: Ein Almanach* (Vienna: Falter Verlag, 1983), 92–95; Novy, "Selbsthilfe," 28. Förster and Novy argue that if a petit bourgeois ownership-oriented allotment-settlement organization had existed in Austria before 1914 (as it had in Germany), this politicization might not have happened.

39 Quoted in Novy, "Selbsthilfe," 28.

40 For an account in English of the organization of the cooperatives, see Marcuse, "Useful Installment," 566–567.

41 Novy, "Selbsthilfe," 28–29; idem, "Rosenhügel Pioneers," 47–49.

42 Solita Solano, "Vienna: A Capital without a Nation," *National Geographic*, January 1923, 86.

43 Morgan, "Notes on Land Settlements," 6–7.

44 Some of the *Siedlungen* allowed ownership. See Novy, "Selbsthilfe," 31.

45 Morgan, "Notes on Land Settlements," 3–4.

46 *Ibid.*, 4.

47 Novy, "Rosenhügel Pioneers," 50. Morgan, "Notes on Land Settlement," 8, records that English observers voiced the criticism that the settlers "build too well."

48 Novy, "Selbsthilfe," 31-32.

49 Morgan, "Notes on Land Settlement," 5.

50 Paul Neurath, "Wieder in Wien: Generalsekretär des österreichischen Verbandes für Siedlungs- und Kleingartenwesen (1920-1925)," in Paul Neurath and Elisabeth Nemeth, eds., *Otto Neurath: oder die Einbeit von Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft*, Monographien zur österreichischen Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte 6, series ed. Peter Karupits (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994), 53-58; Robert Hoffmann, "Proletarisches Siedeln: Otto Neuraths Engagement für die Wiener Siedlungsbewegung und den Gildensozialismus 1920 bis 1925," in Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Arbeiterbildung in der Zwischenkriegszeit, Otto Neurath-Gerd Arnz* (Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1982), 140-148. See also in the same volume Wolfgang Hösl and Gottfried Pirhofer, "Otto Neurath und der Städtebau," 157-161.

51 At the institute Neurath met Kampfmeier, who drew him into the settlement movement at that time. See Hoffmann, "Proletarisches Siedeln," 142.

52 "Construction workers, settlers, and tenants appear as a unity that strives to manage the entire settlement, housing, and construction operations," Neurath wrote of the new organization; see Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 445.

53 The last, conceived and directed by Neurath, evolved into a Museum of Sociology and Economics in Vienna, which was funded by the municipality and located in city hall. For the impact on architecture of the pictorial language developed by Neurath to represent statistical data in the museum, which he called ISOTYPE, see chapter 9. On the *Baugilde* organization, see Marcuse, "Useful Installment," 566-567; Förster, "Die Siedlungen," 92; Novy, "Selbsthilfe," 28. Neurath himself wrote extensively on the guild socialist organization of the cooperative settlement movement; see Otto Neurath, *Gildensozialismus, Klassenkampf, Volkswirtschaft*, Anhang: Siedlungs- Wohnungs- und Baugilde Österreichs (Dresden: Kader, 1922); idem, "Der innere Aufbau der Baugilde," *Der Betriebsrat*, no. 2 (1922); idem, "Österreichs

Baugilden und ihre Entstehung," *Der Kampf*, 15 (1922), 84-89.

54 On the courses taught at the *Siedlerschule*, see Renate Allmeyer-Beck et al., *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky: Soziale Architektur, Zeitzeugin eines Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1993), 22; Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 38.

55 Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 38, 44; Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 61; Allmeyer-Beck et al., *Schütte-Lihotzky*, 25.

56 *Zehn Jahre GESIBA* (Vienna: GESIBA, 1931); *Führer durch die Wiener Kleingärten, Siedlungen, und Wohnungsbauausstellung: 2-9 September 1923* (Vienna: Rathaus Selbstverlag, 1923). See also Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 56-61.

57 *Neue Freie Presse*, 27 September 1920, 4. See also Posch, "Lebensraum Wien," 19; Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 249; Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, "Wohnungsbau der zwanziger Jahre in Wien und Frankfurt," in Michael Andritzky and Gert Selle, eds., *Lernbereich Wohnen*, no. 2 (Reinbeck: Rowohlt, 1979), 314-324.

58 Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 244 n. 718.

59 Max Ermers, "Aus Adolf Loos' Siedlerzeit," *Die Zeit: Blätter für Erkenntnis und Tat* 1, no. 3 (1934): 12-14.

60 Adolf Loos, "Der Tag der Siedler," *Neue Freie Presse*, 3 April 1921, 111.

61 Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 243-246, 258-267.

62 Kampfmeier had been *Landeswohnungsinспекtor und Wohnungsfachreferent* (state housing inspector and advisor) in Baden since 1911. Kampfmeier's ideas on the garden city and housing were known in Vienna from articles he contributed regularly to *Habe Worte*, a biweekly journal concerned with vernacular architecture and folk art that had a wide readership in Austria (it was published from 1904 to 1908, first in Vienna and then in Hellerau by Joseph August Lux, the Viennese art critic and biographer of Otto Wagner). Kampfmeier had also lectured to housing reform groups in Vienna, Linz, and Graz before the war and had attended the

Eighth International Housing Congress in Vienna in 1907 along with Gustav Scheu and Scheu's wife. See Novy and Forster, *einfach bauen*, 44–52.

63 Hoffmann, "Proletarisches Siedeln," 142.

64 On *Kriegerheimstätten-siedlung*, see Renate Schweitzer, "Der staatlich geförderte, der kommunale und der gemeinnützige Wohnungs- und Siedlungsbau in Österreich bis 1945," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss. Technische Universität Wien, 1972), 251–273. On Kampffmeyer's involvement in the Viennese Friedenstadt project, see Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 50; Hans Kampffmeyer, *Friedenstadt* (Jena: Diederich, 1918).

65 Loos was appointed by Scheu. See Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 258; Allmeyer-Beck et al., *Schütte-Libotsky*, 21.

66 On the settlement plan, see *Das Neue Wien*, 1:283; 3:13–14. The plan was illustrated in *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 120–121.

67 *Das Neue Wien*, 1: 274.

68 Anton Weber, *Die Wohnungspolitik der Gemeinde Wien*, (Vienna: Deutsch-Österreichischer Städtebund, 1926), 46–51.

69 On building methods, see Franz Schacherl, "Das Österreichische Siedlungshaus: I. Sparbauweisen," *Der Aufbau*, no. 2 (1926): 21–24.

70 Hans Kampffmeyer, *Siedlung und Kleingarten* (Vienna: Verlag Julius Springer, 1926), 83: "Den ersten Wiener Siedlungen merkt man an, dass dem Architekten die ihm gestellte städtebauliche Aufgabe noch ungewohnt war." The article was also excerpted in *Der Aufbau*, see Hans Kampffmeyer, "Aus der Wiener Siedlungsbewegung," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 130–135.

71 The cooperative settlements, as Max Ermers observed, lacked "disincentive stylistic development" of the new building type. Max Ermers, *Festschrift der Siedlung auf dem Raasdügel* (Vienna, n.d.), 16 ("einer eindrucksvollen Stilbildung für diese neue Baupyee").

72 Loos, "Tag Der Siedler"; Adolf Loos, "Die moderne Siedlung," a lecture delivered on 12 November 1926 in the Haus des Deutschtums, Stuttgart, reprinted in *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. F. Glück, vol. 1 (Vienna: Herold, 1962). See Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 320.

73 Loos, "Tag der Siedler." Loos resumed this theme in his lecture "Die moderne Siedlung," where he elaborated the significance of the *Akrot*. See also Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 257, 322.

74 One of the earliest disquisitions on the *Zeilenbauweise* (row-block construction) was by Rudolf Eberstadt, *Handbuch des Wohnungswezens und der Wohnungfrage* (Jena: Verlag Gustav Fischer, 1920), 257–259. I am indebted to Renate Banik-Schweitzer for directing me to this reference. Richard Pommer notes that the earliest "canonical" *Zeilenbau* project to be built was Otto Hässler's Georgsgarten *Siedlung* of late 1925–1927 in Celle. For the history of *Zeilenbau* housing, see Richard Pommer, "The Architecture of Urban Housing in the United States during the Early 1930s," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 37 (1978): 259–260, and idem, "More a Necropolis than a Metropolis," Ludwig Hilberseimer's Highrise City and Modern City Planning," in Richard Pommer et al., *In the Shadow of Mies: Ludwig Hilberseimer, Architect, Educator, and Urban Planner* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago; New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 16–53. See also Mark Swenarton, "Rationality and Rationalism: Theory and Practice of Site Planning in Modern Architecture, 1905–1930," *AA Files*, no. 4 (July 1983): 49–59.

75 Loos refers to Migge repeatedly in his lecture "Die moderne Siedlung." See Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 322. Loos also referred to Migge earlier in "Wohnen lernen" (1921), where he quoted Migge's claim that the *Siedlung* movement required a "new mankind" with "modern nerves." See Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 257; Loos, "Wohnen lernen," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 15 May 1921, 8.

76 *Das Neue Wien*, 1: 284.

77 Leberecht Migge, *Die Gartenkultur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Jena: Eugen Diederich, 1913), 6.

78 Inge Meta Hüblich, "'Everyone Self-Sufficient'—The Urban Garden Colonies of Leberecht Migge," in Burck-

hard, *The Werkbund*, 68. Hülbusch also notes that there was opposition to Migge's idea of the urban working garden. For example, Ulrich Wolf (an official in the Frankfurt *Gartenamt*) argued that the worker needed recreation not another burden: see Ulrich Wolf, "Gartenproduktion oder Gartenkonsum als Grundlage moderner Grünflächenpolitik im Städtebau," *Städtebau* 24 (1929): 289–290.

79 These precepts were enumerated in "Die moderne Siedlung" of 1926, but the ideas were probably already developed in a lecture, "Über Gartensiedlung" (On garden settlements), that Loos delivered in Vienna, 12 September 1920; see Rukscchio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 320.

80 On the *Bauhüro*, see Allmeyer-Beck et al., *Schütte-Libratzky*, 25.

81 On Loos's *Siedlung* housing, see Rukscchio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 533–536.

82 *Ibid.*, 536–539.

83 *Ibid.*, 541–543. For Loos's own definition of *Raumplan*, see 318–319. The general bibliography on Loos and the *Raumplan* is extensive. See in particular Dietrich Wörbs, "Der *Raumplan* in Wohnungsbau von Adolf Loos," in *Adolf Loos, 1870–1933: Raumplan, Wohnungsbau* (Berlin: Die Akademie, [1983], 64ff.; Max Risselada, ed., *Raumplan versus Plan Libre* (Delft: Delft University Press, 1988); and Burkhardt Rukscchio, ed., *Adolf Loos* (Vienna: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1989).

84 Adolf Loos, *An den Bundes-Wohnungs- und Siedlungsfonds* (Vienna: published privately, 1921).

85 Robert Kales, the architect selected, was a student of Friedrich Ohmann at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. He designed one of the first of the large *Gemeindebauten*. See chapters 6 and 7.

86 Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 140–143; Rukscchio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 260–263, 266, 534–539.

87 *Das Neue Wien*, 3:215; Karl Richter, "Die Reform der Wiener Bauordnung," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 2 June 1920, 1–2.

88 Elsie Altmann-Loos, *Mein Leben mit Adolf Loos* (Vienna: Amalthea Verlag, 1984), 169–172. The event is also described in Rukscchio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 264–266.

89 Altmann-Loos, *Mein Leben*, 172.

90 *Ibid.*, 172. Elsie also noted that visitors stole books, vases, ashtrays and other articles that Loos had brought from home to decorate the house.

91 Förster, "Die Siedlungen," 92. See also Gottfried Pirhofer and Günther Uhlrig, "Selbsthilfe und Wohnungsbau," *ARCH + 33* (1977): 4–11.

92 On row house design, see Raymond Unwin, *Cottage Plans and Common Sense* (London: Fabian Society, 1902); Raymond Unwin, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding! How the Garden City Type of Development May Benefit Both Owner and Occupier*, 3d ed. (London: Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1912); Peter Behrens and Heinrich de Eries, *Vom sparsamen Bauen: Ein Beitrag zur Siedlungsförderung* (Berlin: Bauwelt, 1918); Hermann Muthesius, *Kleinhaus und Kleinsiedlung* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1918); Heinrich Tessew, *Haushau und Dergleichen*, 4th ed. (Baden-Baden: W. Klein, 1953). On the row house-type and the garden city movement in England and Germany, see Hartmann, *Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung*, 52ff.; Walter Creese, ed., *The Legacy of Raymond Unwin* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1967). For the row house in Dutch housing of the period, see Donald I. Grinberg, *Housing in the Netherlands, 1900–1940* (Delft: Delft University Press, 1977). For a discussion of the row house-type within the context of *Siedlung* design and modern architecture in the 1920s, see Richard Pommer and Christian F. Otto, *Weissenhof 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 73–74.

93 Leopold Bauer, *Gernd wohnen und freudig arbeiten: Probleme unserer Zeit* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1919). German "Homes for Heroes" or *Kriegerheimstätten* proposals also provided examples of house types in which particular emphasis was put on the productive garden. See Schweitzer, "Der staatlich geförderte bis 1945," 1:249ff.

94 One of fifteen architects, Loos began working on his contribution to the project in June 1921. The *Siedlung Heuberg* was a joint project of the municipality and the

Heuberg cooperative society. The site plan was by Hugo Mayer, an architect in the city building office. Other architects included Margarete Lihotsky and the partners and former Wagner students Franz Kaym and Alfons Hetmannck. The *Siedlung* itself was a "model-experiment" a didactic *Lehrsdiedlung* (instructional settlement). The materials were donated by American Quaker organizations; the settlers who built the houses were for the most part employed in the building trades and were therefore trained for the task. Visitors to the third *Kleingarten* and *Siedlung* exhibition at city hall in September 1921 were taken to the site to view the construction in progress; when completed, several houses were fitted and furnished by their designers and opened to the public. The *Siedlung* Heuberg was also intended to exemplify the communal life sustained by the cooperative *Siedlung*, and its communal functions were more fully realized than in many of the *Siedlungen* of this period. It had a *Genossenschaftshaus* (community center) with meeting hall, *Kaffeehaus* (café), terrace, commercial spaces, workshops, cooperative stores, living/work quarters for a physician, kindergarten, and youth shelter (*Jugendheim*). Little of this survived beyond 1927, when the cooperative was disbanded and the settlement itself amalgamated with the *Gemeindsiedlung* Wien-West, a city-built and administered settlement. See Noy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 166–167; Allmeyer-Beck et al., *Schütte-Lihotsky*, 46; Friedrich Bauermeister, "Lehrsdiedlung/Heuberg," *Der Stiedler* (June 1921): 91; Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 555–556.

95 Quoted in Gravagnuolo, *Loos*, 171. See Kulka, *Adolf Loos*, illus. 104–112. Loos's houses are shown in plan, elevation, section, and isometric projection.

96 Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 41. Posch argues that Loos's scheme is indebted to Eitelberger and Ferstel, who published a proposal in 1860 for row houses with party walls that could share roof support; see Rudolf Eitelberger and Heinrich Ferstel, *Das bürgerliche Wohnhaus und das Wiener Zinshaus* (Vienna, 1860), 42.

97 *Das Neue Wien*, 1:288 ("fremdartig anmutende Flachdächer und Terrassengärten").

98 See Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 245.

99 The bibliography on the efforts to rationalize housing production in Weimar Germany is too extensive to cite here.

For a survey of the *Siedlungen*, see Liselotte Ungers, *Die Suche nach einer neuen Wohnform: Siedlungen der zwanziger Jahre damals und heute* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983). Pommer and Otto, in *Wienshof 1927* (chap. 8, "Rationalization" and "Standardization"), frame the issue within the context of Werkbund discourse. For a discussion of Taylorism in Germany, see Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

100 Loos certainly idealized the culture of urban proletarian productive gardening, as he also idealized early-nineteenth-century Biedermeier culture. For an interesting discussion of Loos's attitudes toward Biedermeier culture in the context of turn-of-the-century German architectural theory, see Mitchell Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 162–164.

101 Loos's status in the municipal building bureaucracy was ambiguous; see the statement in *Das Neue Wien*, 1:291, that the *Siedlungen* built after Loos's tenure were "less simple and monotonous" than those built during the period when Loos was chief architect of the *Siedlungsamt*. Loos's own frustrations with the municipal bureaucracy are recorded by Ermers: see Ermers, "Aus Adolf Loos' Siedlerzeit," 12–14. See also Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 273, 282–293.

102 For the *Kriegerheimstätte*, see Noy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 20; Schweitzer, "Der staatlich geforderte bis 1945," 1:249.

103 Mayer's scheme, published in Heinrich Goldemund, *Die Kaiser Karl-Kriegerheimstätte in Aspern* (Vienna: Gerlach and Wiedlung, 1918), resembles a similar project by Bruno Taut; see Whyte, *Bruno Taut*, 49–51. Schweitzer, "Der staatliche geforderte bis 1945," 1:251–273, deals extensively with the *Kriegerheimstätten* projects in Austria and Germany. See also Albert Lichtblau, *Wiener Wohnungspolitik 1892–1919* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1984), 114. As the war dragged on, the scheme came to nothing. After the war the *Siedlung* Hirschtetten was built on the site. But this project had little in common with Mayer's original design. On the *Aspern Siedlung*, see Helmut Weishmann, *Das Rote Wien* (Vienna: Promedia, 1985), 272.

104 The site (an elevated plateau west of the Linienwall) derived its name, "Auf der Schmelz," from a foundry (*Schmelz*) built on the site in the early 1800s. This had long ceased operation by 1890, when Fünfhaus became Vienna's district XV. From 1864 to 1918 Auf der Schmelz was used as a military drill and parade ground. In 1910 a portion of the land was sold for development. In the same year Otto Wagner published a proposal for the newly released land, which he suggested should be used for new facilities for the Academy of Fine Arts. Wagner's design, which included museum, studio, and teaching space, incorporated the former Schmelzer Friedhof (cemetery) as a memorial park with mature trees and plantings. Two years later Wagner entered a reduced version of the scheme, for a smaller site in the area, in the competition for the Kaiser Franz-Josef-Stadtmuseum (1912). Though awarded first prize, it was abandoned when war broke out in 1914. (Otto Antonia Graf, *Otto Wagner: Das Werk des Architekten*, 2 vols. [Vienna: Böhlau, 1985], 2:624-63), suggests that the scheme was essentially an elaboration of the *Arbeits* project of 1880.) In the meantime, this part of Fünfhaus had been parceled, sold, and developed. By 1914, much of the area was densely built working-class tenements. The western portion, still known as Schmelz, continued to function as a drill and parade ground. During the war, it was taken over by allotment gardeners, who parceled it into narrow lots and used it to grow food. Many of the allotment gardens evolved into "wild" settlements. One, "Zukunft" (Future), founded in 1917, still exists. See Katharina Schiffl, "Siedlung Schmelz: Freiräume einer Wiener Wohnhausanlage der Ersten Republik" Diplomarbeit, Technische Universität, Munich, 1989. I am indebted to Maria Auböck for directing me to this work. See also Felix Czeike, *Wiener Bezirkskulturführer Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1980), 23, 25; Renate Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," in M. J. Daunton, ed., *Housing the Workers, 1850-1914: A Comparative Perspective* (London: Leicester University Press, 1990), 117.

105 Originally intended to contain 1,000 units in 150 two-story row houses with small gardens, Schmelz was considerably reduced when construction (financed in large part by the state Housing Welfare Fund) began in 1919. In October 1920 the first houses were completed and occupied; by December 1920, 42 buildings, 308 units, and 14 shops had been completed. The remaining 13 buildings, 103 apartments, and the central square were completed in a second building

phase, September 1921-May 1922. See Hans Hafner, "Die Bautätigkeit der Gemeinde Wien," *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereins*, nos. 15/16 (18 April 1924): 127; *Das Neue Wien*, 3:93.

106 Fritz Stahl, "Die Gartenstadt Staaken," *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Bankunst und Städtebau* 4/5 (1918/1919): 137-197. Karl Kiem, "Die Gartenstadt Staaken als Prototyp der modernen deutschen Siedlung," in Lampugnani und Schneider, *Moderne Architektur*, 133-149.

107 The first buildings were constructed of "Ersatzbaumaterial" (literally, "substitute building materials"), hollow cement block and softwood flooring, and had two stories of apartments. Each unit was allocated a narrow kitchen garden in the interior of the city block. See Hafner, "Die Bautätigkeit," 127; *Das Neue Wien*, 3:92-93. In its successive stages of construction, Schmelz chronicles the evolution of Social Democratic housing policy between 1919 and 1924 and traces the municipality's gradual progression from a *Kleinstadt* conception of communitarian living to a *Grossstadt* conception, from the notion of an integral garden/dwelling unit to an integrated block of unified dwellings. In 1922 to 1923, the eastern portion of the park in Mayer's original plan was built with three- and four-story apartment buildings. The gardens according to plans approved by the Stadtbauamt on 21 April 1922, were planned as kitchen or *Haus* gardens. But when completed in 1923, they enclosed a landscaped park rather than an allotment. Along the outer edge were a few shops and a municipal library. Thus, along with the allotment gardens, much of the village character of Schmelz disappeared in the third phase of building. In the fourth phase of building (1924) five-story urban apartment block enclosing a forecourt with loggias, bays, pergolas, lawns, trees, and benches (also by Mayer) moved Schmelz even further away from the *Kleinstadt*, the earlier image toward the *Grossstadt* spirit of the *Gemeindebauten*.

108 Novy, "Rosenhügel Pioneers," 47-49.

109 Emers quoted in *ibid.*, 49-50.

110 Hugo Mayer, "Die Kleingartensiedlung Rosenhügel," *Der Siedler*, no. 1 (January 1921): 12-13; quoted in *ibid.*, 47.

111 Novy, "Rosenhügel Pioneers," 47. The original kitchen

gardens at Rosenhügel, like Loo's gardens, were inspired by Leberecht Migg; they were designed to maximize the productive capacity of the narrow lot, with a single path along one side providing access to the vegetable beds ranged along its length. The houses were supplied with electricity, water, gas, and drainage, but not sewers.

112 Generally, as in the other *Gartensiedlungen* of this period, two type-plans were employed. One, with a narrow street front of between 4.5 and 5 meters, was intended for houses sited on the north side of the street. The second, intended for the south side of the street, had a wider street front of between 6 and 9 meters. The steep internal stairs followed the direction of the structural beams. The houses themselves were two stories high and usually also had an attic and full or partial basement. On the second floor were two or three bedrooms. At ground level were a small entrance hall or vestibule, the *Wohnküche*, a washroom, and occasionally also a small workroom.

113 Novy, "Rosenhügel Pioneers," 49-51.

114 Paul Mebes, ed., *Um 1800: Architektur und Handwerk im letzten Jahrhundert ihrer traditionellen Entwicklung*, 2 vols. (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1908). For *Heimstatt* and neo-Biedermeier in Germany, see Petsch, "Deutscher Werkbund," 85-93; Christian F. Otto, "Modern Environment and Historical Continuity: The Heimatschutz Discourse in Germany," *Art Journal* 44, (1983): 148-157.

115 Ermers quoted in Novy, "Rosenhügel Pioneers," 49-50.

116 Otto Neurath to Franz Roh, letter, 19 June 1924, Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Franz Roh, Archives of the History of Art, Getty Research Institute, Brentwood, California (hereafter cited as Roh Collection, GRI).

117 For Frank, see Johannes Spalt and Hermann Czech, *Josef Frank, 1885-1967* (Vienna: Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, 1981); Christopher Long, "Josef Frank and the Crisis of Modern Architecture" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1992); Nina Stritzler-Levine, ed., *Josef Frank, Architect and Designer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996). Frank's interior at Weissenhof, furnished with upholstered chairs and sofas, plush cushions, colorful rugs, and curtains, was attacked by Le Corbusier, Oud, and Hegemann for its provoc-

ative conservatism. See Long, "Frank," chap. 4; idem, "The Wayward Heir: Josef Frank's Vienna Years, 1885-1933," in Stritzler-Levine, *Josef Frank*, 44-61; Pommer and Otto, *Weissenhof 1927*, 46-47, 99-100, 126-127.

118 Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 159. See also Otto Kapfinger, "Josef Frank—Siedlung und Siedlungsprojekt," *Um Bau* 10 (August 1986): 39-58.

119 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 1 July 1922, 8.

120 In 1926 Kampffmeyer was to recommend such an orientation; see Kampffmeyer, *Siedlung und Kleingarten*, 56-57.

121 A year before he designed the Hoffingergasse Siedlung, Frank had published (together with the engineers Hugo Fuchs and Franz Zetting) a proposal for cast concrete *Siedlung* houses, three stories high, six units per house. (There were also a few single-family detached houses.) The layout, however, foreshadowed Frank's Hoffingergasse plan: an irregular grid of streets on which the rows of houses pinwheel around a central square (in which the station of an underground railway was to be located). In the text, Frank explained that the rows of houses, each with a small front yard (a buffer to absorb dust from the street) and long, narrow kitchen garden at the back, were arranged along three types of streets: the widest (15 meters) flanked by houses on both sides, narrower streets had houses on only one side, and there were 2-meter-wide lanes between the garden fences. The same relationship of house to street and hierarchy of circulation spaces informs the Hoffingergasse plan. See Josef Frank, Hugo Fuchs, and F. Zetting, "Wohnhäuser aus Gussbeton," *Der Architekt* 22, no. 1 (1919); reprinted in Spalt and Czech, *Frank*, 112-115.

122 Werner Hegemann, "Kritisches zu den Wohnbauten der Stadt Wien," *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau* 10 (1926): 365, 366.

123 Allmeyer-Beck et al., *Schütte-Lihorzky*, 17-18. Strnad took over Tessenow's students, when the latter left for Dresden in 1919. Hoffmann had twenty students, half of whom were women who were studying *Kunstgewerbe* (applied arts or handicrafts) rather than architecture in order to find employment in the Wiener Werkstätte. Tessenow had one woman student from Schlesien, who returned to Germany

after completing her studies in 1917. Strnad, like Frank, had studied at the Technical University, where he earned a doctorate in 1903. He subsequently worked for Friedrich Ohmann for three years, and in 1909 was brought into the Kunstgewerbeschule by Josef Hoffmann, with whom he designed the exhibition rooms for the Austrian Pavilion at the Werkbund exhibition in Cologne in 1914. Though Strnad collaborated with Frank and Oskar Wlach on house projects and two *Gemeindebauten* in the 1920s, his own practice after 1919 focused on theater and stage set design. On Strnad, see Johannes Spalt, ed., *Oskar Strnad 1879-1935* (Vienna: Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, 1979); Ottokar Uhl, *Moderne Architektur in Wien: Von Otto Wagner bis heute* (Vienna: Schroll-Verlag, 1966), 122.

124 Allmeyer-Beck et al., *Schütte-Libozsky*, 19. Libozsky also worked for Robert Oerley for a few weeks in 1919, but left because she found his practice "too conservative."

125 In 1916 Libozsky had won first prize in a competition for worker housing sponsored by the Kunstgewerbeschule; see *ibid.*, 18.

126 *Der Tag*, 6 January 1923, 4.

127 Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 135.

128 *Ibid.*

129 Allmeyer-Beck et al., *Schütte-Libozsky*, 18, 38.

130 On Libozsky's reform furniture, see Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 78; Allmeyer-Beck et al., *Schütte-Libozsky*, 38-39, 50, 66-67. On Strnad, Frank, and Viennese furniture design in the interwar period, see Gerhart Egger et al. *Neues Wohnen: Wiener Innenraumgestaltung 1918-1938* (Vienna: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1980).

131 On the Frankfurt kitchen, see Peter Noever, ed., *Die Frankfurter Küche von Margarete Schütte-Libozsky* (Berlin: Ernst und Sohn, 1993).

132 Allmeyer-Beck et al., *Schütte-Libozsky*, 52-53, 92-99.

133 *Ibid.*, 47-49.

134 Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 76, 78. The interiors by Karau had "Kombinationmöbel nach dem System amerikanischer Bücherkasten" (combination furniture according to the American bookcase system) designed by the architect; Allmeyer-Beck et al., *Schütte-Libozsky*, 54-59, 60.

135 Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 178-179.

136 On Schuster, see Johannes Spalt, ed., *Franz Schuster 1892-1972* (Vienna: Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, 1976); Harald Sterk, "Wohnbau zwischen Ideologie, Politik und Wirtschaft: Entwicklungsparallelen im Massenwohnbau der Gemeinde Wien," in Lisbeth Wächter-Böhm, ed., *Wien 1945 davor / danach* (Vienna: C. Brandstätter, 1983), 119ff.

137 The Rannersdorf Siedlung was designed shortly after Tessenow left Vienna. Construction, which began in 1921, was managed by architects (Hugo Mayer and Engelbrecht Mang) in the city building office. It was published in *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau* 10 (1926): 41. On Tessenow in Vienna, see Herbert Sommer, ed., *Heinrich Tessenow* (Vienna: Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, 1976). The project is also mentioned in Gerda Wangerin and Gerhard Weiss, *Heinrich Tessenow, Ein Baummeister 1876-1950: Leben, Lehre, Werk* (Essen: Verlag Richard Bacht, 1976), 128. Tessenow's houses are completely altered. Plans by Hugo Mayer for additional houses, designed in 1923, are in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna. Brief notes on this later addition and Tessenow's row of houses are in Wehsmann, *Rote Wien*, 246, and Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 132.

138 Tessenow, "House-building and Such Things," 20.

139 Franz Schuster and Franz Schacherl, "Proletarische Architektur," *Der Kampf*, (1926): 34-35.

140 Franz Schuster, *Der Aufbau*, no. 1 (1926): 1.

141 For an insightful discussion of Tessenow's critical position, see Hays, "Tessenow's Architecture as National Allegory"

142 Am Wasserturm was published by Franz Schuster, "Die Siedlung 'Am Wasserturm,'" *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 152-159. In the same year it also appeared in *Wasmuths Mo-*

Monatshefte für Bankwesen und Städtebau 10 (1926): 153–156. It was also featured in “Eine Einfamilienkolonie an der Stadtgrenze,” *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 15 February 1926, 10–11.

143 The link to allotment gardening is emphasized by Kampfmeier, “Aus der Wiener Siedlungsbewegung,” 131; Franz Schuster, “Das Österreichische Siedlungshaus II. Der Lageplan der Siedlung,” *Der Aufbau*, no. 3 (1926): 36; idem, “Formprobleme: Der Kleingartenpark—der Volkspark der Zukunft,” *Der Aufbau*, no. 3 (1926): 41–46; Severin Baier, “Die österreichische Siedlungsbewegung,” in Ludwig Neumann, ed., *Das Wohnungswesen in Österreich* (Vienna: Thalia, 1929), 235–253.

144 Migge collaborated with May on the design of the allotments at Frankfurt. One of the best comparative analyses of interwar housing and urbanism is Gert Kähler, *Wohnung und Stadt: Hamburg, Frankfurt, Wien: Modelle sozialen Wohnens in den zwanziger Jahren* (Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg und Sohn, 1985). See also Günther Uhlig, “Siedlungskonzepte von L. Migge und ihre reformpolitische Bedeutung,” in *Leberecht Migge (1881–1935)—Gartenkultur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel: Gesamthochschule Kassel, 1981), 96ff.

