Introduction

Picture a late afternoon meeting in a Berlin office building in the summer of 1913. Sitting around a massive oak table are some of the men now considered to be the doyens of modern architecture in Germany: Henry van de Velde, Hermann Muthesius, Bruno Taut, Walter Gropius, Hans Poelzig, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, and Dominikus Böhm. Around this first ring of notables sits a group of their lesser-known colleagues and protégés—Carl Rehorst, architect and local organizer of the upcoming German Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne; Adolf von Oechelhäuser, art historian and chair of the Bund Heimatschutz (League of Homeland Protection); Margarete Knüppelholz-Roeser, Breslau Royal School of Art and Applied Arts alumna and designer of the women's pavilion at the Cologne exhibition; prefabrication pioneer Konrad Wachsmann; and others. As the coffee flows, the men and lone woman at the table passionately debate a single topic: the status of architecture in the German colonies. Their topic may be surprising, but their ideas and their language are familiar to readers today. They critique the excessively ornamented "style architecture" of the German protectorate of Kiaochow. They bemoan the lack of "objectivity" in the floor plans of the "parvenu" villas that proliferate in its main city, Qingdao. Someone points out that the German colonial administration in Dar es Salaam has somehow, despite its apparent apathy to objectivity and purposiveness, managed to develop some standard housing types. Everyone falls into throes of ecstasy over these types and the simple, streamlined prefabricated houses that German manufacturers mass produce and ship to settlers in Cameroon. Perhaps, they murmur, there is something to be learned from Germany's costly colonial adventure after all.

Nowhere in the gallons of ink spilled on the history of modern architecture in Germany—whether in manifestos written by the self-proclaimed first generation of modernists, the hagiographic histories written by their contemporaries, the interpretative tomes that have added more and more detail to our knowledge of established narratives, or the self-reflexive analyses of more recent vintage—do we find even a hint of this story. Indeed, this anecdote is fictitious in its finer details. There was in fact a meeting in Berlin in 1913, but only two of the protagonists mentioned were present in person, while their colleagues were indirectly involved in the project. As this book argues, the striking image of the masters and their protégés discussing colonialism and architecture holds true if we consider that they exchanged views and shaped policy through a series of exhibitions, competitions, meetings, lectures, journal articles, books, correspondence, and actual buildings and spaces that reached back to at least the 1890s and continued into the interwar period. Through this extended conversation, the multidimensional effort to articulate a new approach to architecture in twentieth-century Germany became implicated with Germany's official colonial project and the array of financial and technoscientific interventions through which the German empire exerted influence across the non-Western world.

Almost twenty-five years ago, Jill Lloyd shocked the art historical establishment when she made a similar claim about modern art in Germany. She spelled out, clearly and compellingly, just how unthinkable expressionist painting, sculpture, woodcuts, and graphic and decorative art were without the antibourgeois primitivism of the avant-garde and very real colonial character of their milieu. More recently, the formal innovation and luxurious materiality of fin-de-siècle art nouveau in Belgium has been linked to metropolitan fear and fascination with colonialism in the Congo. Neither of these radical arguments would have been possible without the Museum of Modern Art's seminal 1984 show *Primitivism in Twentieth-Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, which inspired critiques of European modernist appropriation of the arts of the colonized.[1] But such claims are yet to be taken seriously in histories of modern architecture in Germany.

On its own, the notion of "affinities" between modern and non-Western architectures is no longer startling. Indeed, one recurring strand of the scholarship on colonial architecture and urbanism pursues the mission of illuminating the colonies as laboratories of social modernity and modernism in architecture. Like the once-dominant primitivism narrative of modern art, the "laboratory" narrative of modern architecture also has roots in the utterings and actions of European protagonists of

colonialism—people like the urban planner Henri Prost who were able, in the colonies, to design and build on a scale and in a manner impossible at home.[2] And like the primitivism narrative, the "laboratory" hypothesis has been eclipsed by scholarship showing that intersections between colonialism, modernity, and modernism far outstripped anything that the colonial state and individual agents of colonialism could have conceived. For example, experiments with design education in India were deeply linked to the economic goals of the Raj but they also reverberated in education policy in England.[3]

In the midst of all of this fine-grained analysis, however, our interpretative lens rests disproportionately on the former colonies. Modernism in architectural history resolutely remains, with few exceptions, a European construct transmitted by architectural professionals to the rest of the world.[4] Contrary to the model of modernism as one of colonialism's imports, three decades of scholarship in postcolonial studies have shown decisively that colonialism was anything but a unidirectional project. Europe was made by its imperial projects just as the colonies were shaped by European prerogatives. By focusing on how colonial encounters and imperial entanglements affected architectural developments within Germany itself, this book responds to postcolonial studies' provocation to "provincialize Europe."[5]