145 Migge’s arguments regarding self-sufficiency of the urban dweller and containment of the urban territory are found in Leberecht Migge, *Jedermann Selbstversorger* (Jena: Diederich, 1919), and a series of articles in *Siedlungs-Wirtschaft*, published between 1925 and 1929.

146 On the ideology of decentralization and interwar housing in Frankfurt and Berlin, see Manfredo Tafuri, “Sozialpolitik and the City in Weimar Germany,” in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Garde and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pellegrino d’Acierno and Robert Connolly (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 197–233. In the same volume see also Martin Wagner’s. “The Socialization of Building Activity,” 234–263. See further regarding Weimar urbanism Günther Uhlig, “Town Planning in the Weimar Republic: Socialist Aspects of Reform,” *Architectural Association Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (1979): 24–38.

147 Adolf Müller, “Die Siedlungsbewegung,” *Der Betriebsrat* 1 (1921): 261.

148 Otto Neurath, *Österreichs Kleingärten- und Siedlungsorganisationen* (Vienna: Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1923), 34.

149 Förster, “Die Siedlungen,” 92. Interestingly, an anticommunist settlement organization was founded in Vienna in 1921 and announced in the conservative daily; see “Kleingärten und Gartenhaus: Schaffung eines christlich-deutschen Arbeitsausschusses,” *Reichspost*, 1 February 1921, 1.

150 A little more than 5,250 Siedlung units were built in the period from 1923 to 1934, comprising less than 10 percent of the total housing built by the municipality during that time (11 percent of the total housing built between 1919 and 1934). See Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 11, 53. City council minutes and notices in the socialist newspapers document the municipality’s repeated assurances that the construction of cooperative *Siedlung* housing would not abate: Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 21 September 1923, in *Antriebsblatt der Stadt Wien* (29.9.1923): 1001. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 23 August 1924, 10, announced that the city “will continue to provide undiminished support to the cooperative settlement movement.”

151 Design and production of *Siedlung* housing continued to be administered by the Siedlungsamt, which operated on a reduced scale until 1934. Between 1919 and 1934 the Siedlungsamt supervised the construction of 7,000 dwelling units in forty-five *Siedlungen*. Although around twenty-four architects were employed in two design bureaus, six architects (Schuster and Schacherl, Hugo Mayer, Karl Schartelmüller, and the partners Franz Kaym and Alfons Hetmanek) designed more than half of the houses in the nine largest *Siedlungen*. See Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 85. The *Siedlungen* were located, according to Loos’s *Siedlungsplan*, in three principal zones; see *Das Neue Wien*, 1:284.

152 On Kaym and Hetmanek, see Marco Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagners 1894–1912* (Vienna: Anton Schroll Verlag, 1980), 226–227, 232. On Weissenböck and Am Flotzersteig *Siedlungen*, see Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 149–152; Wehlsmann, *Rote Wien*, 245, 332–333.

153 Both *Siedlungen* were published in a well-illustrated article, “Bautätigkeit der Wiener Stadtverwaltung. Die Siedlungen: Am Flotzersteig und Weissenböckstrasse,” *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1925/1926): 277–283. Images also appeared in *Moderne Bauformen* 11 (1926): 429; and *Wiens Monatshefte für Bankwesen und Städtebau* 10 (1926): 363–364.

154 For Wagner school preoccupation with the vernacular, see chapter 9. See also Iain Boyd Whyte, *Three Architects from the Master Class of Otto Wagner: Emil Hoppe, Marcel Kammerer, Otto Schönlank* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 32–50; and Eduard F. Sekler, *Josif Hoffmann: The Architectural Work: Monographs and Catalogue of Works* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), particularly chap. 3.

155 Franz Kaym and Alfons Hetmanek, *Wohnstätten für Menschen, heute und morgen: Eine Studie zur Wohnungsreform* (Vienna: Tbl, 1919). The project also appears in idem, *Franz Kaym und Alfons Hetmanek. Ausgeführte Bauten* (Vienna: Elsbemühl Verlag, 1931).

156 Further regarding Ehn, see chapter 8. On Hermeswiese, see Karl Ehn, "Bautätigkeit der Wiener Stadtverwaltung. Die Siedlung Hermeswiese," *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1925): 73–80. Images were also published in *Moderne Bauformen* 11 (1925): 355–357.

157 See note 156. Hermeswiese is also discussed in Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 162–163, and A. Atherton-Smith, trans. Hermann Ehn, *Die ländlichen Siedlungen in Wien und Umgebung* (Eisenach: R. Matte, 1925).

158 Ehn, "Bautätigkeit Hermeswiese," 73.

159 Scharfentmüller, an architect in the city building office, specialized in *Siedlung* design. On Lockerwiese, see Wehsmann, *Rote Wien*, 354; Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 182. Multiple-use spaces such as the *Wohnküche*, kitchen-workroom-washroom, garden work space, etc. were eliminated. This corresponded to developments in the apartment plans of the *Gemeindebauten* after 1926, according to which the *Wohnküche* was replaced by a separate kitchen and living room (see chapter 6).

160 Emers quoted in Safran and Wang, *Adolf Loos*, 50.

161 Hegemann mentions the Hoffingergasse incident in "Kritisches," 365, 366. Otto Neurath made the same observation regarding the settlers in "Städtebau und Proletariat," *Der Kampf* 21 (1924), 236.

162 Ludwig Neumann, "Das Organisationsproblem der Österreichischen Siedlungsbewegung," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 136–137.

163 Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 82.

164 Charles O. Hardy, assisted by Robert R. Kuczynski, *The Housing Program of the City of Vienna* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1934), 69.

165 For the Werkbund Siedlung, see Spalt and Czech, *Frank*, 145–161; Otto Neurath, "Die internationale Werkbundausstellung in Wien," *Die Form* 7 (1932); idem, "Glückliches Wohnen: Die Bedeutung der Werkbund-siedlung für die Zukunft," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 19 June 1932, 5; Wolfdieter Dreiholz, "Die internationale Werkbundausstellung, Wien 1932" (Ph.D. diss., Technical University, Graz, 1977); Adolf Krischanitz and Otto Kapfinger, *Die Wiener Werkbundausstellung: Dokumentation einer Erneuerung* (Vienna: Compress, 1985).

166 Friedrich Achleitner, "The Österreichischer Werkbund and Its Relations with the Deutscher Werkbund," in Burckhardt, *The Werkbund*, 110.

167 Schuster did not participate; Brenner and Plischke, students of Strnad, Frank and Behrens, represented a younger generation of architects.

168 Pommer and Otto, in *Weissenhof 1927*, 150, note that none of the foreign architects invited had participated in the Weissenhof-siedlung. They were considered "second-stringers" compared to the leading modern architects who participated in the German Werkbund exhibition.

169 On the split within the Austrian Werkbund, see Achleitner, "Österreichischer Werkbund," 111.

Chapter 4. Vienna Builds on Itself

Chapter epigraph: Max Emers, "Housing Policy in Vienna, 1919–1934," *Town and Country Planning* 9 (1941/1942): 140.

1 The authoritative secondary literature on the municipal program of Red Vienna (see chapter 1, note 11) provides detailed accounts of the financial structure, social, cultural, educational, and housing policies of the Gemeinde Wien, but on the whole these texts do not deal in any detail with the decision-making processes by which these policies were developed. The principal monographs on the building program—Fritz C. Wulz, "Stadt in Veränderung: Eine

architekturpolitische Studie von Wien," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Stockholm, 1976); Karl Mang, ed., *Kommunaler Wohnbau in Wien: Aufbruch 1923–1934 Ausstrahlung* (Vienna: Presse- und Informationsdienst der Stadt Wien, 1977); Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hauptmann, *Die Gemeinderäte der Stadt Wien 1919–1934* (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980); Manfred Tafuri, ed., *Vienna 1918–1934: la politica residenziale nella Vienna socialista, 1918–1934* (Milan: Electa, 1980); Helmut Wehltmann, *Das Rote Wien* (Vienna: Promedia, 1985)—do not address these questions in any detail. The only work to closely examine the city council minutes (*Gemeinderatsprotokolle*) is Renate Schweitzer, "Der staatlich geförderte, der kommunale und der gemeinnützige Wohnung- und Siedlungsbau in Österreich bis 1945," 2 vols. (Ph. D. diss. Technische Universität Wien, 1972). The calendar of discussions in the city council meetings is given in Franz Patzer, "Zeittafel sämtlicher Sitzungen des Wiener Gemeinderates von 1918 bis 1934 mit den wichtigsten Verhandlungspunkten, wie Kundgebungen, Wahlen, Beschlüsse, Anfragen, Anträge, usw.," in *Streiflichter auf die Wiener Kommunalpolitik, 1919–1934* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1978), 61–123. The official publications of the city of Vienna—in particular *Das Neue Wien*, 4 vols. (Vienna: Gemeinde Wien, 1926–1928); Josef Bittner, *Die Neubauten der Stadt Wien*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Gerlach und Wiedling, 1926–1930); Anton Weber, *Die Wohnungspolitik der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Deutscherösterreichischer Städtebund, 1926); and Robert Danneberg, *Vienna under Socialist Rule*, trans. H.J. Stenning (London: Labour Party, 1928)—also do not discuss the process by which decisions regarding the building program were reached.

2 The archives of the Siedlungsamt and the Departments of Housing and Town Planning were apparently destroyed in a fire.

3 The city council meeting minutes—*Gemeinderats-Sitzungen, Stenographische Protokolle*—are in the Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna. Schweitzer, "Der staatliche geförderte bis 1945," examines the annual budget debates in detail. But decisions regarding architectural design and architectural program were not made or discussed in these meetings.

4 The principal repository of documents is the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv which contains the *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien* (administrative reports), city council minute books, and the archives of the Division of Public Works.

Contemporary publications include Ludwig Neumann, ed., *Das Wohnungswesen in Österreich* (Vienna: Thalia, 1929), which contains essays by a number of officials in the City Building Office and other municipal departments responsible for the building program; Rudolf Tillmann, ed., *Festschrift herausgegeben anlässlich der Hundertjahrfeier des Wiener städtischen Baues* (Vienna: Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1935), contains important information regarding the organization of the administrative departments responsible for the building program.

5 Tom Bottomore and Patrick Goode, eds., *Austro-Marxism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 288. On Danneberg, see Leon Kane, *Robert Danneberg: Ein pragmatischer Realist* (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1980).

6 The evolution of Social Democratic housing policy as well as the new tax structure and the roles played by Danneberg, Breiner, and others in the development of policy and program are elucidated in Maren Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie und Kommunalpolitik in Wien: Zu einigen Aspekten sozialdemokratischer Politik in der Vor- und Zwischenkriegszeit*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 49 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1980), 91–137; Maren Seliger and Karl Ucakar, *Wien: Politische Geschichte*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1985), 1058–1067; Rainer Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik im sozialdemokratischen Wien 1919–1934* (Salzburg: Verlag Wolfgang Neugebauer, 1979), 128–139. For a comprehensive treatment of the financial policy of Red Vienna, see Felix Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik der Gemeinde Wien in den ersten Republik (1919–1934)*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 6, 11 (Vienna: Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1958, 1959), Heft 6.

7 Charles A. Gulick, *Austria, from Habsburg to Hitler*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 1:357, 164–171. The decision to finance the program out of current tax receipts had been taken in 1922, but the Social Democrats were not able to act on it until 1923, after the Austrian currency stabilized. In spite of a brief *Inflationskonjunktur* (a boom caused by inflation) in 1921, the country's revenues were almost nil. The boom, supported almost entirely by foreign credits, was over by spring 1922. Loans received from Czechoslovakia and Great Britain were exhausted. As a result the downward plunge of Austrian currency accelerated. Measures were taken to restore foreign confidence by curbing expenditures and increasing taxation. But by summer

1922 the federal deficit was increasing at a rate of a half billion crowns per month and the country was in a state of panic. That summer Monsignor Ignaz Seipel, Austria's newly instated Christian Socialist chancellor, attempted to secure a loan from the Allied powers—threatening to relinquish responsibility for running the country if help was not forthcoming. The strategy failed, and Seipel (a shrewd and ruthless politician known as the “prelate without mercy”) employed a new tactic. Negotiating first with Prague, then with Berlin, and finally with Italy for the incorporation of Austria first into Czechoslovakia, then Germany, and finally Italy, he forced the Allies, who were greatly alarmed by the prospect of any such alliance, to respond to his demands. The result was ratification of the Geneva Protocols in October 1922, whereby Austria was granted a substantial loan from the League of Nations. In exchange for the loan, Austria was forced to agree to a program of monetary reforms, to accept supervision of the administration of the loan by a League-appointed Commissioner-General, and to guarantee that the new republic would form no alliances with foreign powers but would retain its political and economic independence and territorial integrity. The protocols were accepted on 24 October 1922. On 28 October 1922 a reconstruction law was passed empowering the Seipel cabinet to take all measures necessary within the limits of the program agreed upon with the League to balance Austria's budget within two years. On 18 November 1922, inflation in Austria stopped.

8 *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 11 June 1925, 10, quoted in Felix Czeike, *Likeness, Christian-Socialism and Social-Democratic Communism* (1861–1934): *Dargestellt am Beispiel der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1962), 91.

9 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:144, 169.

10 Weber, *Wohnungspolitik*, 31. See also Gulick, *Austria*, 1:483–484, in which Weber's contention is examined carefully.

11 The federal Rent Control Act of December 1922 replaced the imperial decrees that had been issued during the war to protect tenants against arbitrary notice and war profiteering by landlords (see chapter 2). These had been rendered ineffectual by postwar currency devaluation. Since the decrees more or less prohibited rent increases, the landlord's income from rent had been reduced to practically

nothing, making it impossible for house owners in Vienna to maintain or repair their buildings. Furthermore, since the value of the crown changed almost daily during this period, leases had constantly to be renegotiated, which created an administrative nightmare for the rent offices set up to deal with these matters. See Gulick, *Austria*, 1:439–441.

12 *Ibid.*, 442–445. For a detailed exposition of the *Mieterschutz*, its history, changes to the law, and political battles over it, see Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik*, 26–84.

13 There was violent opposition to the new rent law by landlords throughout Austria. When the final draft of the proposed act became public in the fall of 1922, the landlords in Vienna organized a strike, cutting off water supply and electricity; refusing to collect rents, pay taxes, and clean pavements in front of buildings; and removing telephone wires, mailboxes, and cross-wires supporting streetcar cables from their buildings. It was not a success, fizzling out on the first day. Opposition to rent control continued, however, and was to a large extent drawn along party lines, with the Social Democrats supporting rent control and the Christian Socialists opposing the law. Of course, the Christian Socialist federal government upheld the law on the grounds that it was essential to the national economy, as well as to ensure the proper upkeep of the existing housing stock in Vienna. Gradually the issue of tenants' protection evolved into a parliamentary struggle between the Social Democrats and the Christian Socialists for the support of the disaffected middle classes most severely affected by the rent restrictions. For a full discussion of the struggles against rent control and tenants' protection, see Gulick, *Austria*, 1:459–479; Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik*, 38–49, 79–87.

14 For a discussion of the economic and political justification of the Rent Control Act, see Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik*, 56–66.

15 Charles O. Hardy, assisted by Robert R. Kuczynski, *The Housing Program of the City of Vienna*. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1934) 37–38, argues that rent control had the positive effect of diminishing overcrowding in small apartments since tenants were less inclined to take in subtenants and lodgers in order to meet the cost of rent.

16 Even before rent control the municipality had been steadily acquiring large areas of building land within the city to one-seventh to one-tenth of the prewar real estate prices. *Ibid.*, 83.

17 It is important to note, however, that only a comparatively small amount of the land owned by the municipality before 1919 was suitable for large-scale building. Most of it had been already designated for some other public use, was built up, or was situated beyond the zone of convenient public transportation, see *ibid.*, 78. The prewar land purchases, which could not lead to new housing construction, aggravated the existing housing shortage in the city by restricting the existing supply of land, decreasing private building activities, and driving up rents; see Gulick, *Austria*, 1:416–417.

18 For the Social Democrats' land acquisition policy, see Hardy, *Housing Program*, 77–85; Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik*, 140–142; Hautmann and Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten*, 50–51.

19 In February 1922—that is, before the currency stabilization—the city council passed a rent tax law that was intended to provide the municipality with a new source of building funds. Because of the monetary crisis, however, the city realized only a relatively small income from this tax. After the stabilization that rent tax was abolished. See Gulick, *Austria*, 1:445, 434–435.

20 Weber, *Wohnungspolitik*, 22–23. For a detailed account of Vienna's tax structure, see Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 6, 61–106. See also Gulick, *Austria*, 1:354–406, esp. 398–406.

21 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:362–367.

22 Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik*, 128.

23 For the annual building program of 1923, see Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 1 February 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/9): 554, 556. Three-tenths of the allocated funds were to be spent on the construction of "one-family house type" dwellings: *Kernhaus* cottages of the smallest type, which could be expanded later. Six-tenths of the funds were to be applied to the construction of small apartments, or *Kleinwohnungen*, in multistory apartment blocks. The re-

maining one-tenth of the *Wohnsteuer* and other tax revenues were earmarked for maintenance of old buildings. Launched in conjunction with an emergency scheme for the alleviation of unemployment, whereby generous contracts were awarded to private builders and carpenters for the execution of the work, the building program proceeded with record speed. By the end of 1923, 2,256 instead of 1,000 new dwellings had been built in fifteen apartment blocks and three cottage settlements. In addition, unemployment in the construction industries and building trades in Vienna had dropped from 12,453 at the end of February to 3,826 by the middle of June. The first five-year program was announced eight months later; see Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 21 September 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/15): 2491, 2492, 2496.

24 On the financing of the building program, see Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 6, 106–126; Heft 11, 30–45. Between 1923 and 1930, the municipality spent the equivalent of \$93,432,000 (in 1931) on housing construction.

25 Anton Weber, Franz Musil, and Dr. Pawlik, "Der Wohnungsbau der Stadt Wien und seine wohlbaupolitischen Grundlagen," in *Das Wohnungswesen der Stadt Wien* (Stuttgart: Julius Hoffmann Verlag, 1932), 6. An interesting contribution to the debate on Vienna's method of financing its building program was an article, "Der Internationale Wohnungs- und Städtebaukongress in Wien," *Wohnungswirtschaft*, nos. 18/19 (1 October 1926): 149–156; by Martin Wagner (newly appointed *Stadtbauinspektor* of Berlin), who maintained that the Austrian method of subsidizing industry through rent control was fallacious. Low rents and low salaries would keep industry from rationalizing. Since it was necessary to pay interest on capital invested in new building, money not supplied by rent had to be paid instead by taxes (primarily) on income, which in turn prevented Austrian industry from rationalizing. With regard to the buildings, Wagner maintained that the low rents kept the apartments small and the standard of amenities low, and the practice of building on land already owned by the city tied the worker to industry whose inefficiency led to unemployment. As a result socialism would not be able to find its own artistic character: rationality, uniformity.

- 26 Rents for commercial space in the new buildings, depending on their location, were 150–250 schillings (the currency adopted in 1922 to replace the devalued krone) per square meter per month; for shops, warehouses, workshops, ateliers, and studios rents charged were 120–180 schillings; basement stores were charged 30–40 groschen; basement warehouses and storage areas, 20–30 groschen. See Hardy, *Housing Program*, 85–87.
- 27 Gulick, *Austria*, 1:416–417; Hardy, *Housing Program*, 77–85; Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 11, 45–50.
- 28 For a discussion of the expropriation laws in effect throughout most of the interwar period and the difficulties they created, see Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 11, 49; Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik*, 142.
- 29 Czeike, *Kommunalpolitik*, 85; Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 11, 46; Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," 118.
- 30 Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 6, 101–106; Heft 11, 48.
- 31 *Ibid.*, Heft 11, 49.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 21 September 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/15): 2495–2496.
- 34 Karl Hardt, "Die Verfassung der Bundeshauptstadt Wien," in *Das Neue Wien*, 1:27–50. The reorganization of the municipal administration in June 1920 is discussed in chapter I.
- 35 The *Stadtbauinspektor* from 1913 to 1920 was Heinrich Goldemund, who had been in the Stadtbauamt since 1890. Goldemund had an engineering degree and doctorate from the Technical University in Vienna. Before becoming director he had been involved in developing the guidelines for the *Generalsanierungsplan* competition of 1893. In 1894 he was put in charge of the *Büro für Stadtergänzung* (city development bureau) as technical advisor, together with Karl Mayreder as artistic advisor. Goldemund retained this position until 1908, when he was appointed acting director of the Stadtbauamt. He was responsible for establishing the *Wald- und Wiesengürtel* and for all land purchases carried out before 1920. See Tillmann, *Festschrift stadtbauamtes*, 49–51.
- 36 On Fiebigler, see Wilfried Posch, *Die Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung: Reformversuch Zwischen erster und zweiter Gründerzeit* (Vienna: Edition Tusch, 1981), 64; Tillmann, *Festschrift stadtbauamtes*, 52–53.
- 37 While in the Department of Transport, Musil helped develop the brief for the international competition for a development plan for Belgrad. Tillmann, *Festschrift stadtbauamtes*, 54–55; Wolfgang Mayer, *Die städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens bis 1945* (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1978), 78–79, 134; "80. Geburtstag von Franz Musil Dipl. Ing. Dr. techn.," *Rathaus Korrespondenz*, 26 March 1964, 678.
- 38 Karl Ernst Rewole, "Wie kommt der Bau eines städtischen Wohnhauses zustande," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 28 August 1924, 6.
- 39 "Die Funfundzwanzigtausendste," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 17 June 1926, 1; "Franz Siegel, Stadtrat gestorben in Wien, 51 Jährig," *Volks-Zeitung*, 31 November 1927, 3.
- 40 Tillmann, *Festschrift stadtbauamtes*, 28–34.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 31–34. See also Heinrich Strasser, "Zur Organisationsgeschichte des Wiener Stadtbauamtes," *der aufbau* 2 (1965): 108–112.
- 42 *Das Neue Wien*, 1:56–57; Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik*, 145–148; Hardy, *Housing Program*, 76.
- 43 Adalbert Furch, "Die konstruktiven Fragen bei der mehrgeschossigen Gemeindefohnhäuser," in Neumann *Das Wohnungswesen*, 211.
- 44 *Das Neue Wien*, 1:56–57; *Die Versammlung der Bundeshauptstadt Wien in der Zeit vom 1. Jänner 1923 bis 31. Dezember 1928* (Vienna, 1933), 2:1239, hereafter cited as *Versammlungsbericht* (1923–1928); Hans Hafner, "Die Baulitigkeit der Gemeinde Wien auf dem Gebiete des Hochbaus in den Jahren nach dem Krieg," *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereines*, nos. 15/16 (18 April 1924): 129.

45 Gustav A. Fuchs, "Der Gedanke der Wirtschaftlichkeit im Wohnhausbau," in Neumann, *Das Wohnungswesen*, 216-217.

46 *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923-1928): 1239; *Das Neue Wien*, 3:181-182; Weber, *Wohnungspolitik*, 55-56.

47 Johann Gundacker, "Die Baustoffbeschaffung für den gemeindlichen Grossbaubetrieb," in Neumann, *Das Wohnungswesen*, 217-218.

48 *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923-1928): 1238.

49 On the private firms involved, see profiles of the major companies in *Das Neue Wien*, 3:273-291. At the time of the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning Congress in Vienna, a special, heavily illustrated section of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 15 September 1926, 30, was devoted to the different construction companies involved in the program. Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 56, faults the city administration for supporting small construction companies rather than buying them up and restructuring construction business in the city. Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie*, 137-138, sees this as evidence that the Social Democrats considered the building program as a short-term undertaking.

50 Josef Bitner, "Der Anteil der Architektur-Abteilung am Wohnbauprogramm der Gemeinde Wien," in Neumann, *Das Wohnungswesen*, 207-210; *Das Neue Wien*, 4: 149-152.

51 Josef Bitner, "Der Einfluss des Stadtbaumeisters auf die baukünstlerische Entwicklung Wiens," Tillmann, *Festschrift stadtbaumeisters*, 152. The head of the architecture section from 1920 to 1926 was Friedrich Jäckel, who left to take up a professorship at the Technische Hochschule in Graz. He was replaced by Josef Bitner, an architect trained at the Technical University, Vienna.

52 Hafner, "Die Bautätigkeit der Gemeinde Wien," 135.

53 Breitner had announced this policy when he first presented the building program to the city council; see Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 21 September 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/15): 2496.

54 The way the commissioning of buildings worked out in practice is examined in chapters 8 and 9. See Bitner, "Die Einfluss des Stadtbaumeisters," 153-154; idem, "Der Anteil der Architektur-Abteilung," 209-210.

55 These procedures and the ones that follow are outlined in Rewole, "Wie kommt der Bau," 6.

56 Information on contracts between architects and the municipality is based on a contract between Rudolf Perco and the *Magistrats-Abteilung 22 [Architektur-Abteilung]* dated 21 June 1930, for the design of the housing complex on the Friedrich-Engels-Platz. In Nachlass Rudolf Perco, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv.

57 Ibid.

58 Hardy, *Housing Program*, 91.

59 Tillmann, *Festschrift stadtbaumeisters*, 32-34.

60 Rewole, "Wie kommt der Bau" 6.

61 Ibid.

62 For Weber, see *Volks-Zeitung*, 15 January 1922, 7; *Wiener Zeitung*, 30 December 1950, 3; *Rathaus Korrespondenz*, 29 December 1950, 2417.

63 *Das Neue Wien*, 1:225.

64 Ibid., 225-239. A sample application form and the classification point system checklist are reproduced in facsimile, 231-235.

65 Reinhard Sieder, "Housing Policy, Social Welfare, and Family Life in 'Red Vienna,' 1919-1934," *Oral History* 13, no. 2 (1985):39. The number of applicants rated Class I fluctuated in the first four years during which the classification system was used. In 1922 there were 15,039 Class I applicants; in 1923, 19,503; in 1924, 20,800; and in 1925, 16,448. By November 1930 the number had dropped to 8,075. Yet the volume of cases handled by the housing office remained high throughout the interwar period. On average 100 new dwellings were allocated per week. A comparable number of re-assignments and apartment exchanges were also handled by the housing office. See Hardy, *Housing Program*, 93-96.

66 Cited in Hardy, *Housing Program*, 95. Hardy notes that there is no evidence to support these figures.

67 *Ibid.*, 95–96.

68 Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik*, 100–101.

69 *Das Neue Wien*, 1:224–228.

70 See Gottfried Pirhofer and Reinhard Sieder, "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie im Roten Wien: Familienpolitik, Kulturreform, Alltag und Aesthetik," in Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder, eds., *Historische Familienforschung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982), 351–357; Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 62–64.

71 Philip Vas, *Die Wiener Wohnungszwangswirtschaft von 1919–1927* (Jena: G. Fischer, 1928), 91.

72 Pirhofer and Sieder, "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie," 358.

73 *Ibid.*, 351–356; Sieder, "Housing Policy, Social Welfare, and Family Life," 39–40, 45–46.

74 Hardy, "Die Verfassung der Bundeshauptstadt Wien," 38–50; Rewole, "Wie kommt der Bau," 6.

75 Excerpts from such discussions in the city council minutes (Gemeinderats-Sitzung, Stenographische Protokolle) are quoted throughout this book. Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 51, notes that the discussions of the building program and its objectives in city council meetings were "desaltory" probably "because the socialists knew they had the necessary votes, or because they were interrupted by the Christian Social opposition with outrageous objections raised out of sheer frustration."

76 These procedures and the ones outlined below are detailed in Rewole, "Wie kommt der Bau," 6.

77 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 21 September 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/15):2496.

Chapter 5. *Grossstadt* and Proletariat

1 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 21 September 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/15):2496. Breitner did note, however, that *Siedlung* construction was considerably more expensive than apartment block construction, requiring more land (per unit) as well as the construction of new transportation, water, gas, and electric lines.

2 Wilfried Posch, "Die Gartenstadtbewegung in Wien: Persönlichkeiten, Ziele, Erfolge und Misserfolge," *Bauforum*, nos. 77/78 (1980): 19. *Das Neue Wien*, 4 vols. (Vienna: Gemeinde Wien, 1926–1928), 3:15, lists the number of *Wohnhäuser* (apartment blocks) built by the municipality in the years 1919–1926. Between 1919 and 1922, six buildings were completed (3 in 1919, 1 in 1920, 2 in 1921) comprising a total of 623 units. The numbers increase dramatically after that: 10 in 1922 (663 units), 20 in 1923 (2,265 units), 24 in 1924 (5,829 units), 54 in 1925 (9,389 units), and 32 in 1926 (5804 units).

3 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 16 May 1924, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/23): 1614.

4 Max Ermers, "Die Selbstabwürgung des Landes Wien," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 126–128; Wilfried Posch, *Die Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung: Reformversuch Zwischen erster und zweiter Grönderzeit* (Vienna: Edition Tusch, 1981), 60.

5 Ermers, "Die Selbstabwürgung," 127–128.

6 Karl Honay, ed., *The Housing Policy of the Municipality of Vienna* (Vienna: Deutsch-Österreichischer Städtebund, 1926), 14. This is a slightly expanded English version of Anton Weber, *Die Wohnungspolitik der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Deutsch-Österreichischer Städtebund, 1926). Versions of the same text were published in Franz Musil, "Wohn- und Verkehrsverhältnisse in ihrer gegenseitigen Abhängigkeit," in *Internationaler Wohnungs- und Städtebaukongress*, Vorberichte I (Vienna, 1926), 153ff.; and in *Das Neue Wien*, 3:52–53. The interpolated figures in brackets are from Renate Schweitzer, "Der staatlich geförderte, der kommunale und gemeinnützige Wohnungs- und Siedlungsbau in Österreich bis 1945," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Technische Universität Wien, 1972), 1:353.

7 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 15 February 1924, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/20): 515–516.

8 Paul Kurtz, *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Verlag von Gerlach und Weidling, 1905–1906), 1:73. See also Ernst Kurtz, *Die Städtebauliche Entwicklung der Stadt Wien in Beziehung zum Verkehr*, Beiträge zur Stadtforschung, Stadtentwicklung und Stadtgestaltung, Heft 6 (Vienna: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, 1981).

9 Carl Hochegger, *Beiträge zur Verbesserung der Wiener Verkehrsverhältnisse* (Vienna: W. Frick, 1923), 10; see also idem, "Siedlungsweisen und Verkehr," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 6 March 1924, 11.

10 Hans Schürff, "Das Schicksal der Wiener Stadtbahn," *Neue Freie Presse*, 13 January 1924, 4–5.

11 Franz Musil, "Wohn- und Verkehrsverhältnisse," 153ff. For a general discussion of the transportation factor, see Schweitzer, "Der staatlich geförderte bis 1945," 1:350–353.

12 The area was mostly state-owned, and only "dedicated" (*gewidmet*) to the municipality. See Renate Banik-Schweitzer, "Der Generalregulierungsplan für Wien (1893–1920)," *Beiträge zur Raumforschung und Raumplanung* 14, no. 6 (1970): 35. Heinrich Goldemund, director of the *Regulierungsbüro* (development office) from 1900 to 1908, determined that the western districts of Vienna should be restricted to single-family house or villa development, and that industrial development should take place in the eastern districts. Banik-Schweitzer also provides evidence that the belt of woods and meadows (which restricted urban development, particularly in the western districts) was conceived as a means of maintaining and increasing land values within the metropolitan area.

13 Posch, "Gartenstadtbewegung in Wien," 23, 24 n. 70.

14 Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 88; Hans Kampffmeyer, *Siedlung und Kleingarten* (Vienna: Verlag Julius Springer, 1926), 43. See also Willem K. Korthals Altes and Andreas Faludi, "Why the Greening of Red Vienna Did Not Come to Pass: An Unknown Chapter of the Garden City Movement, 1919–1934," *European Planning Studies* 3, no. 2 (1995): 217. The process was further complicated by the law,

lack of clarity regarding the compensation the city had to pay, and its requirement that the municipality realize the intended use of the land immediately (otherwise, the land would revert to the original owners). Attempts were made to revise the law. In 1921 a commission with representatives from the three major political parties commissioned Peter Westen to draft new legislation enabling the compulsory purchase of land for *Gartenriedlung* purposes. The draft was published: Peter Westen, "Entwurf eines Rahmenprogrammes für die Siedlungskaktion (Vorgelegt dem parlamentarischen Neuausschuss)," *Der Siedler* 1, no. 1 (1921): 5–10. But, as Korthals Altes and Faludi explain, "polarization between the political parties had gone too far for any piece of federal legislation favouring Vienna to pass." I am indebted to Renate Banik-Schweitzer for directing me to this source and to the more detailed account of the subject in the unpublished master's thesis by W. K. Korthals Altes, "Die Wiener Raumplanung der Zwischenkriegszeit—Stadtplanung und Wohnungsbau 1919–1934" (master's thesis, Institut für Stadt- und Regionalforschung der Technischen Universität Wien, 1990).

15 The conservative economist Robert Kuczynski (1876–1947), who prepared the memorandum used by Charles O. Hardy in the preparation of *The Housing Program of the City of Vienna*, published by the Brookings Institution in 1934, refutes the economic arguments put forward by the Social Democrats to support their choice of an urban housing typology, focusing particularly on the claim that apartment buildings were less expensive to construct than low-rise houses. In the memorandum he provides evidence to show that while the cost of construction was arguably higher for low-rise houses, the cost of land was much lower in outlying areas. Kuczynski further maintains that the municipality possessed sufficient building land for low-rise housing and that it exaggerated and misrepresented the potential costs of *Siedlung* construction. He also counters the Social Democrats' claims that it would have been impossible to provide *Siedlungen* with communal facilities (an argument used by the municipality to support large, multiunit housing complexes). Kuczynski concludes that the principal reason for building large inner-city *Gemeindebauten* rather than low-rise *Siedlungen* was political and that the purpose of the *Gemeindebauten* was to foster socialist solidarity.

16 The amendment was passed by the city council as *Landtag* (provincial assembly) on 20 January 1923. See Korthals Altes and Faludi, "The Greening of Red Vienna," 216–217.

17 For biographical information on Reumann, see Posch, "Gartenstadtbewegung in Wien," 13; Klaus Novy and Wolfgang Förster, *einfach bauen* (Vienna: Verein für moderne Kommunalpolitik, 1985) 41–42; see also his entry in the *Österreichische Biographische Lexikon 1815–1950* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969).

18 On Seitz, see Wolfgang Mayer, *Die Städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens bis 1945* (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1978), 133–134. Seitz's life and career remain largely unresearched. Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919–1934* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 205 n. 48, notes that there is no biography, nor have substantial or significant archives been discovered for Seitz—or indeed for a number of other Social Democratic leaders of the interwar period, including Robert Danneberg and even Otto Bauer. Gruber remarks, "It is doubtful, as one is always told, that such valuable records were completely destroyed during the war." The socialist abloid *Der Kuckuck*, 8 September 1929, 5, noted that Seitz had a working-class background. He was born 4 September 1869 in Vienna, where the family had been winners for several generations. Orphaned at the age of eleven, Seitz spent the rest of his childhood in city orphanages and in foster care. He therefore had firsthand experience of conditions in both. Seitz served an apprenticeship in the tailoring business (*Schneiderhandwerke*) before becoming a schoolteacher.

19 Quoted in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 17 June 1924, 8; see also Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 75–78.

20 The standard histories of the building program of Red Vienna all trace the *Gemeindebauten* back to these early socialist communal housing forms. See, for example, Karl Mang, ed., *Kommunaler Wohnbau in Wien: Aufbruch 1923–1934 Ausstrahlung* (Vienna: Presse- und Informationsdienst der Stadt Wien, 1977); Manfred Tafuri, "'Das Rote Wien': Politica e forma della residenza nella Vienna socialista, 1919–1934" in Tafuri, ed., *Vienna Rossa: la politica residenziale nella Vienna socialista, 1919–1933* (Milan: Electa, 1980), 29, 32; Helmut Wehsmann, *Das Rote Wien* (Vienna: Promedia, 1985), 69–78; Gerhard Habarta, et al., *Wohnen in Wien: Wohnbau mit Gewinnung* (Vienna: Europalia 87 Österreich, 1987), 40–57. See also Kurt Freisitzer and Harry Glück, *Sozialer Wohnbau: Entstehung, Zustand, Alternativen* (Vienna: Verlag Fritz Molden, 1979), 15–23.

21 Otto Bauer, *Der Weg zum Sozialismus* (Vienna: Ignaz Brand, 1919), 116–121. On Bauer and the Social Democratic discourse regarding the "double burden" of working women, see Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 50, 147–155.

22 Reinhard Sieder, "Housing Policy, Social Welfare, and Family Life in 'Red Vienna,' 1919–1934," *Oral History* 13, no. 2 (1985): 39; Peter Marcuse, "A Useful Installment of Socialist Work: Housing in Red Vienna in the 1920s," in Rachel G. Bratt, Chester Hartman, and Ann Meyerson, eds., *Critical Perspectives on Housing* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 369. See also Theresie Schlesinger, "Krieg und Einzelhaushalt," *Der Kampf* (1915), 403–411; Lily Braun, *Frauenarbeit und Hauswirtschaft* (Berlin: Expedition der Buchhandlung Vorwärts, 1901).

23 For the Social Democrats' argument regarding communal facilities, see Weber, *Wohnungspolitik*, 23–27. The point is repeatedly made by city officials. For a conservative counter-argument to these claims, see note 15.

24 Ernst May, "Hochbau oder Flachbau," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 145–146.

25 For Seitz's speech, see *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 17 June 1924, 8.

26 See chapter 3 and Ludwig Neumann, "Das Organisationsproblem der Österreichischen Siedlungsbewegung," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 136–137.

27 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 47.

28 Franz Musil, "Warum Wien keine Gartenstadt baut," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 17 June 1926, 3.

29 Ibid. Korthals Altes and Faludi, in "The Greening of Red Vienna," 221, conclude that the decision was based on pragmatism, and note that "To go for pragmatic solutions was in the nature of Red Vienna."

30 Friedrich Bauermeister, "Die Citybildung und Ihre Kulturelle Bedeutung," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 175.

31 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 15 February 1924, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/20): 516.

32 Bauermeister, "Die Citybildung," 175; Hans Kampffmeyer, "Aus der Wiener Siedlungsbewegung," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 134.

33 Burkhardt Rukscio and Roland Schachel, *Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1982), 320–321.

34 Neurath, "Siedebau und Proletariat," *Der Kampf*, 17 (1924): 237. Korhals Ales and Faludi, in "The Greening of Red Vienna," 221, stress that the Social Democrats' municipal building program could not have succeeded without the cooperation of the OVSK. In particular, the *Verhand* released land that the city had leased to it without formal eviction orders.

35 On the *Hochbau-Flachbau* debate, see Max Ermers, "Housing Policy in Vienna, 1919–1934," *Town and Country Planning* 9 (1941/1942): 138.

36 For discussion of prewar garden city associations in Germany and Austria, see chapter 3.

37 See Andrew Lees, "Debates about the Big City in Germany, 1890–1914," *Societas* 5 (1975): 31–47. See also Joachim Petch, "The Deutscher Werkbund from 1907 to 1933 and the Movement for 'Reform of the Life and Culture,'" in Lucius Burckhardt, ed., *The Werkbund: History and Ideology, 1907–1933* (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1980), 85–90; Mitchell Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 146–166; Carl E. Schorske, "The Idea of the City in European Thought: Voltaire to Spengler," in Oscar Handlin and John Burchard, eds. *The Historian and the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1963), 95–114. See also Anthony Vidler, "Scenes of the Street: Transformations in Ideal and Reality, 1750–1871," in Stanford Anderson, ed., *On Streets* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986), 29–111.

38 See for example, Emil Vandervele, "Die Erziehung durch die Stadt," *Die Neue Zeit* 21, part 2 (1903):285–286.

39 Lees, "Debates about the Big City," 43–44.

40 This attitude is clearly expressed in the programmatic statement (by Franz Schuster) in the first issue of *Der Aufbau*, no. 1 (1926): 1, and in Julius Wilhelm, "Neue Lebensformen des Wohnens und Wirtschaftens," *Der Aufbau*, no. 5 (1926): 122.

41 The mouthpiece for this group was the journal *Der Aufbau* founded by Schuster in 1926. See in particular Franz Schuster, "Die Siedlung unser Zukunft," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 11/12 (1926):201–202.

42 Ermers quoted in Rukscio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 244, 259, 290–291.

43 Kampffmeyer quoted in *Ibid.*, 267.

44 Anton Brenner, *Mit Ach und Krach durchs Leben*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Anton Brenner, 1953), 2:21. I am indebted to Roland Hagmüller for bringing this work to my attention and making it available to me. On Brenner, see Ottokar Uhl, *Moderne Architektur in Wien: Von Otto Wagner bis heute* (Vienna: Schroll-Verlag, 1966), 108; Wehsmann, *Rate Wien*, 371. In 1926, after winning a design competition, sponsored by the journal *Bauwelt*, for a dwelling plan with built-in furniture, Brenner left Vienna for Frankfurt; there he worked under Ernst May in the Frankfurt *Hochbauamt* for two years before being invited to teach for a trial year at the Bauhaus in Dessau in 1929. His contract was not extended at the Bauhaus and Brenner returned to Vienna. On Brenner's designs for built-in furniture in Vienna, see chapter 6.

45 Werner Hegemann, "Kritisches zu den Wohnbauten der Stadt Wien," *Wannth's Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau* 10 (1926):367, 366.

46 Josef Bittner, "Die neue Baupoeche der Stadt Wien," *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 15 September 1926. 22. An article by Bittner on these study trips also appeared in *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 5 September 1926, 3.

47 On Goldemann, Fiebiger, and Musil, see Rudolf Tillmann, ed. *Festschrift herausgegeben anlässlich der Hundertjahrfeier des Wiener stadtbaumeister* (Vienna: Deutsche Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1935), 49–55; and Wolfgang Mayer, *Städtebauliche Entwicklung Wiens*, 133–134.

48 Hegemann, "Kritisches," 366.

49 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 4 March 1921, Siegel quoted in Schweitzer, "Der staatlich geförderte bis 1945," 1:291; Franz Siegel, "Ein Rückblick und ein Ausblick: Die Gemeinde baut weitere fünftausend Wohnungen," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 17 June 1926, 2.

50 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 30 November 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/16):2903. Siegel made a similar comment in Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 15 February 1924, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/20):515.

51 Josef Schneider and C. Zell, *Der Fall der Roten Festung* (Vienna: Manz, 1934), passim.

52 Novy and Förster, *einfach bauen*, 53–61, point out that this was a corollary to the conflict within the Social Democratic Party at the time pitting a council system of government vs. strong central party structure.

53 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 27 February 1920, in *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien* (10.3.1920):675.

54 See Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 72.

55 Regarding Behrens's appointment at the Academy, see Walter Wagner, *Die Geschichte der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien* (Vienna: Rosenbaum, 1967), 302ff., 321–326, 329ff. Apparently Behrens was first approached in 1918, as were alternative candidates including Hermann Bestelmeyer. In 1921, when the search was reopened, other candidates included Fritz Schumacher, Hans Poelzig, Theodor Fischer, Heinrich Tessenow, and Otto Schöndahl. On the Behrens School at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, see Karl Maria Grimme with a contribution by Prof. Dr. Peter Behrens, *Peter Behrens und seine Wiener Akademische Meisterschule* (Vienna: Adolf Luser Verlag, 1930).

56 Max Ermers, "Gross-Wiens Stadterweiterung und der neue General-Architekturplan," *Der Tag*, 25 November 1923, 6.

57 Otto Neurath, "Neu-Wiens Gesamtarchitektur—eine Aufgabe des Proletariats," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 28 October 1923, 5. On Neurath and town planning in Vienna, see Wolfgang

Hösl and Gottfried Pirhofer, "Otto Neurath und der Städtebau," in Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Arbeiterbildung in der Zwischenkriegszeit: Otto Neurath—Gerd Arns* (Vienna: Locker Verlag, 1982), 157–161. See also Günther Uhligh, "Town Planning in the Weimar Republic: Socialist aspects of reform," *Architectural Association Quarterly* 11, (1979):24–38, regarding the popularity of the organic model of the city at the time.

58 Neurath, "Neu-Wiens Gesamtarchitektur," 5. Though unacknowledged, the concept of the *Bebauungsplan* owed something to Camillo Sitte, who in *Die Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (1889) advocated the city plan conceived in three-dimensions, though he called it a *Verbauungsplan*. See George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 35–37. Yet these ideas were also current elsewhere at the time and were put forward in the context of antipicturesque, pointedly anti-Sittesque planning principles. In Germany volumetric city planning was theorized by Friedrich Ostendorf, *Sechs Bücher vom Bauen*, vol. 1 (Berlin: W. Ernst und Sohn, 1913), and in particular by the pre-eminent German authority on city planning in the first decades of the century, A. E. Brinckmann, in *Platz und Monument* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1908). On Ostendorf and Brinckmann, see also Richard Pommer, "More a Necropolis than a Metropolis: Ludwig Hilberseimer's Highrise City and Modern City Planning," in Richard Pommer et al., *In the Shadow of Mies: Ludwig Hilberseimer Architect, Educator, and Urban Planner* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 16–53. Otto Wagner also introduced the concept of planning in three dimensions; see his chapter on "Composition" in *Moderne Architektur*, translated by Harry Francis Mallgrave in Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988), 81–89. In 1912 Brinckmann wrote to Wagner congratulating him on his *Grossstadt* project published in 1911. In the letter Brinckmann noted in particular that "Your attack on all 'painterly sentimentality' and 'Sittesque sentimentalities' is so well done that I hurry to express my enthusiastic admiration." The letter, in the Research Library of the Getty Research Institute, Brentwood, California, is cited and translated in Fritz Neumeier, "Iron and Stone: The Architecture of the 'Grossstadt,'" in Harry Francis Mallgrave, ed., *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the His-

tory of Art and the Humanities, 1993), 143. The interrelation of these theoretical conceptions of the city and the origins of regional planning in Central Europe is discussed in Renate Banik-Schweitzer, "Otto Wagners 'unbegrenzte Grossstädte' (1893/1911) als Beitrag zur beginnenden Debatte über die 'Stadt in der Region'" (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, unpublished typescript (ca. 1995)).

59 The principles underlying the plan are described in *Städler und Kleingärtner* 3, no. 12 (1923): 1; and *Städler und Kleingärtner* 4, no. 1 (1924): 1.

60 See *Wertbewerb Gross-Berlin 1911*, vol. 3 (Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1911), 4.

61 Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 44–45; Eberstadt lectured in Vienna in November 1911 at the invitation of the mayor, so his proposal would certainly have been known to city planning and building officials in Vienna. Eberstadt and Möhring's distribution of parkland in the Gross-Berlin competition was taken up and developed further by Martin Wagner (*Stadtbaudirektor* of Berlin, 1926–1933) in his doctoral dissertation: "Das sanitäre Grün der Städte, ein Beitrag zur Freilichentheorie" (Berlin, 1915), published as *Städtische Freilichentheorie*, Schriften der Zentralstelle für Volkswohlfahrt n.s., no. 11 (Berlin: C. Heymann, 1915). Eberstadt and Möhring's scheme was published in "Allgemeine Städtebauausstellung Berlin 1910," *Die Gartenkunst* 23, XII/9 (1910): 155–159. See also Nicholas Bullock, "Il berlinese e la ricerca della natura," *Rassegna* 8 (1979): 39–48. Josef Frank also published a proposal (in *Städler und Kleingärtner* 3, no. 11 [1923]: 1; 3, no. 12 [1923]: 1; 4, no. 1 [1924]: 1) for a site in district XVI of Vienna in which allotments and small *Siedlung* housing were surrounded by peripheral apartment blocks. See also Korthals Altes and Faludi, "The Greening of Red Vienna," 212.

62 Otto Wagner, *Die Grossstadt: Eine Studie über diese* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1911). Part of Wagner's text was published in English as "'The Development of a Great City' by Otto Wagner: Together with an Appreciation of the Author by A. D. F. Hamlin," *Architectural Record* 31 (1912): 485–500. This text was reprinted as "The Development of a Great City" in *Oppositions* 17 (Summer 1979): 99–116, from which the following quotations are taken.

63 Otto Wagner, "The Development of a Great City," 108–109, 113.

64 *Ibid.*, 115.

65 Neurath, "Neu-Wiens Gesamtarchitektur," 5.

66 *Ibid.*

67 Otto Neurath, "Wie sollen die neuen 25,000 Wohnungen gebaut werden?" *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 24 October 1923, 6.

68 *Städler und Kleingärtner* 3, no. 12 (1923): 1; 4, no. 1 (1924): 1. See also Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 72–74.

69 Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 74–75. The public hearings were reported in the local newspapers; see Max Ermers, "Wie bauen wir künftig unsere Städte? Vortrag Prof. Hermann Jansens im Österreichischen Werkbund," *Der Tag*, 6 May 1924, 7; "Die Moderne Grossstadt, ein Vortrag des Prof. Dr. e.h. Hermann Jansen," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 8 May 1924, 11. A series of articles also appeared in Austrian trade magazines, advancing the ideas of Jansen in particular; see Hermann Jansen, "Stadtbaukunst der Neuzeit," *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1924): 33–42; H. de Fries, "Zu den Arbeiten des Architekten Professor Dr. Ing. H. C. Hermann Jansen," *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1924): 43–47. Other proposals for integrating low- and high-rise housing typologies, and for meshing the *Gartenstadtung* principle with higher-density living, were developed by Loos, Behrens, and Frank at this time as well. See, for example, a proposal by Josef Frank for a development on the Sandleitengasse in which settlement houses with allotment gardens were encircled by apartment blocks: *Städler und Kleingärtner* 3, no. 12 (1923): 1; 3, no. 12 (1924): 4; 4, no. 1 (1924): 1. But the resulting designs for terraced housing were all rejected because they were considered too expensive to build. As compensation, the ÖVSK and the architects involved in the development of the *Generalarchitekturplan* were given one of the city's largest municipal housing complexes, the Winarskyhof, to design in 1924 (see further chapter 8).

70 According to the first decree, an "Allotment Directive" issued 7 March 1924, construction of permanent dwellings

on existing allotments was essentially forbidden. Allotments were classified according to three types: *Laubengebiet*, on which only open arbors or animal sheds could be built; *Sommerbüttengebiet*, on which only huts for summer residence could be built; and *Siedlerbüttengebiet*, on which single-story settlement huts (not proper houses) could be built. This decree was followed by another on 11 March 1924, which established a *Parkschutzgebiet* (parkland preservation area) on which it was forbidden to build at all (*Bauerbeet*). The newly protected green spaces included inner-city parks and garden installations, former military exercise grounds, and imperial palace gardens. See *Das Neue Wien*, 3:14, 15; “Die Schönsten Parkanlagen Wiens als Schutzgebiet erklärt,” *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 26 February 1924, 8.

71 Anton Weber, “Die Wohnhausbauten der Gemeinde und die Kleingärten,” *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 6 August 1924, 6. Korthals Altes and Faludi, in “The Greening of Red Vienna,” 212, 221, point out that it would not have been possible for the municipality to appropriate land leased to the allotment associations if the ÖVSK had not assisted. In particular, the fact that leaseholds were given to the associations rather than to the settlers individually made it easier for the municipality to enforce the law.

72 Posch, *Wiener Gartenstadtbewegung*, 74. A plan of the settlement zones was illustrated at the time in Otto Neurath, “Generalarchitekturplan,” *Das Kunstblatt* 8 (1924): 105.

73 The program was outlined, and the discussions that took place were recorded, in “Internationaler Wohnungs- und Städtebaukongress Wien, 1926,” *Der Aufbau*, no. 5 (1926): 69–72; “Internationaler Wohnungs- und Städtebaukongress Wien,” *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 117; “Das Bodenproblem und seine Beziehungen zur Stadt- und Landesplanung,” *Der Aufbau*, no. 10 (1926): 186–190; “Die Rationelle Verteilung von Einfamilienhaus und Mehrfamilienhaus,” *Der Aufbau*, nos. 11/12 (1926): 203–206.

74 *Der Aufbau*, no. 10 (1926): 198.

75 *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereines*, nos. 51/52 (18 April 1926): 516.

76 In the last issue of *Der Aufbau*, nos. 11/12 (November/December 1926): 211–212, Franz Schuster, in an article ti-

led “Es geht um Wiens städtebauliche Entwicklung!” (It concerns Vienna’s urban development!), made an impassioned plea for the development of a *Generalentwicklungsplan* (general development plan) for Vienna and the creation of a new office of city planner in the Vienna municipal administration to advise the mayor and oversee the execution of the plan. In the same issue the appointment of Martin Wagner was announced together with a review of Sierka’s book, which was also excerpted (208–209, 222–223).

77 On the negotiations between the municipality and the ÖVSK, see Korthals Altes and Faludi, “The Greening of Red Vienna,” 218, and Korthals Altes, “Die Wiener Raump lanung der Zwischenkriegszeit.”

78 See Renate Allmayer-Beck, et al., Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky: *Soziale Architektur Zeitzeugin eines Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1993), 71–123.

79 Neurath, “Städtebau und Proletariat,” 236–242.

80 *Ibid.*, 238. Otto Neurath, “Rationalismus, Arbeiterschaft und Baugestaltung,” *Der Aufbau*, no. 4 (1926): 54.

81 Neurath, “Städtebau und Proletariat,” 238.

82 *Ibid.*

83 See Otto Neurath, “Das Proletariat als Gestalter des Grossstadtbrandes,” *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 11 June 1924, 9.

84 Karl Scheffler, *Die Architektur der Grossstadt* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1913), 129.

85 *Ibid.*, 14.

86 *Ibid.*, 129.

87 Walter Curt Behrendt, *Die einheitliche Blockfront als Raumelement im Stadtbau* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1911), 64.

88 *Ibid.*, 66.

89 Karl Scheffer, "Der Weg zum Stil," *Berlinerarchitekturwelt* 5, no. 9 (1902): 294. I am indebted to Francesco Pissanti for directing me to this article. Gerrit Köhler, *Wohnung und Stadt: Hamburg, Frankfurt, Wien: Modelle sozialen Wohnens in den zwanziger Jahren* (Braunschweig: Friede. Vieweg und Sohn, 1985), 155, 157, 166–167, points out that the turn-of-the-century conception of the city block as a unit, as well as the *Grossstadt* discourse of the period (particularly in the writings of Scheffer and Behrendt), led to thinking about the interior of the block—the courtyard—as a unit also.

90 Peter Behrens, "Einfluss von Zeit- und Raumnutzung auf moderne Formentwicklung," *Der Verkehr: Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes* (1914): 7–10. For Simmel, see Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903), in Richard Sennett, ed., *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), 47–60. Adolf Loos, in a lecture, "Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz," delivered on 11 December 1911 under the auspices of the Akademischer Verband für Literatur und Musik at the Sophiensaal in Vienna, said "modern man, who hurries through the streets, sees only that which is at his eye-level. Today, nobody has the time to look at statues on top of roofs" (quoted in Yehuda Safran and Wilfried Wang, *The Architecture of Adolf Loos* [London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1987], 48).

91 Peter Behrens, "The Education of the Rising Generation of Architects," in Grimmé, *Peter Behrens*, 14.

92 Ibid.

93 Neurath, "Städtebau und Proletariat," 242.

94 Ibid., 241, 239.

95 Ibid., 240.

96 Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, trans. Barbara Luigia La Ponsa (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976), 100, 69–70, 115. Tafuri goes on to note that the "insistence [by Walter Rathenau and others] on programming and freedom from speculation was part of a tradition that had its origins in the nineteenth century" (70), particularly in attempts to find a cooperative solution to the problem of working-class housing. See also Anthony Sutcliffe, "Germany: From Town Extensions to

Comprehensive Urban Planning" in *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States* (New York: St. Martin's, 1981), 9–46.

97 See Manfredo Tafuri, "Sozialpolitik und the City in Weimar Germany" in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Garde and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pellegrino Di Acerno and Robert Connolly (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 197–263. See also Charles S. Maier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Industrial Productivity in the 1920s" (1970), in *Search of Stability: Explorations in Historical Political Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 22–53; Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

98 Tafuri, "Sozialpolitik und the City," 206; idem, *Architecture and Utopia*, 109.

99 Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, 114.

100 Ibid., 115.

101 On Wagner's proposal and critique of May, see Tafuri, "Sozialpolitik und the City," 216–229; idem, *Architecture and Utopia*, 100, 109.

102 Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia*, 120–121, points out that "anti-urban ideology is always presented in anti-capitalist guise," but when it "is part of an advanced plan for the reorganization of residential quarters and regional restructuring . . . it is inevitably destined to be absorbed and deformed by the contingent needs of an opposing set of circumstances."

103 Otto Wagner, "The Development of a Great City," 107.

104 Ibid., 113. See also August Sarnitz, "Realism versus *Verniedlichung*: The Design of the Great City," in Mallgrave, *Otto Wagner*, 85–112. For a discussion of Wagner's influence on the building program in general see Wilhelm Holzbauer, "Die Wiener Gemeindebauten der Ersten Republik," *Zeitschrift* (October 1973): 10–12.

105 Otto Wagner, "The Development of a Great City," 111.

106 Ibid., 115.

107 On the relationship between Le Corbusier's urban projects of the early 1920s and Werkbund ideas regarding the *Grossstadt*, see Lars Olof Larsson, "Metropolis Architecture," in Anthony Sutcliffe, ed., *Metropolis, 1890-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 202. Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory*, 146-152, discusses the legacy of Werkbund ideas about the great city for CIAM. For Wagner, Scheffler, Behrendt, and German attitudes toward the "great city" in relation to Le Corbusier and Hilberseimer, see Fritz Neumeyer, "Metropolis or the Dissolution of the City? The Struggle of the 1920s against the Big City," in Jean Clair, ed., *The 1920s: Age of the Metropolis* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), 300-319, and Neumeyer, "Iron and Stone," 139. In the latter article, Neumeyer quotes from an unpublished manuscript by Hilberseimer (in the Ludwig Hilberseimer Papers, the Art Institute of Chicago) titled "Die Architekture der Grossstadt," written in 1914; in it, Hilberseimer cited "Wagners Entwurf für Wien" (Wagner's design for Vienna) among the projects significant for the development of the future city (152 n. 44).

108 Uhlrig, "Town Planning in the Weimar Republic," 25.

109 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 21 September 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/15): 2492.

110 The legal building code was finally changed in 1929. The new code, which went into effect in 1930, incorporated the new structural, spatial, and organizational standards introduced in the early 1920s by the municipal building program: "Neue Wiener Bauordnung" (Landesgesetz vom 25 November 1929, L.-G.-Bl. für Wien Nr. 11 von 1930). See also Ernst Schüller, "Die Stadtplanung Wiens seit Beginn des Weltkrieges," in Tillmann, *Festschrift stadthausnetzes*, 81-87. In 1927 Siegfried Theiss, president of the Austrian Association of Architects, noted that the municipality's building standards exceeded and had not yet been incorporated into the building code; see Siegfried Theiss, "Politik und Baukunst," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 21 April 1927, 3.

Chapter 6. The New Dwelling

1 See Maren Seliger, *Sozialdemokratie und Kommunalpolitik in Wien: Zu einigen Aspekten sozialdemokratischer Politik in der Vor- und Zwischenkriegszeit*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 49 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1980), 39.

2 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 19 February 1919, in *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien* (26.2.1919):470.

3 Ibid.

4 At the same time, however, Scheu's proposals regarding exposure, facilities, and equipment were neither original nor novel in Vienna—nor for that matter were they particularly socialistic. Instead they were drawn from earlier bourgeois housing reforms introduced in late-nineteenth-century projects, such as the Lobmeyerhof and Kaiser Franz-Josef-Jubiläumshäuser of 1898. For the Jubiläumshäuser and other examples of nineteenth-century housing reform efforts in Vienna—including a design by E. H. Aigle for large "baracks" with communal facilities containing laundries, bathhouses, clinics, and communal dining rooms (as well as central heating), rejected by industrialists who feared it would promote working-class solidarity—see Peter Feldbauer and Wolfgang Hösl, "Die Wohnungsverhältnisse der Wiener Unterschichten und die Anfänge des genossenschaftlichen Wohn- und Siedlungswesens," in Gerhard Borz et al., *Bewegung und Klasse: Studien zur österreichischen Arbeitergeschichte* (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1978), 690-691.

5 It is interesting to note in this context Ernst May's observation in the catalogue of the CIAM exhibition, *Die Wohnung für den Existenzminimum* (Frankfurt: Engler und Schloesser, 1930), 6, that new housing can only be defined negatively in terms of the "detriments of the present dwellings" that it will avoid.

6 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 19 February 1919, in *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien* (27.2.1919):470.

7 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 21 September 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/15):2495-2496. As early as 1919 Scheu had suggested that "in the preparation of the building plans, the municipality will take into account the wishes of the architects brought in to collaborate, and will guarantee

them extensive influence regarding the architectonic shaping [of the housing]; Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 19 February 1919, in *Annalen der Stadt Wien* (27.2.1919):470.

8 See, for example, Max Eisler, "Neuwiener Baukunst," *Moderne Bauformen* II (1925):375.

9 See in particular Franz Schuster and Franz Schacherl, "Proletarische Architektur," *Der Kampf*, 19 (1926):34–39; Josef Frank, "Der Vollwohnungspalast: Eine Rede, anlässlich der Grundsteinlegung, die nicht gehalten wurde," *Der Aufbau*, no. 7 (1926):107–111.

10 For Tafuri, Krauss and Schlandt, and Ungers, see notes 11 and 12 below. Peter Haiko and Mara Reissberger, "Die Wohnhausbauten der Gemeinde Wien 1919–1934," *Architecte*, no. 12 (1974):49–54, argue that the Social Democrats' program was essentially petit bourgeois; its aim was to domesticate the working class rather than to lead it to revolution, and its achievement was to ghettoize the workers. Gottfried Pirhofer and Reinhard Sieder, "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie im roten Wien: Familienpolitik, Kulturreform, Alltag und Ästhetik," in Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder, eds., *Historische Familienforschung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982), 357–363, is discussed in more detail at the end of this chapter. See also Wilhelm Kainrath, "Die gesellschaftspolitische Bedeutung des kommunalen Wohnbaus im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit," in Karl Mang ed., *Kommunaler Wohnbau in Wien: Aufbruch 1923–1934 Ausstrahlung* (Vienna: Presse- und Informationsdienst der Stadt Wien, 1977), n.p.

11 Manfredo Tafuri, "Das Rote Wien: Politica e forma residenziale nella Vienna socialista, 1919–1933," in Tafuri, ed., *Vienna Rosa: la politica residenziale nella Vienna socialista, 1919–1933* (Milan: Electa, 1970), 94. See also Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture*, trans. Robert Erich Wolf (New York: Abrams, 1979), 192.

12 O. Matthias Ungers, "The Vienna Superblocks," trans. Sina Ingberman, *Oppositions*, no. 13 (1978): 83; Karla Krauss and Joachim Schlandt, "Der Wiener Gemeindeförderungsbau—Ein sozialdemokratisches Programm," in Hans Helms and Jörn Jansen, eds., *Kapitalistischer Städtebau* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1970), 113–124.

13 The bureau was instructed to "find the best types for the small apartments, to reject nothing of value, to test new ideas that would result in the development of a variety of applicable apartment types. . . ." See Josef Bittner, "Der Anteil der Architektur-Abteilung am Wohnbauprogramm der Gemeinde Wien," in Ludwig Neumann, ed., *Das Wohnungswesen in Österreich* (Vienna: Thalia, 1929): 209.

14 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 1 February 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B2/9):556.

15 Josef Bittner, "Der Einfluss des Stadtbauwesens auf die baukünstlerische Entwicklung Wiens," in Rudolf Tillmann, ed., *Festschrift herausgegeben anlässlich der Hundertjahrfeier der Wiener stadtbauwesen* (Vienna: Deutsche Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1935), 153.

16 Two of the earliest such conversions were carried out in 1919 with assistance from the (federal) State Housing Welfare Fund, created in January of that year to cover the non-recoverable building costs. The first, at Tännbruckgasse 31, in the working-class district of Meidling (XII), was a typical Viennese apartment block of "small dwellings." Located on an irregular corner site, the building, begun in 1914, had been completed up to the roof in rough brickwork and had two lightwells and a small back courtyard into which protruded the single stairwell leading to the three upper floors. The plan was typical for Viennese early-twentieth-century tenement houses of the *Gangtischenbau* variety. On each floor was a corridor along which were ranged six apartments and four toilets. Three apartments consisted of a kitchen and one room, and three had an additional *Kabine*. The kitchens, through which the apartments were entered, ran along the internal corridor at the back of the block; the other rooms were generally at the front with windows onto the streets. Compelled to keep the existing structural walls, the Stadtbauamt basically finished the building as originally planned, without structural alterations, but with a few improvements to the standard tenement plan. The original building plans for Tännbruckgasse 31, dated 23 March 1914, as well as the conversion plans dated 9 December 1919/8 February 1920, are in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna. The early renovation-conversion projects are listed in *Das Neue Wien*, 4 vols (Vienna: Gemeinde Wien 1926–1928), 3:50; and in Hans Hafner, "Die Bautätigkeit der Gemeinde Wien auf dem Gebiete des Hochbaus in den Jahren nach dem Krieg," *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-*

Vereines, nos. 15/16 (18 April 1924): 127. In a subsequent conversion of a school building at Argentinierstrasse 44 (IV), twenty three new apartments were created out of three floors of former classroom space. Here the existing structure allowed for more varied apartment plans than in the earlier building. Though most consisted of a kitchen, full-size room, and *Kabinter*, there were also both smaller and larger units. Clothes-drying facilities were located in the attic. Like the Tannbruckgasse apartments, as well as the other accommodation provided in converted barracks and renovated prewar tenements in 1919, the Argentinierstrasse apartments were of higher quality than the standard small dwelling in Vienna. Begun in November 1919, the conversion was designed by a municipal architect, Peter Brich, *Architekt und Stadtbaumeister* (information from plans dated 14 November 1919, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv).

17 The site plan for this building is dated 23 June 1919; floor plans are dated 28 January 1920, and facade elevations, 11 February 1920. The plans were approved 28 October 1920. Parts of the building were completed at different times; approval to occupy was granted 6 May 1921. The plans are in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv. Hafner, "Die Bautätigkeit der Gemeinde Wien," 127, notes that the municipality purchased the unfinished building on the site on 5 February 1920 and completed construction 15 January 1921.

18 Burkhardt Rutschcio and Roland Schachel, *Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1982), 266.

19 We should note here that the Dutch housing built in Amsterdam and Rotterdam just before and after World War I was also organized according to a stack system. As we have seen, the Stadtbaumeister architects had visited and were well aware of the Dutch housing.

20 In 1922 construction began on eleven buildings containing 763 units. The buildings were located in districts II (Wohlstrasse, Obere Augartenstrasse), III (Erdbergerhof, Landstrasser Hauptstrasse 98), IV (Goldegasse 28–50), V (Margaretenquartier 90–98), XII (Fuchsenfeldhof), XV (Schmelz I), XVI (Eenenkstrasse), XVII (Balderichgasse), and XXI (Mitterhofergasse). The early period of building, before the five-year program was launched, is described by Hafner, "Die Bautätigkeit der Gemeinde Wien," 127–143.

The buildings constructed by the municipality between 1919 and 1926 are listed (by year construction commenced, location, and number of units) in *Das Neue Wien*, 3:58–62. Architects of the individual buildings are cited and the buildings are described in *Das Neue Wien*, 3:63–112. A more complete list of the buildings built between 1923 and 1928, as well as the guidelines for the new apartments, are contained in *Die Verwaltung der Bundeshauptstadt Wien in der Zeit vom 1.1.1923–31.12.1928* (Vienna, 1933), 2:1247–1281, 1214–1221. For the period from 1929–1931 see *Die Verwaltung der Bundeshauptstadt Wien in der Zeit vom 1.1.1929–31.12.31*, 1:585–603. These works are hereafter cited as *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928), and *Verwaltungsbericht* (1929–1931).

21 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 1 February 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/9): 556.

22 *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928), 1219–1221.

23 See in particular *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928), 1216; *Das Neue Wien*, 3:53–56.

24 Quotation from G. A. Fuchs, "Der Moderne Wohnungsbau," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 23 August 1924, 8. Fuchs was an engineer and *Oberstadtbaurat* in the Stadtbauamt in charge of the housing section (*Wohnhausbauten*).

25 *Das Neue Wien*, 3:54.

26 Fuchs, "Die Moderne Wohnhausbau," 8.

27 *Ibid.*

28 Franz Siegel, "Wie baut die Gemeinde?" *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 22 February 1924, 8.

29 Margarete Lihotsky, "Einiges über die Einrichtung österrischer Häuser unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siedlungsbauten," *Schlesischer Heim* 8 (1921): 217–222. On Witte and the influence of Frederick in Germany, see Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), chap. 10.

30 Regarding the exhibition, see Max Ermers, "Bauvernumft und Hauswirtschaft, Amerikanisierung und Rationalisiert-

ung durch die Gemeinde: Ausstellung der Taylor-Wirtschaftsnische im Rathaus Hof," *Der Tag*, 5 September 1923, 4.

31 "Arbeitsersparung in der Küche," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 24 May 1924, 12.

32 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 25 January 1924, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/19): 204-224.

33 In 1922 the city stopped using "Ersatzstoffen und Bauweisen" (substitute, inferior building materials and methods) including hollow concrete block, soft wood flooring, portable coal stoves, partial electrification of buildings, etc., which had been customary during the period from 1919 to 1921. Before 1927 a small fee was charged for the installation of gas stoves. See *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923-1928): 1236; *Das Neue Wien*, 1:272, 3:53.

34 According to Brenner's privately published memoir, *Mit Ach und Krach durchs Leben* (By the skin of one's teeth through life), written in the 1950s, he had worked with Frank on the design for the Hoffingergasse *Siedlung* in 1921. See Anton Brenner, *Mit Ach und Krach durchs Leben*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Anton Brenner, 1953), 2:5-8: Brenner takes credit for the site plan of Frank's Hoffingergasse *Siedlung*. See further chapter 5, note 44.

35 *Ibid.*, 16-17.

36 The plans were published in Germany in *Moderne Bauformen* 7 (1926):259. Years later Anton Brenner published them privately in Vienna in *Wirtschaftlich Planen, rationell Bauen* (Vienna: Ertl-Verlag, 1951), 10.

37 Ottokar Uhl; *Moderne Architektur in Wien: Von Otto Wagner bis heute* (Vienna: Schroll-Verlag, 1966), 108.

38 Felix Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik der Gemeinde Wien in der Ersten Republik, 1919-1934*, Wiener Schriften, Heft 6, Heft 11 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1958, 1959), Heft 11, 67.

39 "Proletarisches Wohnen," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 2 April 1924, 7.

40 *Ibid.*

41 Klaus Novy and Wolfgang Förster, *einfach bauen* (Vienna: Verein für moderne Kommunalpolitik, 1985), 79.

42 Margarete Lihotzky, "Beratungsstelle für Wohnungseinrichtung," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 31 January 1924, 12.

43 On interior and furniture design of the period, see Christian Wit-Döring, "Wiener Innenraumgestaltung 1918-1938," in Gerhart Egger et al., *Neues Wohnen: Wiener Innenraumgestaltung 1918-1938* (Vienna: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1980), 27-58.

44 On the exhibition, see *ibid.*, 45; Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 11 February 1927, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/58): 549; E. Fischer, "Wie richtet man eine Wohnung ein?" *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 12 May 1927, 5.

45 For the Stuttgart Werkbund exhibition, see Richard Pommer and Christian F. Otto, *Weissenhof 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

46 Significantly, the model flats in some of the *Gemeindebauten*, especially those designed—particularly by Schuster and Schacherl—for middle-class professional tenants (doctors and other medical staff) tended to be furnished with Bauhaus-inspired furniture made with chrome-plated steel tubing and other expensive materials.

47 The official organ of the BEST was *Die Wohnungsreform, Offizielles Organ des österreichischen Verbands für Wohnungsreform*, published in Vienna, 1929-1931.

48 August Sarnitz, *Ernst Lichtblau, Architekt 1883-1963* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1994):86-91 150.

49 *Ibid.*, 49-76.

50 *Ibid.*, 86-88; Egger et al., *Neues Wohnen*, 44-45.

51 Sarnitz, *Ernst Lichtblau*, 86-88; Egger et al., *Neues Wohnen*, 44-45.

- 52 Occasionally articles appeared in socialist papers and magazines, for example, Marianne Pollak, "Wer ist die 'Best'?" *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 15 December 1930, 3; "Neues von der 'Best,'" *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 31 January 1932, 8.
- 53 Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 11, 67.
- 54 See oral histories in Reinhard Sieder, "Housing Policy, Social Welfare, and Family Life in 'Red Vienna,' 1919-1934," *Oral History* 13, no. 2 (1985):38.
- 55 Quoted in *ibid.*, 39.
- 56 Josef Hoffmann, "Das Volkwohnhaus in der Felix-Mottl-Strasse," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 8 July 1926, 13.
- 57 Helmut Gruber, "Socialist Party Culture and the Realities of Working-Class Life in Red Vienna," in Anson Rabinbach, ed., *The Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism, 1918-1934* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1985), 239. Richard Wagner, "Der Klassenkampf im Proletarierheim," *Bildungsarbeit* 13, no. 7/8 (1926):113-115.
- 58 See Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 85-86, 100; Richard Wagner, "Sozialistischer Kulturbund," *Bildungsarbeit* 13, no. 3 (1926):41-43.
- 59 Otto Neurath, "Städtebau und Proletariat," *Der Kampf* 17 (1924):241.
- 60 Schuster and Schacherl were identified as left radicals by Eisler, "Neuwiener Baukunst," 375.
- 61 Schuster and Schacherl, "Proletarische Architektur," 37, 38.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 63 Bruno Taut, *Die Neue Wohnung: Die Frau als Schöpferin* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1924). The same themes were taken up again by Walter Gropius in *bauhausbauten dessau*, Bauhausbücher 12 (Munich: A. Langen, 1930). There were others as well. For the domestic interior and the role of women in Germany, see in particular Nolan, *Visions of Modernity*, 206-226; Martin Gaughan, "The Cultural Politics of the German Modernist Interior," in Paul Greenhalgh, ed., *Modernism in Design* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), 83-99.
- 64 Bruno Taut, "Die Frau als Schöpferin der Wohnung," *Der Aufbau*, no. 2 (1926):25-29. Taut's book was also reviewed by Franz Schuster in "Wohnkultur," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 18 October 1924, 13.
- 65 Ernst Toller, "Das sozialistische Wien," *Die Weltbühne* 23 (1927):407-409; quotation, 409 (reprinted in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 20 March 1927). Toller's point that the new architectural asceticism was the style of the ascendant bourgeoisie rather than the proletariat had already been argued by Eugen Ehmann, *Der moderne Baustil: Ein Beitrag zur Klarstellung des Wesens der neuen Architekturen am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: J. Hoffmann, 1919), 72. It is interesting in this context that Viktor Adler, one of the great orators in the Austrian Social Democratic Party, was deemed to owe his popularity with the working class to the ornament of his words.
- 66 Peter Gorsen, "Zur Dialektik des Funktionalismus heute," in Jürgen Habermas, ed., *Stichworte zur "geistigen Situation der Zeit"* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1979), 2:688-705.
- 67 Josef Frank, "Die Einrichtung des Wohnzimmers," *Innendekoration* 30 (1919): 416-421.
- 68 See Christopher Long, "The Wayward Heir: Josef Frank's Vienna Years, 1885-1933," in Nina Sritzler-Levine, ed., *Josef Frank: Architect and Designer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 53-54.
- 69 Josef Frank, "Die Moderne Einrichtung des Wohnhauses," in Werner Gräff, ed., *Innenräume, Räume und Inneneinrichtungsgegenstände aus der Werkbundausstellung "Die Wohnung"* (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Dr. Fr. Wedekind, 1928), 126-127. For Loo's argument, see Adolf Loo, "Architektur," *Sturm*, no. 42 (15 December 1910), reprinted (in English) in Yehuda Safran and Wilfried Wang, *The Architecture of Adolf Loo* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1985), 104-109.
- 70 Josef Frank, "Der Gschnas fürs G'müt und der Gschnas als Problem," in Deutscher Werkbund, *Bau und Wohnung*, ex-

hibition catalogue (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Dr. Fr. Wedekind, 1927), 48–57. Excerpted and translated into English by Wilfried Wang as “Flippancy as the Comfort of the Soul and Flippancy as a Problem” in *9H*, no. 3 (1982): 5–6, hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

71 The Bauhaus handles are illustrated in Josef Frank, “Rum och Inredning,” *Form* 30 (1934): 223. The text is translated into German in Johannes Spalt and Hermann Czech, *Josef Frank 1885–1967* (Vienna: Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, 1981), 95–101.

72 For example, Pommer and Otto, in *Weissenhof 1927*, 234 n. 120, note with regard to Frank’s writings, “It must be recognized that no coherent architectural theory or point of view emerges from these often elusive discussions. . . . Frank employs statement and denial, indefinite or epigrammatic phrases and satire, all of which work against establishing a set of principles for architectural design generally or specifically for the house.”

73 The quotation is from Leon Botstein, “The Consequences of Catastrophe: Josef Frank and Post-World-War-I Vienna,” in Stritzler-Levine, *Josef Frank*, 34. Botstein discusses the impact of political and economic events in Austria on Frank (as an assimilated Jew in Vienna), and on his ideology of architecture. The most perceptive appreciations of Frank are by Viennese architects (in particular Hermann Czech, Johannes Spalt, and Friedrich Achleitner), whose own critical and design practices, like Frank’s, are steeped in Viennese architectural traditions. See Czech and Spalt, *Josef Frank*; Hermann Czech, “Josef Frank,” *Archetype*, no. 1 (Winter 1980): 37–38; idem, “A Mode for the Current Interpretation of Josef Frank,” *A+U*, November 1991. 20–37; idem, “Josef Frank: The Accidental House,” *Lotus International*, no. 29 (1981): 109–110; Johannes Spalt, “The Form of Dwelling,” *Lotus International*, no. 29 (1981): 111–116; Friedrich Achleitner, “Josef Frank und die Wiener Architektur der Zwischenkriegszeit,” in *Wiener Architektur: Zwischen typologischen Fatalismus und semantischen Schlammass* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996), 81–87.

74 Frank’s relations with the German Werkbund, CIAM, and the internal conflict within the Austrian Werkbund are discussed by Long, “The Wayward Heir,” 52–58, and Botstein, “The Consequences of Catastrophe,” 37–40. For

Frank and CIAM, see Armand Brulhart, “Josef Frank und die CIAM bis zum Bruch, 1928–1929,” *Bauwelt* 26 (1985): 1058–1060. For the Austrian Werkbund, see Friedrich Achleitner, “The Österreichischer Werkbund und Its Relations with the Deutscher Werkbund,” in Lucius Burckhardt, ed., *The Werkbund: History and Ideology, 1907–1933* (New York: Barron’s Educational Series, 1980), 102–113; Astrid Gmeine and Gottfried Pirhofer, *Der Österreichischer Werkbund* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1985).

75 Frank received several commissions from the city and built five *Gemeindebauten* between 1924 and 1931. Journals in the archives of the Division of Public Works suggest that city officials kept up with contemporary developments in architecture. Frank’s work with Neurath on the museums is discussed in chapter 9.

76 The three previous international congresses were held in Gothenburg (1923), Amsterdam (1924), and New York (1925). The two main topics addressed in Vienna were land use and its implications for city and regional planning, and the rational distribution of single-family and multiple-family housing. Discussion focused on the latter issue, with delegates taking positions on both sides of the “*Hochbau* versus *Flachbau*” debate. See also “Das Bodenproblem und seine Beziehung zur Stadt- und Landesplanung,” “Die rationale Verteilung von Einfamilienhaus und Mehrfamilienhaus,” *Der Aufbau*, nos. 11/12 (1926): 203–206. The congress and its impact on the Viennese housing program are discussed in chapters 5 and 8.

77 “Nachwort zum Städtebaukongress,” *Der Aufbau*, no. 10 (1926): 192. Interesting in this regard is an article by Ernest L. Harris, American consul general in Vienna, “Workmen’s Housing in Vienna” *Monthly Labor Review* (1931): 6–16, which stated that “recently, opinions [regarding apartment size] abroad [outside Austria] have changed to the belief that the residential size originally desired (from 700 to 760 square feet) can no longer be maintained on account of exorbitant rent and lack of money. Thus, for example, various German experts proposed the construction of small dwellings which have areas between 300 and 500 square feet” (13).

78 Because the first five-year program had reached its target figure of 25,000 units two years ahead of schedule, a new

program to build an additional 5,000 dwellings by the end of 1927 was inaugurated at the end of 1926. The 40 square meter apartment (432 square feet of usable space) had a 9 m², kitchen, 18 m² living room, and a 10 m² bedroom, as well as a 2 m² entrance hall and a 1 m² toilet. Approximately 55 percent of all apartments built after 1927 were of this type. The 49 m² (517 sq. ft.) type had a 7 m² kitchen, an 18 m² living room, and two 10.5 m² bedrooms, hall, and toilet (25 percent were of this type). The largest, measuring 57 m² (603 sq. ft.) had a 7 m² kitchen, two 18 m² rooms, and an additional 11 m² *Kabiner*, hall, and toilet. There was also a small studio or bachelor unit of 21 m² (216 sq. ft.), consisting of a 2 m² hall in which a gas cooker was located and off of which was the 1 m² toilet room, as well as an 18 m² room with a water tap and sink. These last two types accounted for approximately 20 percent of the units built from 1927 on. In 1931 the one-room units were reduced to 18 m² and a new type of apartment comprising a front hall, full-size room, kitchen, and toilet with a total area of 35 m² was introduced. See *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928): 1219–1221; Charles O. Hardy, assisted by Robert R. Kuczynski, *The Housing Program of the City of Vienna* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1914), 62–66.

79 Hardy, *Housing Program*, 65–66.

80 Franz Siegel, "Ein Rückblick und ein Ausblick: Die Gemeinde baut weitere fünftausend Wohnungen," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 17 June 1926, 2.

81 Nor was adherence to the previous form absolute. As early as 1924, Siegel had specified that "no particular emphasis will be placed on the *Wohnküche* as a component of the apartment plan, and that ordinary *Kochküchen* [cooking kitchens] were permissible." *Amtsvermerk*, 1 February 1924 (BD 380/1924), reprinted in Mang, *Kommunaler Wohnbau*, n.p.

82 Peter Noever, ed., *Die Frankfurter Küche von Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky* (Vienna: Ernst und Sohn, 1993), 8.

83 For Lihotzky's plans, see *ibid.*, 10–11; Renate Allmayer-Beck et al., *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky: Soziale Architektur, Zeitzeugin eines Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1993), 236–238.

84 See note 82.

85 Siegel, "Ein Rückblick," 2.

86 Frank, "Volkswohnungspalast," 107–111; hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

87 Renate Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," in M. J. Daunton, ed., *Housing the Workers, 1850–1914: A Comparative Perspective* (London: Leicester University Press, 1990), 134.

88 See Paul Kortz, *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Verlag von Gerlach und Wiedling, 1905–1906), 2:451–456.

89 The plans are reproduced in Walter Öhlinger, ed., *Das Rote Wien, 1918–1934* (Vienna: Museen der Stadt Wien, 1993), 47. The apartments provided in the first phase of building, completed in 1912, were conventional *Gangküchenbau* units. The *Gemeinde-Wien-Type* also drew on the municipal housing built in 1913 for the employees of the *Tramwaygesellschaft* (Tramway Association), which shortly before had become a municipal monopoly. Often this housing was built into the upper stories of existing station or administrative buildings, where offices, waiting rooms, etc. occupied the ground floor and lower levels. The apartments provided were hardly different from those in contemporary speculative tenement blocks, though some of the housing built for railway workers in new purpose-built apartment blocks, such as that for the *Betriebsbahnhof Speising* (designed in 1913), improved on this model.

90 Regarding the middle-class apartment plan, see Hans Bobek and Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Wien: Bauliche Gestalt und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau Nachf., 1978), 86–94; Gert Kähler, *Wohnung und Stadt: Hamburg, Frankfurt, Wien: Modelle sozialen Wohnens in den zwanziger Jahren* (Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg und Sohn, 1985), 387.

91 Frank, "Volkswohnungspalast," 109.

92 Robin Evans made a similar point about the enfilade of interconnected rooms with parallel corridor in relation to English seventeenth-century country house plans; see Evans, "Figures, Doors, and Passages," *Architectural Design* (1978): 272.

93 Franz Musil, director of the Stadtbauamt, recorded in 1923 that *Hofwohnungen* (apartments facing the courtyard), which in the past had been considered inferior, were greatly in demand in the new buildings; see Musil, "Der Bau von 25,000 Wohnungen durch die Gemeinde Wien," *Statistische Mitteilungen der Stadt Wien* (1925):107, quoted in Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik*, Heft 11, 61.

94 In "Der Volkswohnungspalast," 109, Josef Frank illustrated an exaggerated example of such a plan (an apartment by Hubert Gessner for the Karl-Seitzhof, 1926) in which an extended enfilade provides a perspective through four rooms from the kitchen to the master bedroom. Frank criticized this kind of planning for sping the representational order of the palace apartments at Versailles. The characterization of the spatial movement through the enfilade as filtration follows from Robin Evans's evocative description of a similar passage through interconnected rooms in "Figures, Doors, and Passages," 274.

95 See Fuchs, "Der Moderne Wohnungsbau," 8.

96 See Alexander Klein, "Versuch eines graphischen Verfahrens zur Bewertung von Kleinwohnungsgrundrissen," *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau* 11 (1927): 296-298. See also Tafuri and Dal Co, *Modern Architecture*, 186-187. On the *Reichsforschungsgesellschaft*, see Pommer and Otto, *Weissenhof*, 1927 66-67.

97 See Fuchs, "Der Moderne Wohnungsbau" 8.

98 Evans, "Figures, Doors, and Passages," 276, suggests that implicit in the avoidance of friction in Klein's plans is the notion of contamination through physical contact.

99 Mary Nolan, "'Housework Made Easy': The Taylorized Housewife in Weimar Germany's Rationalized Economy," *Feminist Studies* 16 (1990): 549-577. Nolan points out that even at the time, it was acknowledged that women were not really competing for jobs with men. De-skilling had created new low-paid jobs for women. At the same time, since much of the labor-saving technology (in the form of new household appliances) was out of reach of the average German housewife, Taylorist ideology was embraced in Germany in the 1920s without the materials to realize it.

100 Karl Arnold quoted in *ibid.*, 567.

101 *Ibid.*, 568; Lüders quoted in *ibid.*

102 Charles S. Maier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Industrial Production in the 1920s" (1970), in *In Search of Stability: Explorations in Historical Political Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 22-53; Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Nolan, "'Housework Made Easy,'" 569.

103 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 2 April 1924, 7.

104 See, for example, *Das Neue Wien: Ein Album mit Plan* (Vienna: Elbenthil, 1932), and of course also the four-volume *Das Neue Wien* (1926-1928).

105 See Liselotte Ungers, *Die Suche nach einer neuen Wohnform: Siedlungen der zwanziger Jahre damals und heute* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983).

106 Ernst May, "The Dwelling for the Living Income Earner," in *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*, 6.

107 See in particular Werner Hegemann, *City Planning Housing*, 3 vols. (New York: Architectural Book Publishing, 1936-1938), vol. 2, chap. 21; Heinrich Klott, ed., *Ernst May und das neue Frankfurt 1925-1930* (Berlin: Ernst und Sohn, 1986); Julius Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur* (Munich: Prestel, 1979); Manfredo Tafuri, "Sozialpolitik and the City in Weimar Germany," in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-gardes and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pellegrino d'Acierno and Robert Conolly (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 197-233.

108 Of course the toilets themselves were not visible. Some tenants of the new buildings saw the street-facing toilet windows as a mark of inferiority, since middle-class toilets never vented onto the street, and worried about potential loss of privacy. Neurath attributed the "proletarian prejudice against toilet windows on the street" to the inability of most working-class tenants to read plans. If they could read plans, Neurath argued, they would see that the toilet windows in middle-class buildings as well as the old working-class ten-

ments faced narrow airshafts, which not only offered less privacy but were also less healthy, and that in the *Gemeindebauten* those airshafts had been eliminated. See Otto Neurath, "Rationalismus, Arbeiterschaft und Baugestaltung," *Der Aufbau*, no. 4 (1926): 53.

109 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 15 May 1925, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/34): 1256. See also Hafner, "Die Bütigkeit der Gemeinde Wien," 129, who noted that the street-facing toilet windows were heavily criticized. Josef Hoffmann's Klosethof of 1924, in which the toilet windows were round porthole-like openings, was considered to be particularly objectionable. Hoffmann defended the design in "Das Volkswohnhaus."

110 This argument was put forward by Josef Schneider and C. Zell, *Der Fall der Roten Festung* (Vienna: Manz, 1934), in which the authors argue that the entire building program had a defensive purpose, with the blocks themselves designed as fortresses strategically located near bridges, railway stations, etc.

111 Hegemann, *City Planning Housing*, 2:280. See also the anonymous satirical article "Die strategischen Planschbecken" (The strategic wading pools), *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 20 January 1932, 5. For an earlier antisocialist tract in which the fortress theory is presented, see Eduard Jehly, *Zehn Jahre Rotes Wien* (Vienna: General Secretariat der Christlichsozialen Partei Österreich, 1930). For the persistence of the fortress thesis, see Jörg Mauteh, "Der phantastische Gemeindebau," *Alte und Moderne Kunst* 6, no. 44 (1961): 17-20 (though here it is given positive validation).

112 See chapter 1. The quotation is from Helene Bauer, "Ehe und soziale Schichtung," *Der Kampf* 20 (1927): 319-322. For an excellent general discussion of the role of women in the Social Democratic program of Red Vienna, see Gruber, *Red Vienna*, chap. 6. On the role of women in Viennese Social Democracy, see Doris Ingrisch, Ilse Korotin, and Charlotte Zwianer, eds., *Frauen im Umkreis des Austromarxismus* (Vienna: Institut für Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1995).

113 In a speech titled "Mieterschutz, Volkskultur und Alkoholisismus," delivered on 20 March 1928 to the Viennese Workers' Abstinence Federation, Otto Bauer noted that evidence of the success of the new housing program was the

testimony of a worker who had told him that he now goes out only rarely, because he is saving to furnish his new dwelling. In the same speech Bauer remarked that the worker who, after an eight-hour workday, comes home to an apartment in which children are crying, laundry is being washed, etc. will want only to go out to the tavern. Bauer, like most of his colleagues, paid little attention to the lot of working women, who also returned from an eight-hour workday but were responsible for taking care of children, meal preparation, and cleaning as well as their spouse's comfort.

114 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 150-151.

115 *Ibid.*, 151.

116 Pirhofer and Sieder, "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie," 353.

117 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 152, 354.

118 In addition to Pirhofer and Sieder "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie," and Gruber, *Red Vienna*, see in particular Klaus Novy, "Selbsthilfe als Reformbewegung: Der Kampf der Wiener Siedler nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg," *ARCH + 55* (1981): 26-40; idem, "The Rosenhügel Pioneers: On the Real Revolution of Workers Housing by the Viennese Settlers," *9H*, no. 6 (1983): 45-55.

119 Otto Bauer, *Der Weg zum Sozialismus*, (Vienna: Ignaz Brand, 1919), 116-21, quoted in Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 50; Oskar Wflach, "Zentralwirtschaftshäuser," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 17 January 1924, 11-12.

120 For the history of the *Einküchenhaus* type (which was primarily a middle-class housing form) and the Heimhof project itself, see Gottfried Pirhofer, "Linien einer kulturpolitischen Auseinandersetzung in der Geschichte des Wiener Arbeiterwohnungsbaues," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 33, no. 1 (1978): 1-10; Günther Uhlig, "Zur Geschichte des Einküchenhauses," in Lutz Niethammer, ed., *Wohnen im Wandel* (Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, 1979), 151-170. The project is also discussed by Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 51-52, who notes that a publicity film was made of the *Einküchenhaus* in 1922.

121 For the 1925–1926 building, see Helmut Wehsmann, *Das Rote Wien*. (Vienna: Promedia, 1985) 321–322.

122 Otto Neurath, "Einküchenhaus," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 2 June 1923, 6. Oskar Wlach elaborated on this idea in an article published a few months later in which he described a design for combined *Siedlung* housing and centralized kitchen, child-care, and other community facilities; see Wlach, "Zentralvirtschaftshäuser," 11–12.

123 See Pirhofer, "Linien einer kulturpolitischen Auseinandersetzung," 4–10; see also discussions in city council meetings, in particular Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 9 March 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/10) 864.

124 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 52.

125 See in particular Sieder, "Housing Policy, Social Welfare, and Family Life," 39–40; Pirhofer and Sieder, "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie," 353–355.

126 Margaret Gillett, "Modernism for the Masses," unpublished paper for the Royal Institute of British Architects Final Examination (July 1930), 8, courtesy of Hubert Murray. For Gillett see chapter 9, note 94.

127 Sieder, "Housing Policy, Social Welfare, and Family Life," 39, 38; Pirhofer and Sieder, "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie," 359; Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 63. In the early period adult siblings and in-laws sometimes lived with tenants' families, but not later; and tenants were not permitted to sublet space in the apartment. On prewar family structure and life in the tenements, see Michael John, *Hausherrnmacht und Mieterelend: Wohnverhältnisse und Wohnverfälschung der Unterschichten in Wien, 1890–1923* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1982), 116–125; Wolfgang Hölzl and Gottfried Pirhofer, *Wohnen in Wien 1848–1938: Studien zur Konstitution des Massenwohnens* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1988), 63–81.

128 According to Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 63, "Municipal housing thus created two forms of the worker family: one was isolated as a small family within its four walls and basic utilities, and shut off from spontaneous peer contact through landings with only two to four apartments and narrow stairwells; the other was part of the large building family of shared facilities representing the community, their class, and their party."

129 Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten des Roten Wien 1919–1934* (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), and Mang, *Kommunales Wohnbau*, are particularly uncritical of the Social Democrats' program.

130 Neurath, "Städtebau und Proletariat," 239. For CIAM's position, see *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*, 7.

Chapter 7. The Red Hof

Chapter epigraph: Siegel quoted in Max Ermers, "Stadtrat Siegel über kommunale Baupolitik," *Der Tag*, 23 February 1924, 7.

1 Designed by Kalesa in 1916 for a private developer, these buildings had reached the mezzanine level when construction stopped during World War I.

2 In 1924 an extended article on the municipality's early buildings—i.e., those between 1919 and 1922—was published by the head of the *Hochbauabteilung*, Hans Hafner: "Die Bautätigkeit der Gemeinde Wien auf dem Gebiete des Hochbaus in den Jahren nach dem Kriege," *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereins*, no. 15/16 (18 April 1924): 127–143.

3 On Gessner, see *Hubert Gessner, Zivilarchitekt: Bauten und Entwürfe* (Vienna: Elbemühl Verlag, 1932); Ottokar Uhl, *Moderne Architektur in Wien: Von Otto Wagner bis heute* (Vienna: Schroll-Verlag, 1966), 110–111; Friedrich Czagan, "Hubert Gessner 1871–1943," *Architektur Aktuell*, no. 85 (15 October 1981): 29–35; Marco Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagners 1894–1912* (Vienna: Anton Schroll Verlag, 1980), 224; Franco Borsi and Ezio Godoli, *Vienna 1900: Architecture and Design* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 207–241. The Gessner Archive, recently deposited by the architect's daughter, Margarete Slupezky, in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, is still uncatalogued. The following biographical information is from a *Lebenslauf* (biographical outline) in manuscript in the Gessner archive, apparently prepared by Slupezky; the outline is hereafter cited as *Lebenslauf*, Gessner Archive.

4 The quotation is from typescript of a speech delivered by Perco in honor of Gessner's sixtieth birthday in 1931, titled "Zum 60. Geburtstag Hubert Gessner," in Nachlass Rudolf Perco, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna. See also

Otto Antonia Graf, *Die Vergessene Wagnerschule* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1969), 8. Graf notes that Wagner did not employ his best students in his office, usually he hired students for their drafting rather than design or conceptual skills.

5 See Perco, "Zum 60. Geburtstag," Perco Nachlass.

6 *Lebenslauf*, Gessner Archive. Even less is known about Franz Gessner, who continued to practice on his own in Vienna. Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagners*, 223, notes that one reason for the younger Gessner's obscurity was his shyness and reluctance to promote himself. According to Pozzetto, Franz (a student of Otto Wagner from 1903 to 1906) was more talented than his older brother. See also Borsi and Godoli, *Vienna 1900*, 308.

7 Jan Tabor, "Das Pathos des Kampfes, das Chaos des Kompromisses, das Weh des Erinnerens: Zur Baugeschichte der österreichischen Sozialdemokratie," in Helene Maimann, ed., *Die Ersten 100 Jahre: Österreichische Sozialdemokratie 1888-1988* (Vienna: Verlag Christian Brandstätter, 1988), 298. On the Arbeiterheim Favoriten, see Markus Kristan, "Das Arbeiterheim Favoriten: Teil 1—Der Wettbewerb," *Wettbewerb*, nos. 119/120 (January/February 1993); 126-130; idem, "Das Arbeiterheim Favoriten: Teil 2—Das vollendete Bauwerk," *Wettbewerb*, nos. 121/122 (April/May 1993): 109-112.

8 *Lebenslauf*, Gessner Archive.

9 On Gessner's prewar work, see Czagan, "Hubert Gessner," 31; and *Hubert Gessner, Zivilarchitekt*.

10 See bibliographical references in Borsi and Godoli, *Vienna 1900*, 338; see also note 3 above.

11 The neo-Biedermeier, and Wagner School engagement with it, is discussed in chapter 9. "Um 1800" is a reference to the highly influential book edited by Paul Mebes, *Um 1800: Architektur und Handwerk im letzten Jahrhundert ihrer traditionellen Entwicklung*, 2 vols. (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1908).

12 In 1910 Hermann Jansen had included perimeter blocks opened up for pedestrian traffic in his unexecuted Gross-Berlin connection entry. But here the underlyine conceat

was separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, not a new form of socialized urban living. See Gert Kähler, *Wohnung und Stadt: Homburg, Frankfurt, Wien: Modelle sozialen Wohnens in den Zwanziger Jahren* (Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg und John, 1985), 40-41, 165.

13 Sitte in fact recommended that urban gardens and parks should not be traffic islands but should instead be enclosed by buildings. He also provided historical examples of such enclosed parks. See George R. Collins and Christiane Cramemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 240-241. See also Kähler, *Wohnung und Stadt*, 163-165.

14 See Robert Musil, *The Man without Qualities*, trans. Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser (London: Pan Books, 1988 [1930]), 1;34:

the inhabitant of a country has at least nine characters: a professional one, a national one, a civic one, a class one, a geographical one, a sex one, a conscious, an unconscious and perhaps even too a private one; he combines them all in himself, but they dissolve him, and he is really nothing but a little channel washed out by all these trickling streams, which flow into it and drain out of it again in order to join other little streams filling another channel. Hence every dweller on earth also has a tenth character, which is nothing more or less than the passive illusion of spaces unfilled; it permits a man everything, with one exception; he may not take seriously what his at least nine other characters do and what happens to them, in other words, the very thing that ought to be the filling of him.

Borsi and Godoli, in *Vienna 1900*, 32-33, draw a parallel between the same passage and the multiple characters of Wagner's *Stadtbahn* structures, noting the difference between Wagner's conception of type and that embodied in Guimard's Paris Metro.

15 For a clear exposition of this approach to the development of a *Behauungssplan* and the arrangement of its elements—*Straße, Platz, Baublock*—see Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, 35-43.

16 This integrative conception of urban spatial planning is not without precedent in Vienna; it can be seen as deriving from both Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner. In *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, Sitte maintained that one of

Otto Antonia Graf, *Die Vergessene Wagnerschule* (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1969), 8. Graf notes that Wagner did not employ his best students in his office; usually he hired students for their drafting rather than design or conceptual skills.

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16 This integrative conception of urban spatial planning is not without precedent in Vienna; it can be seen as deriving from both Camillo Sitte and Otto Wagner. In *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, Sitte maintained that one of

primary problems with analytical "engineers' planning" was the notion of zoning, of spatially segregating urban functions within the city. See in particular Sittes' chap. 9, "Modern Systems," in Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, 229–242. Wagner in *Die Grossstadt* also maintained that each borough of the *Grossstadt* must mix urban functions if it is to be vital and meet the social needs of its inhabitants.

17 According to these guidelines each new building was to be built around a central courtyard, which was to occupy no less than 50 percent of the site. The private and communal space of building was to be entered from the courtyard. This was to be carefully landscaped and equipped with benches for adult relaxation and play areas for children, as well as access to specially designated playrooms and kindergartens with trained personnel within the building. The courtyard was to be entered from the street through one or more large entryways. In larger buildings there would be central laundries equipped with modern steam-powered washing machines and drying apparatus; communal showers and tubs available (for a nominal fee) to all tenants; public libraries; tuberculosis, prenatal, dental, and other clinics; health insurance facilities; cooperative stores; workshops; and often also branch offices (*Aussenstellen*) and supply depots, or other facilities, of the Department of Public Works, Health and Welfare, or Housing, or other divisions of the city administration. For building specifications/guidelines, see *Das Neue Wien*, 4 vols. (Vienna: Gemeinde Wien, 1926–1928), 3:51–56.

18 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 21 September 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/15): 2502–2503.

19 Ibid. Only the five lots on the Margareten Gürtel had been built on before 1919, and as already noted, construction had stopped at the mezzanine level before the buildings were purchased by the Social Democratic municipality and reconfigured by Kalasa into Margareten Gürtel 90–98.

20 For the transformation of traditional building typologies during this period see Hans Bobek and Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Wien: Banliche Gestalt und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachf., 1978), 61–72, table 2. The lineage from the *Klosterhof*, traced in *ibid.*, table 1, is retraced in every subsequent architectural history of the *Gemeindebauten*, including Karl Mang, ed.,

Kommunaler Wohnbau in Wien: Aufbruch 1923–1934 Ausstrahlung (Vienna: Presse- und Informationsdienst der Stadt Wien, 1977); Sima Ingberman, "Normative and Evolutionary Housing Prototypes in Germany and Austria: The Viennese Superblocks, 1919–1934," *Oppositions*, no. 13 (Summer 1978): 79–80; Manfredo Tafuri, ed., *Vienna 1858: la politica residenziale nella Vienna socialista, 1919–1933* (Milan: Electa, 1980), 20–21; Helmut Wehsmann, *Das Rote Wien*, (Vienna: Promedia, 1985), 86–89; Köhler, *Wohnung und Stadt*, 321–323.

21 On the *Stift* or *Klosterhof*, see Bobek and Lichtenberger, *Wien*, 212–220; Theodor Jaeger, "Der Wohnbau auf Wiener Boden," in Rudolf Tillmanns, ed., *Festschrift herausgegeben anlässlich der Hundertjahrfeier des Wiener stadtbaues* (Vienna: Deutsche Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1935), 187–189. This type of building had a middle-class *Vorstadt* equivalent: the *Grossmiethaus* (large apartment house), a type in which Kornhäusel specialized. On Kornhäusel's view of this kind, see Georg W. Rizzi and Roland L. Schachel, *Die Zinshäuser im Spätwerk Josef Kornhäusels*, Sonderreihe der Wiener Geschichtsblätter, Band 4 (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1979).

22 Bobek and Lichtenberger, *Wien*, 214–220; Renate Banik-Schweitzer, "Vienna," in M. J. Daunton, ed., *Housing the Workers, 1850–1914: A Comparative Perspective* (London: Leicester University Press, 1990), 134; Wolfgang Hösl and Gottfried Pirhofer, *Wohnen in Wien 1848–1938: Studien zur Konstitution des Massenwohnens* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1988), 82–90; Jaeger, "Der Wohnbau auf Wiener Boden," 187–201; Paul Kortz, *Wien am Anfang des XX. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Verlag von Gerlach und Wiedling, 1905–1906), 2: 452–453.

23 One can argue that the courtyard was conceived by the Social Democrats as a protected public space, as an internalized street or square. Certainly, socialist reformers tended to characterize the city street as dangerous, as the locus of disorder, decadence, and promiscuity in the city. See, for example, Robert J. Wegs, *Growing Up Working Class: Continuity and Change among Viennese Youth, 1890–1938* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 68–74; and Hans Safrian and Reinhard Sieder, "Gassenkinder, Strassenkämpfer: Zur politischen Sozialisation einer Arbeitergeneration in Wien 1900 bis 1938," in Lutz Niethammer and

Alexander von Plato, eds., *Wir kriegen jetzt andere Zeiten: auf der Suche nach der Erfahrung des Volkes in nachfaschistischen Ländern* (Berlin: J.H.W. Dietz, 1985), 117–151. Regarding courtyard housing elsewhere at the time, a good example of a more or less contemporary project was Michael Brinkman's Spangen Housing, Rotterdam, of 1919: a perimeter block, four stories high, around a large garden courtyard. But the apartments were accessed by a continuous gallery internal to the block, and there was vehicular access to the laundry block in the center of the courtyard. The spaces are not communal; the garden is broken down into small plots that accord with the subdivision of the housing units. This was standard in the Dutch housing of the period. See Kenneth Frampton, "The Evolution of Housing Concepts, 1870–1970," *Lens International*, no. 10 (1975):24–33; idem, "The Generic Street as a Continuous Built Form," in Stanford Anderson, ed., *On Streets* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986), 314–317.

24 On the competition see Kristan, "Das Arbeiterheim Favoriten; Teil 1," 126–130. Gessner was awarded the commission in 1901, after winning a competition (on the strength of his plan), juried by, among others, his mentor Otto Wagner; two other architects, Karl Mayreder (professor of architecture at the Technical University in Vienna) and Julius Deininger (professor at the *Staatsgewerbeschule*); and Viktor Adler (founding father of the Social Democratic Party), who at the last minute replaced Jacob Reumann (who later became the first socialist mayor of Red Vienna).

25 See *Arbeiterheim Favoriten* (Vienna, n.d.), 127, (a Festschrift probably published in 1902). The program for the building was published in the *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung* on 20 December 1900, as well as in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* on 2 December 1900. There were thirty-nine entries in the competition. A number of them were exhibited in the Staatsgewerbeschule in March 1901, and all of the prize-winning designs, with the exception of Gessner's first prize-winning entry and that of Ernst Dittreich, which won second prize, were published in *Der Architekt* in 1901, along with entries by the Wagner students Leopold Bauer and Rudolf Melichar, Paul and Emil Hoppe, and Adolf Ritter von Inffeld. See Kristan, "Der Arbeiterheim Favoriten; Teil 1," 128–130. Gessner's design is known from drawings in the Gessner Archive, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

26 For a detailed description of the building, which is now a hotel, see Kristan, "Das Arbeiterheim Favoriten; Teil 2," 109–112.

27 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 24 August 1902, 8. Kristan, "Das Arbeiterheim Favoriten; Teil 1," 130, maintains that Gessner was influenced by some of the other competition entries (in particular those of Leopold Bauer and Hans Mayer) in the final executed version of the building; it is not possible to verify this, since Gessner's original competition drawings have not survived and were never published.

28 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 11 November 1900, 7.

29 On Horta and the *Maison du Peuple*, see A. Hoppenbrouwers, J. Vandenbreden, and J. Bruggemans, *Victor Horta architectonographie* (Brussels: Confédération Nationale de la Construction, 1975). Significantly, the *Maison du Peuple*, together with new *Arbeiterwohnhäuser* in Austria-Hungary and in German cities, was reviewed in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in November 1900, at the time of the *Arbeiterheim* competition.

30 Adler quoted in Tabor, "Das Pathos des Kampfes," 298.

31 Josef August Lux, "Das Arbeiterheim," *Der Architekt* 9 (1903):14–16. The article was subsequently excerpted in various German, Austrian, and English journals. See J. A. Lux, "The 'Arbeiterheim' or Workmen's Home, Vienna," *The Studio* 30 (November 1903): 150–153. See also Kristan, "Das Arbeiterheim Favoriten: Teil 2," 112.

32 Ákos Moravánszky, *Die Erneuerung der Baukunst: Wege Zur Moderne in Mitteleuropa 1900–1940* (Salzburg: Residenz, 1988), 106, notes that exposed brick signified a revolutionary, industrial, working-class material in Central Europe. Among Wagner students, its use was due to the influence of Dutch and English architecture, which they studied at the time. Gessner had used exposed brick and roughcast in other buildings for socialist organizations: e.g., the Worker Cooperative, Favoriten (1906), and the Krankenkasse, Brunn (1903–1905).

33 Friedrich Achleiner, *Österreichische Architektur im 20. Jahrhundert*, Band 3.1, Wien, 1.–12. Bezirk (Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1990), 259.

34 The principal sources on Schmid and Aichinger include *Heinrich Schmid and Hermann Aichinger Zivilarchitekten: Entwürfe und Ausgeführte Bauten* (Vienna: Elbemühl Verlag, 1931); Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagner*, 211, 246.

35 This commission probably led to a subsequent one for another hospital, the unexecuted Kaiserin Zita-Hospital (1917–1918); see *Schmid und Aichinger Zivilarchitekten*, 8.

36 The building was extensively illustrated in *ibid.*, 10–12. It was also published in "Der Neubau des österreichischen Verkehrsbaus in Wien," *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1925):170–175.

37 "Der Neubau des österreichischen Verkehrsbaus," 174–175.

38 The dates for the Fuchsenfeldhof given in Hafner, "Die Bautätigkeit der Gemeinde Wien," 130, are confirmed by the contract drawings in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna, which are dated March 1922.

39 Erwin Flieger, "Die Anfänge des 12. Bezirks Meidling," in *Meidling, 90 Jahre bei Wien* (Vienna: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1980), 3–9. In 1893, when the outer suburbs were incorporated into Greater Vienna, Meidling became the city's district XII. A decade and a half later, in 1907 the boundary between Meidling and Margareten, district V, in which the Metzleinsterhof was built was moved east to the Margaretengrütel. This had zoning implications, since the inner districts (those which had been located inside the Linienwall) were zoned for building up to four stories (above ground and mezzanine), while the outer districts, including Meidling, were zoned for only three. Throughout this period, the monastery retained ownership of a large part of the central area in the district, which remained undeveloped until it was gradually acquired by the municipality between 1919 and 1923.

40 Hafner, "Die Bautätigkeit der Gemeinde Wien," 130.

41 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 15 October 1924, 7.

42 Ground-floor plans of the original building show covered passageways leading from the large central courtyard to a narrow space behind the *Hof* itself. Most likely the re-

maining building lots were acquired after the first phase of construction had begun.

43 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 30 October 1924, 6.

44 The quotation is from Lux, "Das Arbeiterheim," 15.

45 Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagner*, 211–253. According to Pozzetto, Ludwig had been a contemporary of Gessner's in Wagner's first master class (1894/1895), and was a leading architect (*Spitzenarchitekt*) in city hall who had considerable influence on the development of the municipal building program (238). Yet precisely what his role in and contribution to the program might have been, Pozzetto himself was unable to establish, and he suggested that it was no longer possible to do so.

46 *Ibid.*, 211–253.

47 Friedrich Achleimer, "Comments on Viennese Architectural History: Motifs and Motivations, Background and Influences, Therapeutic Nihilism," in Kenneth Frampton, ed., *A New Wave of Austrian Architecture* (New York: Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1980), 11.

48 The remark was recorded by Wagner's daughter, Christine Lütgendorff-Gyllenstorm, in an unpublished memoir on Otto Wagner, written in 1969; quoted in Iain Boyd Whyte, *Three Architects from the Master Class of Otto Wagner: Emil Hoppe, Marcel Kammerer, Otto Schönthal* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 10–11. Wagner said more or less the same thing in his inaugural address at the Academy of Fine Arts; "Contra to the view of my immediate predecessors, I am of the opinion that only a few truly talented architects should have the benefit of the training at this school." See Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988), appendix B, 159–162; quotation, 161. Wagner's lecture was first published as "Baukünstlerisches Lehrprogramm," *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, 27 October 1894; reprinted (in German) in Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagners*, 144–146.

49 Lütgendorff-Gyllenstorm recorded that Wagner turned down the nephew of the "minister president" among others; see Whyte, *Three Architects*, 10–11.

- 50 On the Wagner School, see Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagners*; Graf, *Die vergessene Wagnerschule*; idem, "Wagner and the Vienna School," in J. M. Richards and Nikolaus Pevsner, eds., *The Anti-Rationalists* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 85–96; Borsi and Godoli, *Vienna 1900*, 157–205, 336–341; and Whyte, *Three Architects*, esp. 10–31.
- 51 Wagner, *Modern Architecture*, 159, 160.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 160.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 93.
- 54 For the curriculum, see Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagners*, 17–24, and Wagner's own description of his teaching program in his inaugural address to the Academy in 1894 reprinted in Wagner, *Modern Architecture*, 159–162.
- 55 Wagner, *Modern Architecture*, 161.
- 56 Between 1895 and 1899 Wagner School design projects were published annually in *Der Architekt*, in a series of articles by various students in the current master class under the title "Aus der Wagnerschule." See M[ax] Fabiani, "Aus der Wagnerschule," *Der Architekt* 1 (1895): 53–56; idem, "Aus der Wagnerschule an der Akademie d. bild. Künste, Wien," *Der Architekt* 2 (1896): 45–50; J. Klotzer, "Aus der Wagnerschule MDCCCXVII," *Der Architekt* 3 (1897): supplement; "Aus der Wagnerschule MDCCCXVIII," *Der Architekt* 4 (1898): supplement; L. Abels, "Aus der Wagnerschule MDCCCXC," *Der Architekt* 5 (1899): supplement. From 1900 on the school produced its own publications: P. Roller, ed., *Aus der Wagnerschule MCM* (Vienna: F. Jasper, 1900); P. Roller, ed., *Aus der Wagnerschule 01* (Vienna: F. Jasper, 1902); *Wagnerschule 1902*, intro. J. A. Lux (Leipzig: Baumgartner's Buchhandlung, 1903); K. M. Kerndle, ed., *Wagnerschule, 1902/03 und 1903/04. Projekte, Studien und Skizzen aus der Spezialklasse für Architektur des Oberbauamt Otto Wagner, Professor an der k.k. Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien* (Leipzig: Baumgartner's Buchhandlung, 1905); "Zehn Jahre Wiener Wagner-Schule," *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 39 (1905): 430–432; Ernst Lichtblau, ed., *Wagnerschule, Arbeiten aus den Jahren 1905/06 und 1906/07. Nebst einem Anhang* (Leipzig: Baumgartner's Buchhandlung, 1910); Otto Schönthal, ed., *Das Ehrenjahr Otto Wagners an der k.k. Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien: Arbeiten seiner Schüler, Projekte, Studien u. Skizzen* (Vienna: E. Kosmack, 1912).
- 57 Wagner, *Modern Architecture*, 162.
- 58 Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagners*, 145.
- 59 *Moderne Architektur* was republished with minor changes in 1898; third and fourth editions, with more extensive changes, were published in 1902 and 1914. In the last edition Wagner added two new chapters and changed the title to *Die Baukunst unserer Zeit* (The building art of our time). For the publication history of the book, including all of the changes in the different editions, plus an excellent critical introduction and English translation by Harry Francis Mallgrave, see Wagner, *Modern Architecture*. References to this edition will hereafter be made parenthetically in the text.
- 60 For the plans of these buildings, see Otto Antonia Graf, *Otto Wagner: Das Werk des Architekten*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1985), 1:250–256.
- 61 See Günther Kolb, *Otto Wagner und die Wiener Stadtbahn*, 2 vols., Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft, Band 29/1 (Munich: Scaneg Verlag, 1989), 154–212.
- 62 Here Wagner would appear to be influenced, as were many planners of the time, by the aesthetic prescriptions of Hermann Maertens, *Der optische Maßstab oder die Theorie und Praxis des ästhetischen Sehens in der bildenden Kunst* (Bonn: Cohen, 1877; 2nd ed., Berlin: Wasmuth, 1884), regarding the proper relationship of building mass to surrounding open space in order to achieve optimum viewing distances. Maertens, who was a statistician, was very precise in his calculations, specifying the exact angle of vision for appreciating different aspects of a building from details to overall massing. On Maertens's influence on planners, in particular on Josef Stubbien, see Collins and Collins, *Canillo Site*, 48–50.
- 63 The revolutionary organization of these buildings, built speculatively by Wagner himself, has been pointed out by others. In particular, the traditional hierarchy of grand *plano nobile* and decreasing ceiling height of apartments on the floors above, was abandoned. All floors have equivalent ceiling height and other dimensions. In addition, in the corner building, the staircase is extruded into the space of the courtyard, increasing occupied floor space within. For plans, see Graf, *Otto Wagner: Das Werk*, 1:322–326; and also Whyte, *Three Architects*, 13–14, who discusses the significance of the

buildings for Wagner's students at the time, for whom the site was assigned as a studio design problem.

64 Adolf Loos, "Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz," lecture delivered 11 December 1911; see Burkhardt Rolschcio and Roland Schachel, *Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1982), 163.

65 Hildebrand's essay has been translated into English with an introduction by Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikononou, as "The Problem of Form in the Fine Arts," in *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 227-279. See in particular 229-232.

66 Schmarsov's inaugural address at the University of Leipzig, where he occupied a chair from 1893 to 1919, "Das Wesen der architektonischen Schöpfung" ("The essence of architectural creation"), is reproduced in English in *ibid.*, 281-297. On Schmarsov, see Mitchell W. Schwarzer, "The Emergence of Architectural Space: August Schmarsov's Theory of Raumgestaltung," *Assemblage*, no. 15 (fall 1991): 49-61.

Chapter 8. Building and City

1 *Die Verwaltung der Bundeshauptstadt Wien in der Zeit vom 1.1. 1923-31. 12. 1928*, 2:1223, [hereafter cited as *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923-1928)] Hans Hafner, "Die Bautätigkeit der Gemeinde Wien auf dem Gebiete des Hochbaus in den Jahren nach dem Krieg," *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereins*, nos. 15/16 (18 April 1924): 141-142; "Das Bauprogramm der Gemeinde Wien," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 7 February 1924, 9.

2 *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923-1928): 1224.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Ernst Schüller, "Die Stadtplanung Wiens seit Beginn des Weltkrieges," in Rudolf Tillmann, ed., *Festschrift herausgegeben anlässlich der Hundertjahrfeier des Wiener städtischen Bauamtes* (Vienna: Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1935), 84, records changes regarding land use and building line made to the existing *Regulierungsplan* in various locations where *Gemeindebauten* were built.

5 *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923-1928): 1224, 1225.

6 *Ibid.*, 1225.

7 *Ibid.*, 1226.

8 Guidelines issued in February 1924 specify clearly that the new buildings are to be well lit and ventilated, while at the same time making maximum use of the available space to build as many apartments as possible. See "Neue Richtlinien für die Durchführung von Wohnbauten, Abänderung betreffend die Ausführung der Wohnbauten," *Amts-ermerk*, 1 February 1924 [BD 380/1924]. Quoted in Karl Mang, ed., *Kommunaler Wohnbau in Wien: Aufbruch 1923-1934 Ausstrahlung* (Vienna: Presse- und Informationsdienst der Stadt Wien, 1977), n.p.

9 *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923-1924): 1224.

10 The area is known as the Frankl-Gründe after the developer Julius Frankl, who had amassed the land before World War I and sold it to the Social Democratic Gemeinde just after the war. See Felix Czeike, *Liberale, Christlichsozialer und Sozialdemokratische Kommunalpolitik (1861-1934): Dargestellt am Beispiel der Gemeinde Wien* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1962), 85.

11 The municipality published a brochure on the development, *Die Wohnbauanlagen der Gemeinde Wien im V. Bezirk Margareten* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1928]).

12 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 30 May 1924; in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/23): 1769; Siegel notes that the Reumannhof "will be the Gemeinde Wien's jewel in the building program of the current year." It was also published in Josef Bitner, *Neubauten der Stadt Wien*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Gerlach und Wiedling, 1926-1930), 1:6, plates 2-6.

13 The site had undergone a series of transformations since the street and building line plans for the district were first drawn up in the *Regulierungsplan* of 1892. A single large rectangular block in 1892, it was subdivided into two blocks in 1903; then in 1913 the larger of the two blocks was opened up with a *Strassenhof*, an open forecourt at the center of the block. Gessner's plan thus represented a reversion to the original building line plan. These changes are documented in the Generalstadplan der Bundeshauptstadt Wien [1:2880],

Wiener Stadtbauamt, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna, hereafter cited as *Generalstadplan Wien*, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv.

14 "Der erste Wolkenkratzer in Wien," *Der Tag*, 10 January 1924, 7.

15 Articles appeared in almost all the major newspapers; see "Die Stadt Wien als Bauherr: Wolkenkratzer oder gewöhnliche Hochbauten?" *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 11 January 1924, 8; "Mein Wolkenkratzer," *Der Tag*, 2 February 1924, 4; "Keine Wolkenkratzer in Wien," *Das Neue Acht-Uhr-Blatt*, 10 January 1924, 2; "Wohnhausbauten der Gemeinde Wien," *Zeitschrift der Baumeister*, 1 July 1926, 1, 6.

16 "Mein Wolkenkratzer," 3.

17 "Der erste Wolkenkratzer in Wien," 7.

18 *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 10 January 1924, 9.

19 See chapter 4. See also Jean-Louis Cohen, *Scenes of the World to Come: European Architecture and the American Challenge, 1893-1960* (Paris: Flammarion, 1995), 31, 107. According to *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 10 January 1924, 9, "In the last years before the war the wish became ever louder to insert high-rise buildings [*Hochbauten*] on the American model into the cityscape of Vienna. This would have made it possible to take advantage of the ever-diminishing land. The reactionary frame of mind of that time, however, was stubbornly opposed to these plans, reinforced by architects who were of the opinion that tall buildings would disfigure Vienna. Since then much has changed and now the issue is topical again."

20 See Cohen, *Scenes of the World*, 105-117; and Dietrich Neumann, "Die Wolkenkratzer-Komment!" *Deutsche Hochhäuser der zwanziger Jahre* (Braunschweig: Vieweg und Sohn, 1995); Florian Zimmerman, ed., *Der Schrei nach dem Turmbau: Der Ideenwettbewerb Hochhaus am Bahnhof Friedrichstrasse Berlin 1921 / 22* (Berlin: Argon Verlag, 1988).

21 See *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 11 January 1924, 8; "Keine Wolkenkratzer in Wien," 2; Max Ermers, "Wiener Wolkenkratzer, Wiener Projekte und ihre Aussichten," *Der Tag*, 1 February 1924, 3.

22 For the Modenapark project, see Burkhardt Rukschcio and Roland Schachel, *Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1982), 270-271.

23 Reprinted in Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-garde and Architecture from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pellegrino d'Acierno and Robert Conolly (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 190-195.

24 Max Eisler, "Neuwiener Baukunst," *Moderne Bauformen*, no. 11 (1925): 358. "Von dieser Art Amerikanismus ist für die tiefende Entwicklung des Wiener Bauwesens nur Gutes zu erwarten."

25 *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 10 January 1924, 9.

26 Bruno Möhring, *Über die Vorfälle der Turmbäuser und die Voraussetzungen unter denen sie in Berlin gebaut werden können* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1921), 18.

27 See Cohen, *Scenes of the World*, 117-121.

28 See Richard Pommer, "More a Necropolis than a Metropolis": Ludwig Hilberseimer's Highrise City and Modern City Planning," in Richard Pommer et al., *In the Shadow of Mies: Ludwig Hilberseimer, Architect, Educator, and Urban Planner* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago; New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 33-39.

29 "Der erste Wolkenkratzer in Wien," 7.

30 Siegel quoted in "Keine Wolkenkratzer in Wien," See also Siegel, "Der Hochbau auf dem Margaretengrütel," 9. In a city council meeting Siegel reported that "in this case we had to pour a great deal of water in the architect's wine" Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 30 May 1924, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/23):1771.

31 The new design is described in Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 30 May 1924, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/23): 1770-1772, for its approval, see 1772. Dates are on the plans for the Reumannhof in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv.

32 A Festschrift was published at the opening of the new building: *Die Wohnbauanlage der Gemeinde Wien "Reumannhof" im V. Bezirk* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1926]).

33 Mayer was an architect in the city building office. On the Haydnpark, see *Das Neue Wien*, 4 vols. (Vienna: Gemeinde Wien, 1926–1928), 3:29. Haydn's gravestone was relocated in an exedra-like clearing at the southern end of the park.

34 For a discussion of the influence of American hotels on European architects before World War I, see Cohen, *Scenes of the World*, 46–49.

35 The first was named after the poet and revolutionary of 1848 Georg Herwegh (1817–1875); the second was named in 1949 after one of the founders of the Social Democratic party Julius Popp (1849–1902). The municipality published a Festschrift on the three buildings: *Die Wohnhausanlagen der Gemeinde Wien im V. Bezirk. Margaretenviertel 76, 78, 80. Margaretenviertel 82 (Hrwegh-Hof). Fendlgasse 36, 37 (Montecchi-Hof)* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1928]).

36 Möhring, *Über die Vorzüge*. On Möhring, see Ines Gesine Wagemann, *Der Architekt Bruno Möhring 1863–1929*, Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte 8 (Bonn: Wehle, 1992).

37 For a significant Viennese competition of the period, see “Die Verbaubar der Bürgerversorgungshausgründe,” *Osterreich Bau- und Werkkunst* (1929):181–189. See, for example, the Friedrichstrasse competition for a hypothetical skyscraper organized by Möhring together with a consortium of Berlin businessmen, who formed the Turmhaus Aktiengesellschaft (Tower Corporation), in Zimmermann, *Der Schrei nach dem Turmhaus*.

38 Margaret Gillett, “Modernism for the Masses,” paper for the Royal Institute of British Architects Final Examination (July 1930), 27–28; courtesy of Hubert Murray. In a series of drawings Schmid and Aichinger studied the effect of the buildings from different angles, near and distant viewing points, and the quality of the space framed by them. Though the drawings no longer exist, photographs of them in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv document changes in the design of the buildings.

39 The new *Gemeindebauten*, beginning with Peter Behrens's Domeshof of 1927–1928, were less contextual and more self-contained than the early buildings by Gessner and Schmid and Aichinger. In 1928–1929, a small 72-unit block, Diehlgasse 20–26 by Fritz Juttmann and Egon Riss, was

built next to the Domeshof, and the competition-winning design of August Hauser for the Josef-Haydnhof, a large rectangular perimeter block with 304 apartments and a courtyard occupying almost two-thirds of the site, was built across the Gürtelstrasse. (For the Haydnhof competition, see “Wettbewerb Gaudendörfergürtel, Wien,” *Osterreichische Bau- und Werkkunst* [1927–1928]:257–260.) Finally, Josef Frank's Leopoldine-Gleisdhof, an austere, rationalized, almost perfectly square perimeter block, was inserted between the Haydnhof and the Haydnpark in 1931 to 1932. Frank's, Behrens's, and Juttmann and Riss's buildings are discussed in this chapter.

40 Biographical information on Ehn is from Karl Edmund Ehn, Personal Akten, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv. On Ehn, see also *Wiener Zeitung*, 18 January 1950, 5; *Rathhaus Korrespondenz*, 31 July 1959, 1570; Marco Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagners 1894–1912* (Vienna: Anton Schroll Verlag, 1980), 218.

41 Marco Pozzetto has suggested that Fabiani was responsible for much of the preparation and writing of Wagner's text for *Moderne Architektur*; see Pozzetto, *Max Fabiani: Ein Architekt der Monarchie* (Vienna: Tusch, 1983), 14. Harry Francis Mallgrave, in the introduction to his English translation of Wagner's text, refutes this suggestion, arguing that “... *Modern Architecture* is a denticulate and carefully crafted work, meticulously revised, enlarged, or shortened in places over its four editions. Stylistically, it is without question the work of one author.” See Mallgrave, introduction to Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of the Art and Humanities 1988), 27–28. Further regarding Fabiani's *Mieshaus* buildings in Vienna in relation to Wagner's apartment houses of the same period, see Franco Borsi and Ezio Godoli, *Vienna 1900: Architecture and Design* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 208–209. According to Pozzetto another employee in Fabiani's office before World War I was Adolf Hilder, who worked as a draftsman for three months in 1912; see Pozzetto, *Max Fabiani*, 16, 30.

42 The Karl-Marxhof began construction in October 1926; see *Die Verwaltung der Bundeshauptstadt Wien in der Zeit Vom 1.1.1929–31.12.31*, 1:590. Hereafter cited as *Verwaltungsbericht* (1929–1931).

43 Named after the first leader of the German Social Democratic Party, August Bebel (1840–1913), the Bebelhof was built in 1925 to 1926, not far from the Fuchsenfeldhof in district XII. It would seem from discussions of the building in the city council that Ehn's original design had included an additional structure inside the central courtyard, which was eliminated (after objections were raised by the Christian Socialist opposition). See Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 15 March 1926, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/41): 4221.

44 The single entryway was a controversial and disputed aspect of the Bebelhof design extensively discussed in city council meetings. In Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 15 March 1926, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29 / 41):4221–4225, Franz Siegel noted that the Social Democrats acknowledged the need for more than one entryway into the larger *Gemeindebauten* and countered criticism of the Fuchsenfeldhof, Reumannhof, and Bebelhof on this score by pointing out that they all had more than one entryway and that in the Reumannhof "a whole street passes through the building and expands into a square," from which the individual stairwell entrances are reached.

45 *Die Neue Wirtshof*, 17 June 1926, 2.

46 The sense of *Verfremdung* (alienation) here can be related to Walter Benjamin's use of the term in his description of Bertold Brecht's epic theater. See Walter Benjamin, "What Is Epic Theater?" in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 150. For regulations governing behavior in the courtyards and attitudes toward them, see Reinhard Sieder, "Housing Policy, Social Welfare, and Family Life in 'Red Vienna,' 1919–1934," *Owl History* 13, no. 2 (1985): 40; Gottfried Finkler and Reinhard Sieder, "Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie im Roten Wien: Familienpolitik, Kulturreform, Alltag und Ästhetik," in Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder, eds., *Historische Familienforschung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982), 358. For example, children were not allowed to play on the grass except in designated areas. This and other rules were apparently deeply resented by residents of the new buildings. But the same regulations restricting areas in which children could play pertained to Vienna's public parks. In fact, restrictions on behavior in the garden courtyards generally can be seen as carryovers from the rules applied in all Viennese public parks.

47 But, as was noted in the *Verwaltungsbericht*, perimeter block construction was not always "simple," even when confined to a discrete block. Because of the size and shape of the block on which the Bebelhof was sited, Ehn was able to build on the perimeter of the block and at the same time to cover a little more than 50 percent of its area (actually 53.7 percent; see *Verwaltungsbericht* [1923–1928]: 1257). More often, other solutions had to be found. After 1929 many more "simple perimeter blocks" were built than in the early years of the program, possibly in response to criticism from the international housing and town planning community that the *Gemeindebauten* were too densely built. The later perimeter blocks, built between 1929 and 1931, tended to be less dense, covering generally only around 33 to 40 percent of the site.

48 Like the Bebelhof, the spatial organization of the Lindenhof responded to the existing conditions of its site: in this case, the north-south exposure of the majority of the apartments, the steeply graded site, and the adjacent park. To avoid north-facing units, Ehn organized the plan so that two of the three apartments on each landing had double north-south exposure, while the third faced south and had a loggia or balcony. All the north-facing windows therefore looked out onto either the central courtyard or the park, and all the south-facing balconies opened onto the courtyard or street.

49 This building was named (in 1945) after Franz Pfannensiel (1902–1945), a member of the Austrian underground killed by the Nazis. The two buildings were designed in concert and as an urban unity. See Bittrner, *Neubauten der Stadt Wien*, 1: 16–19, plates 12–19; *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1925–1926): 354–358.

50 *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928): 1225.

51 Leopold Simony had also designed housing for two insurance companies in the early 1900s, including a working man's accident insurance company. The latter was built 1904–1908. On Simony see Helmut Weltmann, *Das Rote Wien* (Vienna: Promedia, 1985), 394–945; Friedrich Achleitner, *Österreichische Architektur im 20. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1990), 3.1:181–182, 264, 267; 3.2:169.

52 *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928): 1257. The Simonyhof contained 164 apartments and five shops.

53 Achleitner, *Österreichische Architektur*, 3.1:267.

54 Mang, a Wagner student (from 1907 to 1909) and municipal employee in the *Stadtbauamt*, designed five *Gemeindebauten*. He associated with Heinrich Tessenow and Hugo Mayer on the Rannersdorf brewery housing (designed by Tessenow) in 1921. The *Siedlung Rannersdorf* is discussed briefly in chapter 3. On Mang, see Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagners*, 238; Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten des Roten Wiens 1919–1934* (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980), 496. The Fröhlichhof originally housed 149 apartments and three stores; *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928): 5586. It was named after Katharina Fröhlich (1800–1879), wife of the Austrian dramatist Franz Grillparzer.

55 Named after the German social democratic politician and statesman, Friedrich Ebert (1871–1925), *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928): 1253, 1260. The Eberthof contained 197 apartments, nine shops, a youth-care center, and kindergarten. Thyurhof contained 107 apartments, a large kindergarten facility, and two commercial premises. The architects had been students of Friedrich Ohmann at the Academy of Fine Arts. On Mittag and Hauschka, see Weithsmann, *Das Rote Wien*, 380. Achleitner, *Österreichische Architektur*, 3.1:247, claims they were students of Peter Behrens.

56 Krist was a *Stadtbauamt* architect who designed a number of large *Gemeindebauten*, but little else is known about him. On his work for the Gemeinde Wien, see Hautmann and Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten*, 496. The Liebknecht was named after Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826–1900), one of the founders of German Social Democracy. It contained 426 units, six stores, a youth center, health insurance office, central laundry, and gardens; see *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928): 1257.

57 Theiss and Jaksch, both had been students of Friedrich Ohmann at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and then of Carl König at the Technical University, who had an extensive practice during the interwar period, are discussed in more detail in the next chapter; see also Georg Schwalm-Theiss, *Theiss & Jaksch, Architekten 1907–1961* (Vienna: Edition Christian Brandstätter, 1986). The Quarinhof was named after Josef Freiherr von Quarin (1737–1814), who had been rector of Vienna University and of Vienna's General Hospital (Allgemeine Krankenhaus). Emil Hoppe (1876–1957) and

Otto Schönthal (1878–1961) were students of Otto Wagner from 1898 to 1901. The Züricherhof (named after the city of Zürich in 1949, in gratitude for financial help after World War II) contained not only 233 apartments, twenty stores, and a kindergarten, but also tuberculosis and dental clinics. It would seem that the original program for the Züricherhof included a cinema, which in an early scheme had been located in a separate pavilion at the center of the block fronting onto the Laxenburgerstrasse, and was topped by a monumental obelisk-like pedestal surmounted by a statue. The unexecuted design is reproduced in *Wiener Architekten: Emil Hoppe und Otto Schönthal—Projekte und ausgeführte Bauten* (Vienna: Ebeling Verlag, 1911). See also Iain Boyd Whyte, *Three Architects from the Master Class of Otto Wagner: Emil Hoppe, Marcel Kammerer, Otto Schönthal* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 90.

58 In 1927 Schmid and Aichinger used a similar *parti* in the Somogyihof (named for the Hungarian writer Bela Somogyi, 1868–1920) on the Hütteldorfer Strasse (XIV). Considerably larger than the Züricherhof—with 360 apartments, twenty-three stores, Tuberculosis clinic, kindergarten, youth-care center and youth hostel, playground, and large communal laundry—it covered a nearly 20,000 square meter area on the site of a disused machine-building factory. In this case the low brick screening-block contained shops and courtyard entryways facing the street, with the Somogyihof's extensive laundry facilities (twenty washing machines and drying, mangling, and ironing rooms) on the courtyard side. The Somogyihof is a remarkable example of Schmid and Aichinger's ingenuity in dealing with difficult sites. Built on uneven terrain, acquired piecemeal and with some difficulty because of problems relating to the city's laws of eminent domain, it occupies about two-thirds of the city block. In order to incorporate all parts of the extremely irregular site into a perimeter block, Schmid and Aichinger reconfigured the block itself by transforming the Mosbacherstrasse into a pedestrian walkway. This allowed them to increase the dimensions of the *Hof* by pushing the block out beyond the building line on the Mosbacherstrasse. The courtyard itself is exceptionally large; it is more like a park, with paddling pool, lawns, pathways, and stepped terraces, which accommodate changes in grade as well as the mature trees already on the site. The main courtyard is linked to subsidiary U-shaped enclosures at the rear, where kindergarten, playground, and hostel were located. For the Somogyihof, see *Österreichs Bau-*

und *Werkkunst* (1930–1931): 269–278. For the Quarinhof, see Bittner, *Neubauten der Stadt Wien*, 1:8–9, plates 7–8; *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1925–1926): 149–163; *Moderne Bauformen*, no. 11 (November 1925): 378–385; Schwalm-Theiss, *Thesis & Jacht*, 68–69.

59 On Oerley, Peter Nigst, *Robert Örlay*, vol. 3 of *Portraits österreichischer Architekten* (Vienna: Springer Verlag, 1996), the catalogue of an exhibition held at the Architektur Zentrum Wien, 1996.

60 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 16 August 1924, 6; apparently the site was chosen for its good railway and tram connections. During the war the land, already owned by the city, had been turned into allotment gardens. Site plans in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv show gardens and paths. The proximity to water also made it an ideal site for growing food. The building was named after Ferdinand Hanusch (1866–1923), who framed modern labor law in Austria.

61 On Le Corbusier's "immeuble villas" designs, see Stanislaus van Moos, *Le Corbusier, Elements of a Synthesis* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1979), 151, 189. On Henard, see Peter M. Wolf, *Engène Henard and the Beginnings of Urbanism in Paris, 1900–1914* (The Hague: International Federation for Housing and Planning; Paris: Centre de recherche d'urbanisme, 1968).

62 See Achleiner, *Österreichische Architektur*, 3.1:101–102.

63 The remaining facilities—nine shops, twenty three workshops, and 434 apartments, as well as a branch of the city street-cleaning works—were located in the taller peripheral blocks. See *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928): 1249.

64 Both architects worked in the Stadtbauamt. The two *Gemeindebauern* were named (post-1945) after local politicians who were active in district affairs; Johann Janacek (1881–1932), a Social Democratic Member of the National Assembly, among other posts; and Rudolf Beer (1863–1923), Social Democratic city councillor from 1919 to 1923. The larger of the two, the Janacekshof (with 840 apartments) occupies an entire city block; the Beerhof (with only 479 apartments, but also kindergarten, commercial premises, large communal laundry, and bathing facilities serving both blocks) occupies about two-thirds of an adjacent block across

the Donaueschingenstrasse. The program of both buildings is given in *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928): 1268.

65 *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928): 1261. On Bauer, see Borsi and Godoli, *Vienna 1900*, 305–306, 337; *Leopold Bauer, seine Anschauung in Wort und Werk* (Vienna: Elmböhl Verlag, 1931).

66 One example is Balderichgasse 23–29 (XVII), by Karl Ehn (1922); see *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1925–1926): 185; *Moderne Bauformen*, no.11 (November 1925): 370–371.

67 At the time this area was in district II. Little else is known about the building's three architects.

68 Augenfeld had been a student of Adolf Loos; Vetter had been a student of Oskar Strnad and Heinrich Tessenow at the Kunstgewerbeschule.

69 On 14 June 1929 an amendment to the law of eminent domain (*Enteignungsgesetz*) was passed by the provincial assembly, empowering municipalities to tear down unhealthy residential buildings and to build healthy housing in their place. See Felix Czeike, *Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik der Gemeinde Wien in der Ersten Republik, 1919–1934*, Wiener Schriften Heft 6, Heft 11 (Vienna: Jugend und Volk, 1956, 1959), Heft 11, 49–50. This led to an increase in infill building in areas such as district XIV, where there was substantial late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century worker housing. Examples of later *Lückenerbauung* in this area include Meisselstrasse 73 (XIV), by Theo Schöll (designed 1928), and Gründorfgasse 4 (XIV), by Heinrich Ried (designed 1928). Plans are in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv. There was also an economic advantage to building in this way. The city could lower costs on the delivery of materials and storage by building on several sites in the same area at the same time. This aspect of the program was discussed in city council. Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 15 December 1926, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/49): 2935.

70 See Hautmann and Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauern*, 357–363.

71 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 30 October 1927, 6.

72 Little is known about the architects. They collaborated with Leopold Bauer and Ernst Lichtblau on another large *Gemeindebau*, the Paul-Speiserhof, in 1929. See Hautmann and Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten*, 490. A Festschrift was published by the city at the opening of the Schlingerhof: *Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien im XXI. Bezirk: "Schlinger-Hof" Brunnenstrasse, Floridsdorfer Markt, Pitka-gasse, Lotsgasse* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1926]).

73 Sometimes this was done in a single building program, sometimes incrementally. An example of the former is the group of buildings on the Obkirchgasse (XIX), 1924–1925. See *Die Wohnhausanlagen der Gemeinde Wien im XIX. Bezirk: Obkirchgasse* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1925]); Bittrner, *Neubauten der Gemeinde Wien*: 14–15, plates 10–11.

74 See *Generalstadtplan Wien*, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv. An article on the complex that appeared in *Die Neue Wirtenschaft*, 2 June 1927, 7, noted that the group of buildings was intended to represent a small town. The municipality also produced a Festschrift on the occasion of the opening of the last building added to the complex; see *Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien im XI. Bezirk: Lorystrasse, Hackelgasse, Herderplatz* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1927]).

75 Subsequently, in the late 1920s the square was enlarged and a wading pool, playing fields, and a park were added. See Achleiner, *Österreichische Architektur*, 3:1:298.

76 For Sittes' concept of *Platzanbahnung*, see George G. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sittes: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 65–67.

77 The Lassallestrasse, likewise named after Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–1864), a founder of the German Social Democratic movement, was an extension of the Praterstrasse, a main thoroughfare in district II extending from the Danube Canal through the Praterstern (Vienna's Place de l'Etoile), laid out at the same time as the Prater Park in the early 1870s and the site of the International Exposition of 1873), to the Reichs Bridge over the Danube. The Handelskai along the south bank of the Danube had just been regulated, making it possible for the area to be developed. The new workers' beaches along the Danube were immensely popular. Helmut Gruber records the Viennese working-class passion for

swimming during this period; see Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919–1934* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 121–122.

78 The competition, which was open to all Viennese architects, was held in fall 1923. Ninety-one submissions were received, and three prizes and nine commendations were awarded. A design by Karl Kröll, an architect in the city building office, won first prize; the second prize went to Hubert Gessner, and the third to a design by Wilhelm Wohl-meyer and Karl Hauchka. The jury included private architects—Karl Hofmann, Siegfried Theiss, Hans Jaksch, Franz Kaym, and Robert Oetley—as well as officials in the city building office: Friedrich Jäckel, who was head of the Architecture Bureau until 1926; Stadtrat Franz Siegel, and Max Fiebiger, *Stadtbauinspektor* at the time. On the competition, see Hafner, "Die Bautätigkeit der Gemeinde Wien," 142. Alfredo Passeri, "I superblocchi viennesi: un'analisi tipologica," in Manfredo Tafuri, ed., *Vienna 1859; la politica residenziale nella Vienna socialista, 1919–1993* (Milan: Electa, 1980), 160, suggests that the team was assembled by the city building office. Evidence for this is lacking. It seems more likely that the team was assembled by Gessner, since the younger architects were for the most part already employed in his office.

79 So named (in 1945) after Otto Heizmann (1895–1942), a member of the Austrian underground killed in World War II. Other *Gemeindebauten* in the area include Radingerstrasse 21 (1927), by Franz Zaba; Ybsstrasse 31–33 (1927), by Ferdinand Kaindl; Harkortstrasse 3 (1927), by Otto Nadel; Ybsstrasse 40–42 (1927), by Erich Leischner; Wolmutstrasse 14–16 (1927), by Gustav Schläfrig and Hermann Reiser; and Hermann Fischerhof, Ybsstrasse 15–21 (1928), by Otto Prutscher. See catalogue section, Hautmann and Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten*, 261–270.

80 For this tradition and the urban function of emphatic corner buildings in Parisian planning under Haussmann, see François Loyer, *Paris Nineteenth Century: Architecture and Urbanism*, trans. Charles Lynn Clark (New York: Abbeville, 1988), 276–279.

81 In *Lehmann's Wiener Adressbuch* the first listing for Ella Briggs-Baumfeld (at IV Taubstummgasse #13) occurs in 1914. The same volume lists a Captain Allan Briggs, military

attache at the American Embassy in Vienna from 1914–1917. I am indebted to Renate Banik-Schwietzer for this reference.

82 Briggs is one of the many architects practicing in Vienna during the interwar period who have not yet been studied as they deserve. I am indebted to Banik-Schwietzer and Lynne Walker for biological information on her from the *Geburtsbuch für die Israelitische Cultusgemeinde* in Vienna and the British Architectural Library Biography Files. I am also indebted to Banik-Schwietzer for referring me to one of the few published sources on Briggs: Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber, *Künstlerinnen in Österreich 1897–1938: Malerei, Plastik, Architektur* (Vienna: Picus, 1994), 263–264. Briggs's connections to the Gemeinde Wien, and the reasons for her status as the only woman architect commissioned to design one of the large *Gemeindebauten*, remain to be determined.

83 The municipality published a brochure on the building, *Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien: Pestalozzi-Hof im 19. Bezirk: Philipovichgasse* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1926]).

84 Fritz Neumeier, "The Second-Hand City: Modern Technology and Changing Urban Identity," in Marc M. Angelli, ed., *On Architecture, the City, and Technology* (New York: Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture and Butterworth Architecture, 1990), 16–25. Neumeier interprets Mendelsohn's urban department stores, such as the extension of the Mosse building in Berlin (1922), as "almost Dadaist" insertions into the old fabric of the city (24). For Mendelsohn's work of the 1920s, see Erich Mendelsohn, *Erich Mendelsohn: Das Gesamtwerk des Architekten* (Berlin: Rudolf Mosse Buchverlag, 1930), translated into English by Anje Frisch and published as *Erich Mendelsohn: Complete Works of the Architect: Sketches, Designs, Buildings* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992); Kathleen James, *Erich Mendelsohn and the Architecture of German Modernism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

85 A building on the corner of Rinnböckstrasse and Schneidegasse (XI) of 1928 by Alexander Popp, a student of Peter Behrens (whose own essay of this kind is considered below), is a good example. On Popp and the Behrens school, see chapter 9 and Karl Maria Grimme, *Peter Behrens und seine Wiener Akademische Meisterschule* (Vienna: Adolf Luser Verlag, 1930).

86 Judtmann and Riss trained with Leopold Simony at the Technical University in Vienna. See Wehsmann, *Rote Wien*, 377, 382.

87 Dirnhuber is another critically neglected architect of the interwar period. Biographical information is from *Jahrbuch der Wiener Gesellschaft* (Vienna: Verlag der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1929). In 1931 a monograph on his work was published by Elbemühl-Verlag, as a part of its Wiener Architekten series. See *Zivilarchitektur Dr. Ing. Karl Dirnhuber, Zehn Jahre freischaffender Architekt 1921–1931: Eine Auswahl von Entwürfen und ausgeführten Bauten*, foreword by Max Eisler (Vienna: Elbemühl-Verlag, 1931). The Weimarerstrasse building and adjacent Schubertpark were widely published at the time. See Bittner, *Neubauten der Gemeinde*, 1:20–21, plate 20; Josef Bittner, "Die neue Bauepoche der Stadt Wien," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 31 March 1926, 6; "Bautätigkeit der Wiener Stadtverwaltung: Umgestaltung des Alten Währinger Ortsfriedhofes in die Öffentliche Gartenanlage 'Schubertpark,'" *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1925–1926): 292–299.

88 As Neumeier and others have pointed out, this dynamic and plastic treatment of the facade became something of a convention for corner buildings in Central Europe cities in the 1930s. Neumeier, as noted earlier, sees Erich Mendelsohn's Mosse building in Berlin of the early 1920s as exemplary and influential in this regard, introducing purposefully dissonant streamlined "ocean liner" imagery into the heart of the city. Ákos Moravánszky, in contrast, relates the plastic organic forms of buildings such as the Weimarerstrasse block to Le Corbusier's more plastic work of the 1930s, which he sees as instrumental in this development. See Ákos Moravánszky, *Die Erneuerung der Baukunst: Wege zur Moderne in Mitteleuropa 1900–1940* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1988), 142.

89 Often these consisted of clusters of small irregular "left-over" sites, adjacent to the *Stadtbahn* or Gürtelstrasse, that had little potential for commercial development and remained during these major infrastructural works were completed in the 1890s and early 1900s. Other groups of parcels were located on the site of the former Linienwall. After World War I large tracts of land, previously owned by the Crown—military parade grounds, barracks, etc.—were newly available for development by the city. A number of

arge parcels of inner-city land owned by monastic orders were sold to the municipality in the early 1920s. Sometimes he religious orders, politically opposed to Red Vienna, refused to sell to the socialist municipality. See W. K. Korhals Utes, "Die Wiener Raumplanung der Zwischenkriegszeit—Stadtplanung und Wohnungsbau 1919–1934" (master's thesis, Institut für Stadt- und Regionalforschung der Technischen Universität, Wien, 1990), 48–52.

20 On Dorfmeister, Frass, and Perco, see Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagner*, 218, 222, 241. Perco, who designed one of the largest *Gemeindebauten* of Red Vienna, is discussed later in this chapter.

21 Known originally as Am Fuchsenfeld, after World War I the structure was renamed Edmund-Reismannhof to commemorate a Social Democratic city councillor who died at Auschwitz in 1942. In official publications Am Fuchsenfeld is presented as phase three of building on the Fuchsenfeld site (phase one: the original Fuchsenfeldhof fronting onto Längenfeldgasse; phase two: the addition fronting onto Neuwallgasse). See Bittner, *Neubauten der Stadt Wien*, 1:28–12, plates 26–36. The project was also published in *Österreich: Bau- und Werkkunst* (1924–1925): 12–18; *Moderne Bauformen*, no. 11 (November 1925): 83–85, 364–369.

22 These changes are documented in *Generalstadtplan Wien*, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna. The plans are dated 1892, 1904, 1910, and 1929.

23 In Schmid and Aichinger's original scheme (published in *Moderne Bauformen*, no. 11 [November 1925]: 364), the Rhygasse continued through the building at the corner of the Längenfeldgasse and Murlingengasse.

24 For the competition and program, see *Die Wohnhausanlage der Gemeinde Wien im III. Bezirk: Baumgasse-Rabengasse-Hainburgerstrasse-Nikolausplatz*. (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, 1928).

25 The quotation is from Walter Benjamin, "The Author is Producer," in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Peter Demetz, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978) 235. According to Karl Kraus in *Die Fackel*, nos. 313/314 (December 1910): 5, Loos's building infuriated the Viennese, not because it was

radically modern (which it was not) but because Loos "had built them an idea" ("Er hat ihnen dort einen Gedanken hingebaut")—because the building polemically engaged what was there. On Kraus and Loos, see Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus: Apocalyptic Satirist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 124–128.

26 According to Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky it was Otto Neurath who led the project and obtained the commission for the ÖVSK, which was responsible for assembling the architects (identified by city building officials as "the moderns") and planning the building. See Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, "Mein Freund Otto Neurath," in Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Arbeiterbildung in der Zwischenkriegszeit, Otto Neurath—Gerd Arnitz* (Vienna: Locker Verlag, 1982) 40–41.

27 Spearheaded by Otto Neurath, general secretary of the ÖVSK its purpose was twofold: first, to designate certain undeveloped parts of the city as future allotment and settlement zones; second, to devise a fully integrated architectural plan, informed by "the spirit of mass organization," that would bring into architectonic unity all forms of urban building: residential (high- and low-rise), industrial, commercial, and institutional. Neurath assembled a team of architects—Adolf Loos, Josef Frank, Oskar Strnad, Josef Hoffmann, and Peter Behrens—to work on the plan. By the end of 1923 they had come up with six allotment and settlement zones and had presented their plan to the city. But the more detailed, fully integrated *Architekturplan* was never developed. The quotation is from *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 24 October 1923, 5.

28 Adolf Loos, "Das Grand Hotel Babylon," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 20 December 1923, 10–11. For the prewar history of the *Terrassenhaus*, see Richard Pommer and Christian F. Otto, *Weissenhof, 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 113–115.

29 See Cohen, *Stenes of the World*, 56–57.

30 Loos, "Das Grand Hotel Babylon," 10.

31 Sauvage had designed worker housing in 1903 for the Société Anonyme des Logements Hygiéniques à Bon Marché, as well as "low-cost" housing (Habitation à Bon Mar-

ché) at 7, rue Trétagne in Paris, which was remarkable for its extensive collective services. With Sarazin he designed other Habitations à Bon Marché in Paris. See Maurice Culot and Lisa Grenier, *Henri Sauvage 1873-1932* (Brussels: Archives d'Architecture Moderne, 1976).

102 Rukscheio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 547-548.

103 On Brinkman's Spangen housing estate, see Maristella Casciato, Franco Pansini, and Sergio Polano, eds., *Olanda 1870-1940: Città, Casa, Architettura* (Milan: Electa, 1980), 90-91.

104 Lihotzky quoted in Yehuda Safran and Wilfried Wang, *The Architecture of Adolf Loos* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1985), 53. Elsie Altmann-Loos, *Mein Leben mit Adolf Loos* (Vienna: Amalthea Verlag, 1984), 203, records that Loos's scheme was rejected because of cost. See also Benedetto Gravagnolo, *Adolf Loos, Theory and Works*, trans. C. H. Evans (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), 177. On Loos's difficulties with city building officials during 1920 to 1923, when he was chief architect of the Siedlungsamt, see chapter 3.

105 On the Grand Hotel Babylon project, see Rukscheio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 283-286; 571-579.

106 On Glück's project, one of many social housing schemes executed for Vienna's post-World War II Social Democratic municipality, see Kurt Freisitzer and Harry Glück, *Sozialer Wohnbau: Entstehung, Zustand, Alternativen* (Vienna: Verlag Fritz Molden, 1979), 78-102; Gerhard Habara et al., *Wohnen in Wien; Wohnbau mit Gewinnung* (Vienna: Europaia 87 Österreich, 1987), 164-70.

107 For discussion of the later life of the *Hochstrasse* and particularly the Smithsonian's Golden Lane housing proposal of 1952, see Kenneth Frampton, "The Evolution of Housing Concepts, 1870-1970," *Lotus International*, no. 10 (1975): 24-33.

108 Pommer and Otto, *Weissenhof 1927*, 112-115.

109 *Ibid.*, 114-115. On Behrens's scheme, see Helga Griepentrog, "Peter Behrens in Wien (1921-1936)," in Tilmann Buddensieg and Elisabeth Liskar, eds., *Wien und die Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1986), 83-86;

and Fritz Neumeyer, "The Workers' Housing of Peter Behrens," in Tilmann Buddensieg et al., *Industrie-Kultur: Peter Behrens und die AEG* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1984), 124-137.

110 See Johannes Spalt et al., *Der Architekt Oskar Strnad: Zum hundertsten Geburtstag am 26. Oktober 1979*, exhib. cat. (Vienna: Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, 1979), and Otto Niedermoser, *Oskar Strnad* (Vienna: Bergland, 1965). See also Max Eisler, *Oskar Strnad* (Vienna: Gerlach und Wiedling, 1936); idem, "Oskar Strnad zum 50. Geburtstag," *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 33 (January 1930): 253-268. Eisler wrote regularly on Strnad's work in the period from 1919 to 1930 in *Innendekoration, Moderne Bauformen, und Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*. For the influence of Strnad's furniture design on Lihotzky, see chapter 3. Strnad's studio at the Kunstgewerbeschule is described by Ernst A. Plischke, who studied with him; see Plischke, *Ernst A. Plischke: Ein Leben mit Architektur* (Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1989), 33, 34-39.

111 On Nash's first scheme for Regent's Park, see John Summerson, *Georgian London* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978), 177-190; idem, *The Life and Work of John Nash* (London: Allen, 1980).

112 On Strnad's published scheme, see Otto Neurath, "Generalarchitekturplan," *Das Kunstblatt* 8 (1924): 99, 110-111. For Tau's Hufeisen project in relation to the society of the spectacle, see Richard Pommer, "The Spectacle of the Weimar Siedlungen," in Jean Clair, ed., *The 1920s: Age of the Metropolis* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), 271-283.

113 On Oskar Wlach (1881-1963), see Ottokar Uhl, *Moderne Architektur in Wien: Von Otto Wagner bis heute* (Vienna: Schroll-Verlag, 1966), 126; Christopher Long, "The Wayward Heir: Josef Frank's Vienna Years, 1885-1933," in Nina Stritzler-Levine, ed., *Josef Frank, Architect and Designer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 46-47; Herbert A. Strauss et al., *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés, 1933-1945* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1983), 2:1255.

114 According to Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, the second, executed site plan for the Winarskyhof was drawn up by Oskar Strnad (personal communication, June 1996).

115 Sradn's apartment plans are an exception, eccentric for the inclusion of a small internal corridor (*Gang*) between the three principal rooms (*Wohnküche, Zimmer, Kammer*) of the apartment.

116 Loos's sketches for the Hasshof are reproduced in Rulschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 474. See also Dietrich Wörbs, "Entwürfe von Adolf Loos für den sozialen Wohnungsbau," in Buddensing and Liskar, *Wien und die Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts*, 151–158.

117 Rulschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 575; Renate Allmayer-Beck et al., *Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky: Soziale Architektur Zeitspuren eines Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1993), 61–63.

118 An early facade study for the building, identified as such by Eduard Sekler, suggests that Hoffmann had originally intended to cover the facade with surface ornamentation of an Expressionist folk art character. The study is in the Bauhaus Archive, Berlin. See Eduard F. Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann; The Architectural Work: Monograph and Catalogue of Works* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 400.

119 Manfredo Tafuri, "'Das Rote Wien': Politica e forma della residenza nella Vienna socialista, 1919–1933," in Tafuri, *Vienna Rossa*, 68.

120 The Winarskyhof also contained a kindergarten, shops, ateliers, workshops, communal baths, and a laundry. See Bitner, *Neubauten der Stadt Wien*, 1:24–25, plates 21–23; see also the Festschrift published by the municipality on the occasion of the official opening, *Die Wohnbauanlage der Gemeinde Wien "Winarskyhof" im XX. Bezirk Stromstrasse, Vortarnerstrasse, Kaiserwasserstrasse, Paettistrasse* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1925]).

121 Festschrift "*Winarskyhof*," 1.

122 Otto Neurath's statement (in "Generalarchitekturplan," 108) that one of the principal purposes of the Winarskyhof was to demonstrate that "buildings by different architects who want to express their personality can be brought into harmony" is significant in this context. In the same article Neurath described the project as consisting of "three housing blocks with around 700 apartments," which suggests that the project still in play (or at least familiar to Neurath) at the

beginning of 1924 was the first unexecuted site plan, dated November 1923.

123 Regarding the procedure of montage referred to here, see in particular Benjamin, "The Author as Producer," 234–35. Regarding montage, photomontage, and painting in the period, see Matthew Teitelbaum, ed., *Montage and Modern Life, 1919–1942* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

124 The larger scheme was abandoned because of problems acquiring the land. See *Die Wohnbauanlage der Gemeinde Wien im XXI. Bezirk: Konstanziagasse, Wurmburgangasse, Hans Stegergasse* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1925]).

125 Behrens received the commission in 1928, the same year that he published a flattering article in *Bauwelt* lauding the Social Democratic administration as the "ideal client" and praising the Gemeinde Wien for "entrusting the design of its buildings to architects in private practice" (*Bauwelt*, no. 41 [1928]: 976). See further chapter 9. The Domeshof was named after Franz Domes (1863–1930), a union leader and Social Democratic city council member.

126 It was named in 1949 after one of the victims of the February 1934 fighting, Viktor Klose (1904–1934). The site was adjacent to the old Währing cemetery, part of which was converted into a public park for the new residential area.

127 *Die Neue Wirtschaf*, 2 July 1925, 13.

128 Ermers's articles appeared in *Der Tag*, 19 July 1925, 8; 12 August 1925, 5; 26 August 1925, 7. The quoted press criticism is from *Die Neue Wirtschaf*, 6 July 1926, 3. The Klosehof also received negative reviews in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 9 August 1925, 11, and in other newspapers; see Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann*, 203–205.

129 *Die Neue Wirtschaf*, 8 July 1926, 14. Hoffmann published another defense of his design in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 9 August 1925, 11.

130 Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann*, 204.

131 *Die Neue Wirtschaf*, 2 July 1925, 13.

132 *Ibid.*

- 133 For the *Narrenturm* and *Allgemeine Krankenhaus*, see Robert Weissenberger et al., *Klassizismus in Wien: Architektur und Plastik*, exhib. cat. (Vienna: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1978), 125-127.
- 134 The first scheme for the Wiedenhoferhof was designed in December 1923. See Johannes Spalt and Hermann Czech, *Josef Frank, 1885-1967* (Vienna: Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, 1981), 134.
- 135 *Die Wohnbauanlage der Gemeinde Wien, Wiedenhoferhof, im XVII. Bezirk Kongressplatz, Pretschgasse, Zellergasse, Herbiggasse* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1925]), n.p. The building was named after Josef Wiedenhofer (1873-1924), a union official and Social Democratic member of the National Assembly (1919-1924).
- 136 Frank and Wlach's preliminary site models for the latter building attest to the more nuanced, carefully considered, and no doubt more expensive spatial organization the architects originally conceived for the Fickeysstrasse site. For the early site models, see Spalt and Czech, *Josef Frank*, 150.
- 137 Holzmeister is quoted in Dietmar Steiner, "... was man denkt, das zeichnet man ...": Ein Gespräch mit Clemens Holzmeister," *Um Bau*, no. 4 (May 1981): 63. Regarding the crematorium, mysticism, and incorporation of the ruins of a late Renaissance villa on the site, see Achleiner, *Österreichische Architektur*, 3.1:294-295. In 1924 Holzmeister was appointed professor at the Academy of Fine Arts, where he took over Friedrich Ohmann's *Meisterschule*. For Holzmeister, see Uhl, *Moderne Architektur*, 113-114; Clemens Holzmeister, *Architekt in der Zeitwende: Clemens Holzmeister* (Salzburg: Das Bergland-Buch, 1976).
- 138 Steiner, "... was man denkt," 63.
- 139 Holzmeister is quoted in *ibid.* The scheme is illustrated in Armand Weiser, *Neue Werkkunst: Clemens Holzmeister* (Berlin: Friedrich Ernst Hübsch Verlag, 1927), 35.
- 140 Holzmeister is quoted in Steiner, "... was man denkt," 63.
- 141 *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 14 October 1926, 11.
- 142 The Karl-Marx-Hof was also the most extensively published and publicized building project of Red Vienna, even outside Austria. See in particular *Der Karl-Marx-Hof: Die Wohnbauanlage der Gemeinde Wien auf der Hagenwies in Hietzingstadt* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1930]); Karl Ehn, "Karl Marx-Hof," trans. Margaret Hare, *Garden Cities and Town Planning* 21, no. 7 (1931): 179-182; Donald Brooke, "The Karl Marx Hof, Vienna," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3rd ser. 38 (1931): 671-677.
- 143 *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 14 October 1926, 11.
- 144 *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereins*, nos. 51/52 (1926): 516.
- 145 See, for example, "Wiens Leistungen und das Ausland," *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 10 February 1927, 6. Receiving particular attention were the comments of one of the English delegates, Mr. Harris (head of the education department of the British Ministry of Welfare): "The Viennese housing provides clear proof that the domestic culture [*Wohnkultur*] of the large city dweller is not exclusively and alone advanced through the settlement movement. No garden city can provide the city dweller with appreciably better domestic culture [*Wohnkultur*] and domestic hygiene than the housing blocks built by the city of Vienna." They were quoted in *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 23 September 1926, 2, as well as in city council: Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 27 July 1927, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/60): 2338.
- 146 See Otto Bauer's campaign speeches just before the April 1927 elections, quoted in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 31 January 1927, 3; *Der Tag*, 5 March 1927, 2; *Die Neue Freie Presse*, 6 March 1927, 10; *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 10 March 1927, 5.
- 147 *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 17 June 1926, 2.
- 148 *Zeitschrift der Baumeister*, 20 September 1926, 7.
- 149 *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 28 April 1927, 3. This article, titled "The Stones of Vienna Have Spoken," was published just after the Social Democratic party had gained 123,000 votes (60.3 percent) in Vienna in the federal election of April 1927. The positive outcome of the election was taken as an endorsement of the party's housing program. A couple of months later Siegel announced: "We will build garden cities,

first of all two: one near Spinnerin am Kreuz with 1,200 apartments, and one at am Tivoli" (both in district XII); *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 2 June 1927; 6.

150 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 15 December 1926, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/49): 2937–2938.

151 *Der Karl Marx-Hof: Die Wohnhausanlage*. 4. An English version of the same text was attributed to Ehn; see "Karl Marx-Hof."

152 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 10 June 1927, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/61): 2940–2941.

153 Masses of people streamed through the archways when football matches were played in the stadium, which at the time was the largest such facility in Europe; see Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 142. Reduction of the number of arches and the increase in their diameter (to 16 meters) led to structural problems. Because of the marshy land on which the Karl-Marx-Hof was built, the foundations of one of the side tracts began to sink shortly after construction began in 1927, delaying the completion of the building. A solution was found: a reinforced concrete frame embedded in the structure, supported by floating (cone-shaped) foundations. The opposition made much of the structural difficulties, proclaiming the Karl-Marx-Hof a "scandal" and evidence of the shoddy building methods employed by the socialists. For a summary of the construction history of the Karl-Marx-Hof, see Susanne Repp, *Der Karl-Marx-Hof: Geschichte eines Gemeindebaus und seiner Bewohner* (Vienna: Picus Verlag, 1993), 29–42.

154 Ehn, who may have been part of a Stadtbauamt delegation to Holland in the early 1920s, was perhaps influenced by Michael de Klerk's and Piet Kramer's Amsterdam South housing for the socialist housing societies De Dageraad and Amstels Bouwvereniging (ABV). Begun in 1921, the ABV housing along the ABV-buurt made much use of stepped balconies along the street facades and of "streamlined" rounded corners. The De Dageraad housing was remarkable for its variously colored brick (yellow-orange, red, bluish-purple) used to evoke the name of the building society: De Dageraad or the Dawn. It is interesting in this connection that an English reviewer compared the palette of the Karl-Marx-Hof to "sunlight." See Brooke, "The Karl Marx Hof, Vienna," 674.

155 Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture*, trans. Robert Erich Wolf (New York: Abrams, 1979), 193.

156 Quotations from Benjamin, "The Author as Producer," 228–229. See also Benjamin, "What Is Epic Theater?" 147–154.

157 The curvilinear street plan for the area dates from between 1892 and 1904. See *Generalstudplan Wien*, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv. The plan, which was not implemented at the time, shows the influence of Josef Stübbsen's picturesquely conceived prize-winning entry in the *Generalregulierungsplan* competition of 1892. For Stübbsen's plan and its influence on Viennese planning, see Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, 97–99.

158 For the competition, see *Österreich Bau- und Werkkunst* (1924–1925): 48–52; *Moderne Bauformen*, no. 3 (1926): 74, and no. 11 (1926): 430–432; Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 20 February 1925, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/32): 462–463. Seven firms were invited to compete. The competition entry by Ernst Lichtblau, who was one of Wagner's last students at the Academy, was for *Zeilenbauten* ranged in parallel rows on either side of a central *allée*.

159 On Hoppe and Schönthal, who collaborated with fellow Wagner student Franz Matouschek (1874–1935) only on this project, see Whyte, *Three Architects: For Matouschek*, see Pozzetto, *Die Schule Otto Wagners*, 238–239. For Theiss and Jaksch, see Georg Schwalm-Theiss, *Theiss & Jaksch*. Franz Freiherr von Krauss and Josef Tölk are less well-known; see *F. Krauss und J. Tölk, Architekten Z. V. Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe, 1906–1916* (Vienna, [1917]); Borsi and Godoli, *Vienna 1900*, 346–347; Weismann, *Das Rote Wien*, 378.

160 The competition brief, building program, and the project itself (including the adjacent park) were described and illustrated in *Wohnhausanlage Sandteiten. Garten- und Bäderanlage am Kongressplatz im XVI. Bezirk* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, [1928]). Aside from 1,576 apartments it contained seventy-five stores, a restaurant, cafe, three ateliers, fifty-eight workshops, seventy-one warehouses, a garage collection facility, three large bathing and laundry facilities, a library, pharmacy, three child-care centers, a post office, a cinema/theater, and one of the largest kindergartens building

in Red Vienna, equipped with terraces, extensive playgrounds, wading pools, etc.

161 The jurors were not identified by name; Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 11 November 1924, in Stenographische Protokolle (B2/92/6): 3179.

162 Indeed this was one of the conditions of the commission. According to the *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923-1928): 1227, the architects were given free rein to plan the area; the new plan would later be incorporated into the *Regulierungsplan*.

163 *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 21 January 1926, 3-4.

164 *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 17 June 1926, 4.

165 The competition designs, exhibited in city hall, represented three very different solutions. The scheme of Karl Krist consisted of loosely interconnecting perimeter blocks framing large public squares and parks and spanning the intersecting streets. Picturesque and diffuse, its principal point of interest is the connection it forges between the new housing and the market garden zone just west of the site. See *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 21 January 1926; 3-4, and 17 June 1926; 4-5; *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 3 February 1926; 5-6. The market garden itself was a novelty in Vienna; see Max Ernests, "Fruchtbare Volksparkanlagen: Ein Experiment der Gemeinde Wien," *Zeitschrift der Baumeister* 13, nos. 26/27 (1926): 9-10. Two design proposals for it were discussed by Franz Schuster in "Form Probleme: Der Kleingartenpark—Der Volkspark der Zukunft: Zwei Projekte und ein Gegenvorschlag," *Der Aufbau*, no. 3 (1926): 41-46. Schuster proposed his own rational rectilinear scheme as an alternative to the axial neobauoque geometry of the schemes under discussion and argued for antipicturesque, anticlassical design for utilitarian gardens of this type. Oerley submitted five schemes. Two were exhibited and published; both reflected his interest in geometric figures arranged in repetitive patterns. The first, an extrapolation of his Hausnuchof (1923), divided the site into two elongated acute triangles with setback perimeter block construction. The second, the most interesting of all the schemes, consisted of a cellular egg-crate or honeycomb composition of thirty-two interconnected hexagonal courtyards. Vehicular traffic was restricted to the perimeter of the complex; inside, the web of courtyards was completely porous. This concept

may have influenced the German housing and planning expert Alexander Klein, who developed a very similar scheme for a residential district, under the auspices of the *Reichforschungs-gesellschaft*, in 1928. See Alexander Klein, "Beitrag zur Wohnfrage," in Fritz Bloch, ed., *Probleme des Bauens: Der Wohnbau* (Potsdam: Müller and Kiepenheuer, 1928), 116-145. It is interesting in this context that Camillo Sitte in *Der Städtebau* characterized the hexagonal or honeycomb site plan in 1889 as "an idea of such really oppressive ugliness, . . . such appalling tediousness, and . . . labyrinthine lack of orientation. . . . Yet, incredible as it seems, it has become a reality in Chicago" (Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte*, 242).

166 *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 17 June 1926; 4. Gessner appears also to have prepared at least three schemes for housing 7,000 people in 1,700-1,900 apartments. The first two, symmetrically organized around large squares and parks, were oriented north toward the Voltgasse and connected to a street pattern laid out (but not built) in turn-of-the-century development plans for the area. The third, partially executed scheme linked the Seitzhof to a large new sports stadium across the Jedleseerstrasse.

167 The text accompanying the plan in *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 17 June 1926, 4-5, makes no mention of the *Hofburg* but instead notes that the facade is equal in length to the *Rathaus*.

168 *Ibid.*, 4.

169 Manfredo Tafari, *Architecture and Utopia; Design and Capitalist Development*, trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976), 109.

170 The quoted phrase is from Benjamin, "The Author as Producer"; 235.

171 The building was renamed in 1932, on the 200th anniversary of Washington's birth. It contained forty-three shops, a central laundry, street-cleaning storage facility, youth-care center, library, kindergarten, and mother's advice clinic. The total area was 99,917 square meters, 28,278 (28.3 percent) of which was built upon; 31,114 square meters were given over to gardens. See *Verwaltungsbericht* (1929-1931): 5586.

172 This was, in fact, the project Oerley announced at the closing ceremonies of the town planning congress. Because of difficulties acquiring the land on the original site, the project was moved to Am Wienerberg, adjacent to Vienna's largest brick-making concern, the Wienerberger company, as well as Franz Schuster's Am Wasserrum Siedlung built by the GESIBA in 1924. See *Die Wohnbauanlage der Gemeinde Wien im X./XII. Bezirk, "Am Wienerberg—Spinnerin am Kreuz"* (Vienna: Wiener Magistrat, 1930).

173 The somewhat alienating quality of these spaces is perhaps reflected in their later history; in the 1990s, the Washingtonhof courtyards became a center for teenage drug trade in Vienna.

174 *Die Wohnbauanlage Spinnerin am Kreuz*, 8.

175 Perco was a perpetual student; in the early 1920s he enrolled in the faculty of architecture and engineering at the Technical University; in the late 1920s he took a doctorate in law at Vienna University; and in the late 1930s he studied rhetoric at the National Academy of Music and Art in Vienna. Perco's papers are in Nachlass Rudolf Perco, Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Vienna (hereafter cited as Perco Nachlass). See also Ursula Prokop, "Rudolf Perco 1884–1942: Architektur jenseits von Tradition und Moderne" (Ph.D. diss., Vienna University, 1997).

176 Rudolf Perco, "Auf dem Wege zur kommenden flinten Wiedergeburt der Antike. Programm einer wirklichen Architektur," *Österreichische Kunst* 3, no. 12 (15 December 1932): 5–14, "Irrwege, neue und ewige Wahrheiten über moderne Baukunst," *Österreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1930): 249–253. For his built and unbuilt projects, see Perco, "Irrwege, neue und ewige Wahrheiten über moderne Baukunst."

177 Perco designed three other *Gemeindebauten*: the Professor-Jodlhof (XIX), with Frass and Dorfmeister, 1925; the Holyhof (XVII), 1928 (discussed in this chapter); and Wienerbergstrasse 16–20 (XII), with Discher, Gül, Frass, and Dorfmeister, 1926.

178 The land had been used for allotment gardens after World War I. See *Das Kleine Blatt*, 13 July 1932, 8; *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 17 July 1933, 1.

179 Perco's original scheme was for 2,200 apartments (to house 9,000 people), two communal laundry buildings, bathing facilities, library, theater, cinema, assembly hall, medical and dental clinics, shops, and a kindergarten. Only part of this scheme (1,467 apartments) was built. The contract and correspondence between Perco and the Gemeinde Wien indicate that the project was scaled back; see Perco Nachlass.

180 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 9 July 1933, 6.

181 Wagner, *Modern Architecture*, 88.

182 Rainer Bauböck, *Wohnungspolitik im sozialdemokratischen Wien 1919–1934* (Salzburg: Verlag Wolfgang Neugebauer, 1979), 139. See Czeike, *Kommunalpolitik*, 93: redistribution of tax revenues in 1929 favored conservative provinces and resulted in reductions for Vienna. Between 1930 and 1932 Vienna's share in federal distribution of tax revenues dropped from 137.6 to 72.4 million schillings. In 1933, following the dissolution of Parliament, the federal government decreed a number of emergency measures that involved further cuts for Vienna, which at the same time had to pay unemployment benefits to the thousands of newly unemployed.

183 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 183.

184 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 17 July 1933, 1.

185 Wagner, *Modern Architecture*, 88.

Chapter 9. Architecture and Proletariat

1 Günter Hirschel-Prottsch, "Die Gemeindebauten der Stadt Wien," and Werner Hegemann, "Kritisches zu den Wohnbauten der Stadt Wien," *Wannerts Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau* 10 (1926): 357–362, 362–370.

2 Hirschel-Prottsch, "Die Gemeindebauten," 360, 362.

3 Hegemann, "Kritisches," 367, 368.

4 A similar attitude was expressed by Max Eister in "Neuwienener Baukunst," *Moderne Bauformen*, no. 11 (November 1925): 375. Whether characterized by "the populism of Schmid-Aichinger, or the more rigid scanning of Theiss-Jaksch, or the experiments of the left-radical group," the out-

ward forms of the buildings, Eisler claimed, were less significant than the “guiding idea” of the program, which was “to develop the simplest, most useful dwelling-type and to modify it according to convenience, to find the proper median between collective and family life, to lighten the burden of housewife and mother, and to build a youth of play and earnestness for children—that underlies the different forms of the buildings.”

5 Hegemann, “Kritisches,” 362.

6 *Ibid.*, 368.

7 The same opinions were expressed by other architects and planning professionals, including Franz Schuster, Otto Neurath, Ernst May, and Martin Wagner, in a continuing series of articles in *Der Aufbau* throughout the one year (1926) of its existence. See in particular Franz Schuster, “Es geht um Wiens städtebauliche Entwicklung!” *Der Aufbau*, nos. 11/12 (1926): 211–212; Ernst May, “Hochbau oder Flachbau,” *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 145–146.

8 Helfried Kodré, “Die Stilistische Entwicklung der Wiener Gemeindebauten (Wohnbauten 1919–1938)” seminar paper, (Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität Wien, 1964), 31. Excerpts were published in Helfried Kodré, “Die Entwicklung des Wiener Sozialen Wohnungsbaues in den Jahren 1919–1938,” *der aufbau* 19, no. 9 (September 1964): 343–347. Kodré’s concept of revolutionary architecture, and the connection he makes between Red Vienna and the utopian projects of Claude-Nicholas Ledoux and other French “revolutionary architects” around 1800, draws on the earlier article of Jörg Maube, “Der phantastische Gemeindebau,” *Alte und moderne Kunst* 6, no. 44 (1961): 17–20.

9 Kodré “Stilistische Entwicklung,” 26, 31, 56.

10 F. C. Wulz, “Stadt in Veränderung. Eine architekturpolitische Studie von Wien in den Jahren 1848–1934,” 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Stockholm, 1976), 1:489.

11 As we have seen, buildings characterized as radical by Wulz because of the cubistic composition of their masses and lack of surface ornament (including Adolf Loos’s and Margarete Lohrky’s Haschof buildings) were designed in 1927 to 1924, long before the radicalization of politics in 1927.

Buildings characterized as historicist and conventional by Wulz because of their vernacular stylism continued to be built in the late 1920s and early 1930s; see, for example, the *Lückenerbauung* of 1928 on the Sebastian-Kelch-Gasse 4–6 (XIV), by Heinrich Vana, exactly contemporary with Josef Frank’s neighboring *Gemeindebau* (described by Wulz as exemplary of the new *Sachlichkeit*).

12 Karla Krauss and Joachim Schlandt, “Die Wiener Gemeindeförderungsbau—Ein sozialdemokratisches Programm,” in Hans Helms and Jörn Janssen, eds. *Kapitalistischer Städtebau* (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1970), 113–124. See also Joachim Schlandt, “Die Wiener Superblocks,” *Werk* 4 (1970): 221–226; idem, “Economic and Political Aspects of Social Housing in Vienna between 1922 and 1934,” trans. Sima Ingberman, *Oppositions*, no. 13 (summer 1978): 84–87.

13 Peter Haiko and Mara Reissberger, “Die Wohnbauten der Gemeinde Wien 1919–1934,” *Archibese*, no. 12 (1974): 49–54.

14 Wilhelm Kainrath, “Die gesellschaftspolitische Bedeutung des kommunalen Wohnbaus im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit,” in Karl Mang, ed., *Kommunaler Wohnbau in Wien: Aufbruch 1923–1934 Ausstrahlung* (Vienna: Presse- und Informationsdienst der Stadt Wien, 1977), n.p.; Karl Mang, “Architektur einer sozialen Evolution,” in *ibid.* For Mang’s later reprise of the subject, see Karl Mang, “Architektur und Raum: Gedanken zum Wohnbau im Roten Wien,” in Walter Ohlinger, ed., *Das Rote Wien 1918–1934* (Vienna: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1993), 44–60.

15 O. Matthias Ungers, “The Vienna Superblocks,” trans. Sima Ingberman, *Oppositions*, no. 13 (summer 1978): 83; Adolf Krischanitz and Otto Kapfinger, “Wiener Studien (1977–1979),” in Kenneth Frampton, ed., *A New Wave of Austrian Architecture* (New York: Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1980), 52–56.

16 Gottfried Pirhofer and Reinhard Sieder, “Zur Konstitution der Arbeiterfamilie in Roten Wien: Familienpolitik, Kulturreform, Alltag und Aesthetik,” in Michael Mitterauer and Reinhard Sieder, eds., *Historische Familienforschung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982), 359, 361; Helmut Wehsmann, *Das Rote Wien* (Vienna: Promedia, 1985), 133–142, 166–179. The ideological critique of Red Vienna since

around 1980 has been dominated by the critical thought of Manfredo Tafuri. This is certainly evident in the work of Pirhofer, Sieder, and Wehsmann cited here. See also Gottfried Pirhofer's essay of 1993, "Die Roten Burgen: Zur Dialektik des Sozialen im Urbanen," in Ohlinger, *Das Rote Wien*, 92–102. A notable exception, remarkable for its uncritical stance toward Red Vienna, is Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten der Roten Wien* (Vienna: Schönbrunn Verlag, 1980).

17 Manfredo Tafuri, "Astromarxismo e città 'Das Rote Wien,'" *Contrappunto*, no. 2 (July 1971):259–311; idem, ed., *Vienna Rassegla politica residenziale nella Vienna socialista, 1919–1933* (Milan: Electa, 1980). Tafuri's was certainly the most influential critique of Red Vienna from the left.

18 Manfredo Tafuri, "'Das Rote Wien': Politica e forma della residenza nella Vienna socialista, 1919–1933," in Tafuri, *Vienna Rosa*, 38, 126, 134.

19 *Ibid.*, 119, 124.

20 Friedrich Achleimer, "Wiennese Architecture between the Wars: First Split between Form and Content of Modernity," *Locus International*, no. 29 (1980): 125.

21 *Ibid.*

22 Friedrich Achleimer, "Die geköpfte Architektur" (1985), in *Wiener Architektur. Zwischen typologischem Fatalismus und sensantischem Schlammass* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1996); idem, "Wiennese Architecture between the Wars," 125.

23 Scheu, Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 19 February 1919, in *Amtsblatt der Stadt Wien* (26.2.1919):470; Breiner, Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 21 September 1923, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/15): 2495–2496.

24 Neurath, "Städtebau und Proletariat," *Der Kampf* 17 (1924):242.

25 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 25 January 1924, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/19):206; Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 11 November 1924, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/26): 3181.

26 Hans Hafner, "Die Bautätigkeit der Gemeinde Wien auf dem Gebiete des Hochbaus in den Jahren nach dem Kriege," *Zeitschrift des Österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereines*, nos. 15/16 (18 April 1924): 138.

27 *Das Neue Wien*, 4 vols. (Vienna: Gemeinde Wien, 1926–1928), 3:55.

28 *Das Neue Wien: Ein Album mit Plan* (Vienna: Elberthül, 1932), vii. For the influence of the tectonic theories of Semper, Bötticher, Heinszlering, and Redtenbacher on Otto Wagner, see Werner Oechslin, *Stilhilfe und Kern: Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos und evolutionäre Weg zur modernen Architektur* (Zurich: gta Verlag, 1994), 52–113; part of this study, specifically on Wagner, was published separately as "The Evolutionary Way to Modern Architecture: The Paradigm of *Stilhilfe und Kern*," in Harry Francis Mallgrave, ed., *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1993), 363–410. See also Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture: The Poetics of Construction in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), chap. 3 in particular. For a general discussion of the theoretical discourse on tectonics in late-nineteenth-century German and Austrian aesthetics, see Mitchell Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 182–189. Wagner's own discussion of *Kunstform* is in his chapter on construction in *Moderne Architektur*. In the preface to the first volume of *Einige Skizzen, Projekte u. ausgeführte Bauwerke* (Vienna: Otto Wagner, 1889) Wagner used the term *Nutzstil* (utility style) to designate a realist architecture. These ideas are discussed further in relation to Bötticher's concept of the *Kernform* (core form) and *Kunstform* (artistic form) later in this chapter.

29 *Album*, viii. The argument put forward here is close to Otto Neurath's argument in an article published a few years earlier: see "Rationalismus, Arbeiterschaft und Baugestaltung," *Der Aufbau*, no. 4 (1926): 49–54. It is possible that Neurath was the author of at least part of the introductory text of the *Album*, since by his own account he was "writing propaganda" for the Gemeinde Wien during this time. See Otto Neurath to Franz Roh, letter, [1924], Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Franz Roh, Archives of the History of Art, Getty Research Institute, Brentwood, California

- (hereafter cited as Roh Collection, GRI). Interestingly, the art historian Hans Tietze also wrote on the architectural program of Red Vienna and was involved with Neurath at this time.
- 30 *Album*, viii, vii.
- 31 Eisler, "Neuwiener Baukunst," 375.
- 32 See *Album*, viii–x; *Das Neue Wien*, 3:55.
- 33 Achleitner "Viennese Architecture between the Wars," 125, comments on middle-class masking of socialist purposes in the building program.
- 34 Hegemann, "Kritisches," 368.
- 35 See chapter 5, notes 42–45.
- 36 Anton Brenner, *Mit Ach und Krach durchs Leben*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Anton Brenner, 1953), 2:21.
- 37 For discussion of Fiebiger, Musil, Siegel, and other building department officials, see chapters 4 and 5. The discourse regarding the flat vs. pitched roof is discussed later in this chapter.
- 38 *Österreich: Bau- und Werkkunst* (September 1925): 182–251; Eisler, "Neuwiener Baukunst," 353–385.
- 39 See, for example, a prewar housing block in district XI designed by Adolf Stöckl, Rudolf Tillmann, ed., *Festschrift herausgegeben anlässlich der Hundertjahrfeier des Wiener stadt-baumeisters* (Vienna: Deutsche Verlag für Jugend und Volk, 1935), 194. The style of ornament, techniques, and materials used in these early buildings are described in *Die Verwaltung der Bundeshauptstadt Wien in der Zeit vom 1. 1. 1923–31: 12. 1928* (Vienna, 1933), 2: 1234; hereafter cited as *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928).
- 40 Siegfried Theiss, "Österreichische Wohnbauarchitektur," in Ludwig Neumann, ed., *Das Wohnungswesen in Österreich* (Vienna: Thalia, 1929), 140.
- 41 For a discussion of the cultural significance of the Biedermeier in Germany and Austria before World War I, see Schwenn, *Germany and Austria 1790–1870*, 126.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 164–165.
- 43 Eisler, "Neuwiener Baukunst," 357.
- 44 Achleitner, "Austrian Architecture between the Wars," 125.
- 45 The *Gemeinde Siedlungen* are discussed at the end of chapter 3.
- 46 *Verwaltungsbericht* (1923–1928): 1228.
- 47 *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung*, 3 July 1927; 2. The reasons for the prohibition were explained by Siegel in a meeting of the *Amtsrat* (division heads), 31 January 1924, that "Flat roofs are to be avoided because of our unpropitious climatic conditions, as well as the fact that they are difficult and expensive to build and maintain." *Amtsvermerk*, 1 February 1924, BD 380/1924, Abänderung betreffend die Ausführung der Wohnhausbauten. Quoted in Mang, *Kommunaler Wohnbau*, n.p.
- 48 For the ideological debates regarding the flat roof in Germany at the time of the Weissenhofiedlung in 1927, see Richard Pommer and Christian F. Otto, *Weissenhof 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture* 28–29.
- 49 Peter Behrens, "Die Gemeinde Wien als Bauherrin," *Bauwelt*, no. 41 (1928): 976. For documentation of *Stadtkommunist* study tours to foreign countries, see chapter 3, note 24.
- 50 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 24 July 1928, 7.
- 51 *Ibid.*
- 52 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 16 March 1926, 7.
- 53 Rudolf Bacher, rector of the Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna, to Franz Siegel, letter, 16 December 1924, *Verwaltungs Akten*, Akademie für bildenden Künste, Vienna. Ernst Karl Winter, a Catholic sociologist and the third vice-mayor of Vienna in the Dollfuß-Schuschnigg era (1934–1938), observed in the socialist daily that the system for giving out design contracts under the socialists was much fairer than it had been under Vienna's earlier mayor, the Christian Socialist Karl Lueger, who gave out municipal building contracts

purely on the basis of political affiliation and graft. The current administration, Winter noted, was extremely liberal in tolerating criticism even from those who were awarded building and design contracts. See E. K. Winter, "Ein katholischer Wissenschaftler über die Wiener Wohnbaupolitik," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 3 June 1931, 9.

54 Gemeinderats-Sitzung, 30 May 1924, in Stenographische Protokolle (B29/23): 1768–1769.

55 For a well-considered comparative study of the housing programs carried out in Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Vienna between the wars, see Gert Kähler, *Wohnung und Stadt: Hamburg, Frankfurt, Wien: Modelle sozialen Wohnens in den zwanziger Jahren* (Braunschweig: Friedr. Vieweg und Sohn, 1985). Kähler has broadened the compass of this work in a larger study of the history of housing in five volumes, the first of which—volume 4, on housing in Switzerland, Germany, and Austria between the wars—has been published; see Gert Kähler, ed., *Geschichte des Wohnens, 1918–1945: Reform, Reaktion, Zerstörung*, Band 4 (Stuttgart: DVA, 1996). For the role of Ernst May and Martin Wagner in Frankfurt and Berlin, see Manfredo Tafuri, "Sozialpolitik and the City" in *The Sphere and the Labyrinth: Avant-Garde and Architecture, from Piranesi to the 1970s*, trans. Pellegrino d'Acerno and Robert Connolly (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 197–263. For Wagner and Berlin, see Ludovica Scarpa, *Martin Wagner und Berlin: Architektur und Stadtbau in der Weimarer Republik*, trans. Heinz-Georg Held (Braunschweig: F. Vieweg und Sohn, 1986).

56 In 1926 Schuster wrote an article, "Es geht um Wiens städtebauliche Entwicklung" *Der Aufbau*, nos. 11/12 (1926): 211–212, in which he deplored the fact that Vienna had no city planner, claimed that it was of the utmost importance that Vienna appoint a competent planning professional to draw up a general development plan, and proposed that the German planner Hans Ludwig Sierks be hired for the job.

57 Hegemann, "Kritisches," 367.

58 Ibid.

59 Achleitner, "Viennese Architecture between the Wars," 123, 125.

60 Lihotzky quoted in Burkhardt Rukschcio and Roland Schachel, *Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1982), 286.

61 *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 17 May 1924, 9.

62 Achleitner, "Viennese Architecture between the Wars," 125.

63 On the socialist fascination with technological progress and positive orientation toward the city, see Kähler, *Wohnen und Stadt*, 373; Andrew Lees, "Debates about the Big City in Germany, 1890–1914," *Societas* 5 (1975): 43–44. Wagner's principal text on the metropolis is *Die Grossstadt: Eine Studie über diese* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1911; for a more detailed discussion of it, see chapter 5).

64 See Otto Wagner, "The Development of a Great City," *Oppositions*, no. 17 (summer 1979): 115.

65 On the prewar work of Gessner, Hoppe and Schönthal, and Perco, see Emil Hoppe - Otto Schönthal, *Projekte und ausgeführte Arbeiten* (Vienna: Elbemühl Verlag, 1931); Hubert Gessner, *Zivilarchitekt: Bauten und Entwurfe* (Vienna: Elbemühl Verlag, 1932); Franco Borsi and Ezio Godoli, *Vienna 1900: Architecture and Design* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 239–240, 338.

66 Although Wagner's concern in the paper, as he stated in the introduction, was "no one city, but . . . large cities in general" ("The Development of a Great City," 103).

67 *Der Architekt* 14 (1908): 173. The English translation of this passage is from Iain Boyd Whyte, *Three Architects from the Master Class of Otto Wagner: Emil Hoppe, Marcel Kammerer, Otto Schönthal* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), 33.

68 See, for example, Ákos Moravánszky, *Die Erneuerung der Baukunst: Wege zur Moderne in Mitteleuropa 1900–1940* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1988); Damjan Preloviček, *Josef Plečnik: Wiener Arbeiten von 1896 bis 1914* (Vienna: Edition Tusch, 1979); idem, *Josef Plečnik*, trans. Eileen Martin and Patricia Crampton (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Vladimir Slapeta, "Cubism in Architecture," in *Czech Cubism: Architecture, Furniture, and Decorative Arts, 1910–1925* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 34–52.

69 Friedrich Achleitner, "Comments on Viennese Architectural History: Motifs and Motivations, Background and Influences, Therapeutic Nihilism," in Frampton, *A New Wave of Austrian Architecture*, 11.

70 Wagner quoted in Eduard F. Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann: The Architectural Work: Monograph and Catalogue of works* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 17. According to Sekler, Wagner was referring in particular to recent projects of the Ecole des Beaux Arts that he admired.

71 Wagner's assimilation of Semper's theory of *Bekleidung* into his teaching and practice has been reexamined in a number of excellent recent studies: Oechslin, *Stilbüro und Kern*, esp. 88-113; Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory*, chap. 4; Frampton, *Tectonic Culture*, chap. 3; Fritz Neumeyer, "Iron and Stone: The Architecture of the 'Grosstadt,'" in Mallgrave, *Otto Wagner*, 115-153.

72 Gottfried Semper, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder praktische Aesthetik*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1860-1863), 1:227.

73 Semper discusses evolving standard types in *Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst* (1851, reprint, Mainz: Florian Kupferberg, 1966) and in *Der Stil*.

74 Hubert Gessner, speech at the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Wagnerschule, reprinted in *Hobe Warte* 1 (1904-1905): 371. Similar sentiments were expressed by Otto Schönthal, "Die Kirche Otto Wagners," *Der Architekt* 14 (1908): 1.

75 Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann*, 23.

76 Iain Boyd Whyte discusses the typological research within the Wagner School in *Three Architects*, 10-22.

77 Borsi and Godoli, *Vienna 1900*, 181, 183.

78 On *Heimatschutz* and similar nationalist movements of the period, see Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory*, 152-159.

79 See Joachim Petsch, "The Deutscher Werkbund from 1907 to 1933 and the Movements for the 'Reform of Life

and Culture,'" in Lucius Burkhardt, ed., *The Werkbund: History and Ideology, 1907-1933* (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1980), 85-93. Josef August Lux, Wagner's biographer and editor of *Hobe Warte*, changed his views and tried to incorporate modern technology into the *Heimatschutz* program; see for example "Technik und Heimatkunst," *Der Architekt* 15 (1909): 49-56.

80 Loos quoted in Yehuda Safran and Wilfried Wang, *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1985), 112, 111.

81 *Ibid.*, 113.

82 Achleitner, "Comments on Viennese Architectural History," 11. Whatever Wagner's own attitudes were, a number of students of Jewish origins, including Josef Frank, did not apply for admission to Wagner's master class at the Academy because of the "anti-Semitic atmosphere of the school." See Christopher Long, "The Wayward Heir: Josef Frank's Vienna Years, 1885-1933," in Nina Stritzler-Levine, ed., *Josef Frank, Architect and Designer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 58 n. 6.

83 See note 68.

84 Otto Wagner, "Mietshaus, Wien VII, Neustiftgasse 40, Erläuterungen," in Otto Antonia Graf, *Otto Wagner: Das Werk des Architekten*, vols. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1985); 2:604.

85 For the ideas that informed Biedermeier revivalism at the turn of the century, see Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory*, 159-166.

86 Whyte, *Three Architects*, 67-73; Borsi and Godoli, *Vienna 1900*, 300; Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann*, 123-124.

87 Whyte, *Three Architects*, 72.

88 Elisabeth Koller-Glück, *Wiener Biedermeier Häuser* (Vienna: Herold Verlag, 1985), 19-20; Whyte, *Three Architects*, 73.

89 Otto Wagner, *Modern Architecture*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1988), 88, 89.

90 See Whyte, *Three Architects*, 72.

91 Achleitner, "Viennese Architecture between the Wars," 123.

92 Oechslin, *Stilhilfe und Kern*, 99–109.

93 For Wagner's comments on the War Ministry design, see Graf, *Otto Wagner* 2:567.

94 Margaret Gillett, "Modernism for the Masses," 32, 17. One of the more astute contemporary students of the *Geniechhausten*, Margaret Gillett was an English architecture student at the Bartlett School in London (1924–1930) who spent the winter of 1929–1930 in Vienna surveying, photographing, and researching the building program for a thesis titled "Modernism for the Masses," written for the Royal Institute of British Architects Final Examination in July 1930. It is possible that Gillett may have stayed with Gustav Scheu and his family in Vienna, who were friends of Gillett's Quaker cousin (Roger Clark). After finishing her thesis, Gillett married Stephen Murray, son of Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford. Gillett practiced as an architect under her married name, first in partnership with Alexander Gibson and later on her own. I am grateful to Hubert Murray, Margaret Murray's son, for information on his mother and for allowing me to quote from her thesis.

95 See *Hubert Gessner, Zivilarchitekt*.

96 Wagner, *Modern Architecture*, 83.

97 See chapter 8, note 36, and chapter 3, note 24.

98 Gillett, "Modernism for the Masses," 26–27.

99 He drew particularly on the C. F. A. Voysey-inspired designs of Raymond Unwin for Letchworth and Hampstead Garden suburb. See Walter Creese, *The Search for Environment: The Garden City Before and After* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

100 Tafuri, "Das Rote Wien: Politica e forma della residenza nella Vienna Socialista, 1919–1933," in Tafuri, *Vienna Rosa*, 90.

101 On Czech cubism, see note 68.

102 See Mariastella Casciato et al., *Olanda, 1879–1940: Città, Casa, Architettura* (Milan: Electa, 1980), 125, 145–148.

103 One of the earliest postwar articles on the architecture of Red Vienna traced this connection; see Maude, "Der phantastische Gemeindebau," 17–20.

104 Oechslin, *Stilhilfe und Kern*, 36–51, discusses the moral dimension of the concept of kernel and husk.

105 Gillett, "Modernism for the Masses," 16.

106 See chapter 8, note 131.

107 Bauer was a prolific designer, who had a successful practice—including banks, factories, department stores, and numerous houses in Vienna as well as Slovakia, Moravia, Cracow, and other parts of the Danube Monarchy—but a chequered academic career in Vienna. In 1913, he was appointed Wagner's successor in the Academy of Fine Arts, an appointment that was vigorously opposed by students who favored Josef Plečnik. Bauer remained unpopular (in the early years students would boycott Bauer's classes and flock instead to Wagner's home). Finally in 1919 Bauer was forced to resign. See Walter Wagner, *Die Geschichte der Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Wien* (Vienna: Rosenbaum, 1967), 284–285, 320–323. For Bauer's own ideas and work, see in particular Leopold Bauer, *Verschiedene Skizzen, Entwürfe und Studien. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis unserer moderne Bestrebungen in der Baukunst* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1899); and Leopold Bauer, *seine Anschauung in Wort und Werk* (Leipzig: Elbermühl Verlag, [1931]). Projects by Bauer appeared frequently in *Der Architekt*; for a summary chronology and bibliography, see Borsi and Godoli, *Vienna 1900*, 305–306, 337. See also Ferdinand Fellner von Feldegg, *Leopold Bauer: der Künstler und sein Werk* (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1918); and two articles by Jan Tabor, "Der unsichere Boden der Tradition," *wien aktuell*, no. 5 (1984): 23–25, and "Das Geschrei der toten Dinge," *wien aktuell*, no. 6 (1984): 29–31.

108 Peter Behrens, "Einfluss von Zeit- und Raumnutzung auf moderne Formenentwicklung," *Der Verkebr: Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes* (1914): 7–10.

109 On the work of Alexander Popp and the Behrens School in the 1920s, see Karl Maria Grimme, *Peter Behrens und seine Wiener Akademische Meisterschule* (Vienna: Adolf Luser Verlag, 1930). Popp's *Gemeindebau* on the Rinnböckstrasse is discussed in the previous chapter. For descriptions of Behrens's studio and office in Vienna by two of his students and employees see Ernst A. Plischke, *Ernst A. Plischke: Ein Leben mit Architektur* (Vienna: Locker Verlag, 1989), 55, 77–83; and Brenner, *Mit Ach und Krach*, 2:11–12.

110 Otto Neurath to Franz Roh, letter, 14 June 1924, Roh Collection, GRI.

111 For the “Neue Wiener Bauordnung” (LGBL vom 25.11.1929) see *Verwaltungsgerichts* (1929–1931): 686–696. A summary of the law and its impact is given in Tillmann, *Festschrift stadtbaumeister*, 85.

112 Yehuda Safran describes Loos's position as “Archimedean”—“taking up a position outside given conventions and one's own social world”; see Safran, “Adolf Loos: The Archimedean Point,” in Safran and Wang, *Adolf Loos*, 35. This is a position opposite to the one described by Peter Gay in *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).

113 On these projects, see Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 516–519; Anton Schweighofer, “Wien Wäre Weltstadt, Wenn . . . : Zu den Arbeiten über den öffentlichen Bau von Adolf Loos,” in Burkhardt Rukschcio, ed., *Adolf Loos* (Vienna: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1989), 191–215, 217–249.

114 Burkhardt Rukschcio, “Die Bedeutung der Bauherren für Adolf Loos: Auftraggeber und Freunde Zugleich,” *Der Künstlerkreis um Adolf Loos: Aufbruch zur Jahrhundertwende, Parnas* Sonderheft 2 (1985): 21.

115 See for example Safran, “Adolf Loos: The Archimedean Point,” 29–30.

116 Franz Schuster and Franz Schacherl, “Formprobleme,” *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 160–161.

117 *Ibid.*, 161.

118 Franz Schuster, “Der Zusammenbruch der Kunst,” *Der Aufbau*, nos. 11/12 (1926): 214–220.

119 Franz Schuster, “Von der Notwendigkeit einer Baugesinnung,” *Der Aufbau*, no. 2 (1926): 18.

120 Franz Schuster and Franz Schacherl, “Proletarische Architektur,” *Der Kampf* 19 (1926): 35.

121 *Ibid.*

122 Heinrich Tessenow, “House-building and Such Things,” in Wilfried Wang, ed., *On Rigour*, special issue of *9H*, no. 8 (1989), 11.

123 *Ibid.*, 12.

124 Josef Frank, “Was ist Modern?” *Die Form* 5 (1930): 399, article reprinted in *Der Baumeister* 28 (1930): 388–411.

125 Josef Frank, “Fassade und Interieur,” *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* 31, no. 9 (June 1928): 187–189, reprinted in Johannes Spalte and Hermann Czech, *Josef Frank, 1885–1967* (Vienna: Hochschule für angewandte Kunst, 1981), 25–27.

126 Josef Frank, *Architektur als Symbol: Elemente deutschen neuen Bauens* (Vienna: Schroll, 1931; facsimile reprint, Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1981), 135. This reprint is hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

127 Otto Neurath said more or less the same thing in a different way when he stated, “the proletariat has no past to be proud of, only a future!” Neurath, “Proletarische Lebensgestaltung,” *Der Kampf* 21 (1928): 320.

128 Josef Frank, “Flippancy for the Comfort of the Soul and Flippancy as a Problem,” *9H*, no. 3 (1985): 6.

129 “Our era is the whole of known historical time. This idea alone can be the basis of modern architecture”; Frank, *Architektur als Symbol*, 185.

130 For an insightful discussion of Frank's notion of tradition, see Hermann Czech, “A Mode for the Current Interpretation of Josef Frank,” *A + U* November 1991, 20–30. For the influence of Alois Riegl on Frank, evident in these

passages, see Karin Lindegren, "Architektur als Symbol: Theory and Polemic," Stritzler-Levine, ed., *Josef Frank*, 96–101.

131 Gillett, "Modernism for the Masses," 18.

132 Tessenow, "House-building and Such Things," 11.

133 Gillett, "Modernism for the Masses," 20.

134 A comprehensive history of architectural practice and education in Vienna during the period with which we are concerned has not been written. Biographical sketches of some of the architects who built *Gemeindebauten* are given in Wehlsmann, *Das Rote Wien*, 370–387, and Hautmann and Hautmann, *Gemeindebauten*, 483–513, but the information is incomplete and sometimes inaccurate. Friedrich Achleitner's monumental *Österreichische Architektur im 20. Jahrhundert*, Band 3.1 (Wien 1.–12. Bezirk) and Band 3.2 (Wien 13.–18. Bezirk) (Vienna: Residenz Verlag, 1990, 1995), has provided a mass of information on buildings in Vienna during this period. Other sources on architectural education are Wagner, *Die Geschichte der Akademie der bildenden Künste in Wien*; Alfred Lechner, *Geschichte der Technischen Hochschule in Wien, 1815–1940* (Vienna: Technische Hochschule, 1942); Heinrich Sequenz, ed., *150 Jahre Technische Hochschule Wien*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Technische Hochschule, 1965); Gottfried Fliedl, *Kunst und Lehre am Beginn der Moderne: die Wiener Kunstgewerbeschule 1967–1918* (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1986). A brief overview, extending into the post-World War II period, is given in Eduard Sekler, "Lehrer und Schüler: Architekturausbildung in Wien," in Markus Jäger, ed., *Architektur im 20. Jahrhundert: Österreich* (Munich: Prestel, 1995), 99–103.

135 On Carl König, see Renate Wagner-Rieger, in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1969), s.v. "Karl König"; Marco Pozzetto, "Karl König und die Architekten der Wiener Technischen Hochschule," in Maria Marchetti, ed., *Wien um 1900: Kunst und Kultur* (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 1985), 305–306. See also *Bauten und Entwurfe von Carl König herausgegeben von seinen Schülern* (Vienna: Gerlach und Wiedling, [1910]). See also Rukshcicio and Schacherl, *Adolf Loos*, 187, 189; Long, "Frank and the Vienna Years," 45–46. In a footnote (58–59 n. 6), Long points to another reason for König's attraction for progressive architects of Jewish origin like Josef Frank:

Although Frank had a deep admiration for Wagner and his work, he evidently never applied for admission to Wagner's Master Class. . . . The anti-Semitic atmosphere of the school was no doubt one reason for this, but probably even more important was the strong attraction that König—himself an assimilated Jew—had for young Jews like Frank, who saw in him a model for the dream of complete emancipation. While perhaps as many as one-third of the students in the architecture program of the Technische Hochschule were Jewish—among them Strnad, Wlach, and Richard Neutra—apparently only 1 of the 190 students who studied in the Wagnerschule between 1894 and 1914—Ernst Lichtblau—came from a Jewish background.

136 On Ohmann, see Walter Wagner, *Die Geschichte der Akademie*, 277–280; Marchetti, *Wien um 1900*, 535–536; Ferdinand von Feldegg, *Friedrich Ohmanns Entwurfe und ausgeführte Bauten*, 2 vols. (Vienna: A. Schroll, 1906–1914); Renate Wagner-Rieger, *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970), 270; Roland Schachel, in *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1978), s.v. "Friedrich Ohmann"; Borsi and Godoli, *Vienna 1900*, 273–282, 321, 347. Ohmann was born in Lvov in 1858 and died in Vienna in 1927. He studied first with Heinrich von Ferstel and Carl König at the Technical University and then with Friedrich von Schmidt at the Academy. In 1904 he succeeded von Schmidt as head of the Gothic School at the Academy; from 1889–1899 he taught in Prague at the School of Arts and Crafts.

137 See Renata Kassal-Mikula, "Architecture in Vienna, 1890–1920," in Robert Weissenberger, ed., *Vienna, 1890–1920* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984), 202–204.

138 On Krauss and Tölk see chapter 8, note 159.

139 On Dirnhuber, see chapter 8, note 87.

140 For discussion of the firm's prewar and early postwar *Siedlung* housing and apartment buildings (for example, the officer's quarters in Melk, 1912; Alberggasse 33, 1912; Knapensiedlung, 1921–1923), and early postwar work for private clients, see Georg Schwalm-Theiss, *Thesis & Jakesch, Architekt-*

tes 1907-1961 (Vienna: Edition Christian Brandstätter, 1986), 52, 58, 62-65.

141 On Theiss & Jaksch's private work of the later 1920s and early 1930s, see *ibid.*, 91-99. It is important to note that in their work of the late 1930s and 1940s commissioned by the Austro-fascist Dollfuss and German National Socialist governments, the firm returned to *Völkisch* (folk art) themes and a kind of stripped-down classicism for larger institutional work. See *ibid.*, 107-116.

142 See chapter 8.

143 Heger and Vana were students of Friedrich Ohmann at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, where Vana also studied with Peter Behrens. Holey was an architectural historian and architect whose practice focused on restoration and church architecture. Ried was a municipal architect employed in the *Stadtbauamt*. See Achleitner, *Oesterreichische Architektur*, 3.2: 100; Hautmann and Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten*, 512; Wehsmann, *Das Rote Wien*, 387.

144 For Oerley and these projects, see chapter 8, notes 59, 165. For Oerley's private work, see Franz Ottmann, "Robert Oerley," *Oesterreichs Bau- und Werkkunst* (1925): 265-298.

145 See Tafuri, "'Das Rote Wien,'" 38; Achleitner, "Viennese Architecture between the Wars," 123, 125.

146 The Viennese began producing standardized building components in the early 1920s, before Ernst May introduced the "Frankfurter Normen" in Germany between 1926 and 1932.

147 An article in the illustrated socialist tabloid. *Das kleine Blatt*, 18 December 1927, 5, notes that the illustrated doorway in the Sandteinhof "shows how ludicrous the widespread talk of uniformity of new housing blocks."

148 Regarding the standardized fittings, moldings, etc. designed in the Architekturabteilung (Architecture Bureau) of the Stadtbauamt, see Bittner, "Der Anteil Architektur-Abteilung am Wohnbauprogramm der Gemeinde Wien," and Adalbert Furch, "Die konstruktiven Fragen bei den mehrgeschossigen Gemeindefohnhäusern," in Neumann, *Das Wohnungswesen*, 209-210, 213-214.

149 Gillett, "Modernism for the Masses," 7-8.

150 *Ibid.*, 8.

151 The company still exists and maintains an archive of the firm's catalogues dating back to the 1860s.

152 Gillett, "Modernism for the Masses," 6.

153 See chapter 1.

154 For the media dissemination of information regarding the Social Democrats' municipal programs, see Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), chap. 4.

155 Many of these photographs were used in official publications, such as *Das Neue Wien: Ein Album mit Plan* (1932) and the four-volume *Das Neue Wien* (1926-1928).

156 The building plans are in the city archives (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv). Some photographic and film documentation is in district museums in Vienna, but much has disappeared, including the models.

157 Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, "Mein Freund Otto Neurath," in Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Arbeiterbildung in der Zwischenkriegszeit, Otto Neurath-Gerd Arntz* (Vienna: Löcker Verlag, 1982), 40-41. Neurath wrote of plans for the museum to his friend, the German art historian Franz Roh, in August 1922:

"Today we previewed the *Stellungsmuseum*. . . . Now for the instructional material we need: 1) City plans and views, in particular square and facade solutions; long, smooth facades are of interest to us. 2) Greenspaces, distribution, playgrounds, theatres, etc. Change since the revolution. 3) Worker housing. New construction in particular. Groundplans. Typical, ideal views. 4) *Stellungen* of all kinds! Particularly in connection with electrification program. Building methods. 5) Books, newspapers, posters concerned with building, housing, housekeeping, cooperative organization. 6) Reports on building organization, construction workers, housing needs, housing intervention, rationing etc. I can also perhaps put articles in newspapers and magazines

On a separate sheet [n.d.], inscribed "Today the *Siedlungsmuseum* was finished," Neurath sketched a plan of the museum: a rectangular space entered from one end. Along the left-hand side of the exhibition space were Sample Room, Population and Economics, Building. On the right side: Work Room, Housekeeping, Allotment Gardening. At the end opposite the entrance: Town Planning. Neurath to Roh, letter, 19 August 1922. Roh Collection, GRI. The kinds of materials displayed in the *Siedlungsmuseum* were described in *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 17 January 1924, 11. They included housing and house types of all kinds, including historical overviews, furnishings, and the *Kernhaus* models.

158 Neurath to Roh, letter, 19 September 1924, Roh Collection, GRI.

159 Neurath to Roh, letter, [1924], Roh Collection, GRI.

160 Neurath to Roh, letter, [1924], Roh Collection, GRI.

161 Stadler, *Arbeiterbildung*, 246.

162 Otto Neurath, "Visual Representation of Architectural Problems," *Architectural Record*, July 1937, 56–61.

163 Stadler, *Arbeiterbildung*, 246–247; Otto Neurath, *International Picture Language/Internationale Bildersprache*, trans. Marie Neurath (Reading: Department of Typography and Graphic Communication, University of Reading, 1980; facsimile reprint of London: Kegan, Paul, 1936), 45–46.

164 Neurath, *International Picture Language*, 46.

165 Neurath to Roh, letter, 19 June 1924, Roh Collection, GRI. The letter continues: "while others (among whom I count myself) create the organization that makes proletarian building possible—laying economic foundations, preparing political power, building, painting, practicing art criticism—it is all reconcilable."

166 Neurath, "Rationalismus," 49, 51.

167 *Ibid.*, 51–52.

168 *Ibid.*, 52.

169 *Ibid.* For a wide-ranging discussion of Neurath's ideas as well as the significance of the concept of *Aufbau* in the interwar period and immediately after World War II, see Peter Galison, "The Cultural Meaning of *Aufbau*," in Friedrich Stadler, ed., *Scientific Philosophy: Origins and Developments*, Vienna Circle Institute yearbook 1 (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1993), 83–87.

170 For connections between the Vienna Circle, as well as Neurath and Frank, and the Bauhaus, see Peter Galison, "Aufbau/Bauhaus: Logical Positivism and Architectural Modernism," *Critical Inquiry* 16 (1990): 709–752.

171 Otto Neurath, "Das Neue Bauhaus in Dessau," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 11/12 (1926): 210.

172 Neurath to Roh, letter, [1924], Roh Collection, GRI.

173 Neurath, "Rationalismus," 53.

174 *Ibid.*

175 Otto Neurath, "Aufgaben des Gesellschafts- und Wirtschafts- Museums in Wien," *Der Aufbau*, nos. 8/9 (1926): 169–174.

176 *Ibid.*, 169. The quotation is from Neurath, *International Picture Language*, 15.

177 Neurath, *International Picture Language*, 19; *idem*. "Aufgaben," 171.

178 Neurath, "Aufgaben," 171.

179 *Ibid.*

180 For Neurath's publications on picture education, see Stadler, *Arbeiterbildung*, 239–245.

181 Frank, *Architektur als Symbol*, 11.

182 Neurath, *International Picture Language*, 22–23. Hereafter this work is cited parenthetically in the text.

183 The name was coined by Marie Reidemeister (later Marie Neurath) in 1935 when the organization for producing teaching-pictures relocated to The Hague. The change reflected the broader application envisioned by Neurath and his team after their move. It was also politically motivated, severing the ties to Vienna, which was no longer Red but Black (and soon to become Brown). See Neurath, *International Picture Language*, 6.

184 For an introduction to the wide range of intellectual fields to which Neurath contributed, see Friedrich Stadler, "Otto Neurath (1882–1945)—Zu Leben und Werk in Seiner Zeit," in Stadler, *Arbeiterbildung*, 2–15.

185 Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 87–91.

186 *Ibid.*, 87.

187 Many examples of the housing built in Vienna between 1934 and 1938 can be found in Achleitner, *Österreichische Arbeiterkammer*, 3.1 and 3.2, which is organized by district, building type, and date.

188 Neurath, *International Picture Language*, 42.

189 Gillett, "Modernism for the Masses," 9.

190 See Gruber, *Red Vienna*, 88–89.

191 *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung*, 3 July 1927, 3.

192 For a reading of Tessenow's architecture in terms of allegory, see K. Michael Hays, "Tessenow's Architecture as National Allegory: Critique of Capitalism or Protofascism?" in Wang, *On Rigour*, 54–71. For the ideological significance attached to the flat roof in Weimar Germany, see Richard Pommer, "The Flat Roof: A Modernist Controversy in Germany," *Art Journal* 43 (1983), 158–169. Pommer points out that the flat roof had a long history in Austria, no doubt because of strong Austrian ties to Italy and the Mediterranean. It was therefore less radical and more acceptable in Austria than in Germany. Otto Neurath, in an article on the Vienna Werkbund Siedlung in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 6 August 1932, 6, noted that the flat roof has many practical advantages (less dangerous in case of fire, cleaner, allows for roof garden) and

is also "a symbol of the modern time that rejects the steep roof, pointed arches, dark corners, and mysterious darkness."

193 G. A. Fuchs, "Der Moderne Wohnungsbau," *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 23 August 1924, 9. Fuchs was an engineer in the Stadtbauamt.

194 Hirschel-Protsch, "Die Gemeindebauten," 362.

195 Kraus maintained that Loos had affronted the sensibilities of the Viennese because "he had built them an idea" on the Michaelerplatz ("Er hat ihnen dort einen Gedanken hingebaut"); Karl Kraus, *Die Fackel*, nos. 313/314 (December 1910), 5.

196 The quotation is from Schuster and Schacherl, "Formprobleme," 161.

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