In this context, a focus on Germany is particularly apt. Germany is sacrosanct in architectural history as the birthplace of the Bauhaus, the institution that refined and disseminated new approaches to the applied arts, fine arts, and architecture from 1919 to 1933. Most of the apostles who are said to have carried the message of modern architecture into the world from the 1930s onward were born or trained in Germany. And many of the questions that the modernists posed—about if and how contemporary conditions should be reflected in design education and built processes and forms, the place of tradition in contemporary life, and architecture's relationship to national economy—were presaged in architectural and art historical debates in Germany through much of the nineteenth century. Even though the dominant narrative of modernism embodies the architectural version of the Enlightenment metanarrative of progress whose critique is one of the premises of postcolonial studies, postcolonial critique has been slow to penetrate the historiography of modern architecture in Germany. The narrative of modern architecture as the brainchild of a few masterminds working in the incubator of turn-of-the-century Germany has been central to all conversation about the discipline and is crucial to its self-identity. Its canonical status poses an obstructive structural condition for critique, which is compounded by the fact that German colonial
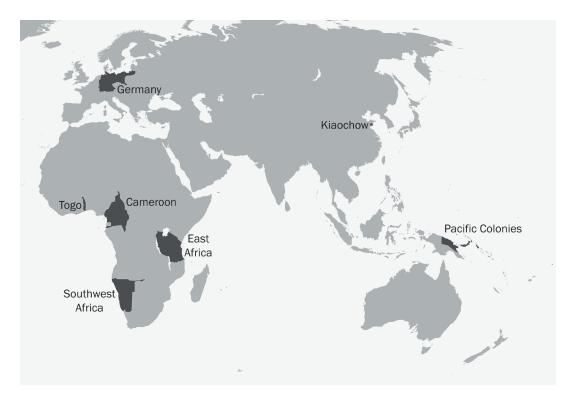
FIGURE I.1. MAP OF GERMANY AND ITS COLONIES, CA. 1900. DRAWN BY ANANDAN AMIRTHANAY-AGAM, BROWN UNIVERSITY.

history has only slowly infiltrated popular consciousness in Germany and elsewhere, and has only become a recognized academic subfield since the 1990s. It is no surprise, then, that the issue of colonialism has barely touched histories of German architecture even though architectural debate and experimentation was at a fever pitch in the same decades that the German empire was embroiled in the colonial fray.[6] This book offers a history of modern architecture in Germany that takes into account Germany's formal colonial endeavors, informal imperial practices, and deep involvement in global developments in the late nineteenth century.

GERMAN COLONIALISM: ABBREVIATED BUT SIGNIFICANT

With the annexation of Southwest Africa (contemporary Namibia), Cameroon, Togo, and East Africa (contemporary Tanzania, Burundi, and Rwanda) in 1884, and Kiaochow (northeast China) and the Pacific colonies (Samoa, New Guinea, and a number of smaller islands) in the late 1890s, Germany embarked on a colonial period that was unique for

its lateness and brevity (figure I.1). It was late in part because the German nation-state emerged after other European nation-states. Late nation building meant a distinctive path toward industrialization that did not rely on alienated foreign labor and extraterritorial natural resources. Colonial supporters were able to turn this tardiness into an advantage, however, by positing that Germany could learn from the mistakes of earlier colonial powers. This argument especially shaped the development of the German protectorate of Kiaochow, which was conceived as a model colony that would avoid problems like financial dependence on the metropole.[7] German colonialism's late beginning was compounded by an early end when the empire was forced to concede its colonies to the League of Nations as part of the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I.

Despite these distinctive traits, there were significant continuities between German colonialism and other European colonialisms of the modern era. Like many colonial empires before it, Germany's appeared accidental because the state intervened only when German businesses overseas forced its hand. In this case, the state stepped in order to save German interests by declaring a protectorate over Southwest Africa when the Bremen merchant Adolf Lüderitz overextended himself and damaged Germany's reputation. German territorial expansion was anything but accidental, however; a variety of interest groups had been lobbying for it since the early decades of the nineteenth century. As the late literary scholar Susanne Zantop pointed out, colonial agitation significantly preceded and helped intensify German national feeling in the prelude to unification in 1871.[8] But Germany also shared its colonial motivations with neighboring powers. Germans too dreamed that the colonies would provide new sources for raw materials, new markets for manufactured goods, and cheap labor for the German economy. The German colonies were never profitable, however. They remained a controversial drain on the imperial coffers for the entire period of their existence. Second, colonial supporters believed that targeted emigration to colonial territories would help the state maintain some control over the movements of its citizens, prevent the continued decline of the German nation, and provide an outlet for social tensions brewing at home. This too proved to be a fantasy as the colonial lobby was never able to generate enough interest in emigration to the colonies. Lastly, Germans, like their peers in Britain and elsewhere, also subscribed to the notion that it was their duty to "elevate" less-civilized peoples by exposing them to education, religion, and wage labor—this was the German version of the "civilizing mission."

Like other colonialisms, German colonialism was not monolithic. Though official policy was articulated in relation to established binaries

like settler versus trade colonies and indirect versus direct rule, actual policies responded to conditions on the ground and even varied across individual colonies. Through all of this, Germany's colonial project retained one signature of all colonialisms: it violently expropriated life and livelihood from its subjects. This and other aspects of the colonial experience have had a long afterlife whose measure we have only recently begun to take. Since the 1990s, interest in colonialism has been fed by public debates about immigration, multiculturalism, and national identity in Germany. The topic remains timely in the current climate of large-scale migration to Germany from the Middle East and northern and eastern Africa.[9]

This book takes the position that German colonialism must be understood as a broad set of activities pursued by the German empire and specific corporate groups and private individuals in the context of the pan-European imperial project of the nineteenth century. As such, it reflects a recent turn in the historiography of German colonialism away from earlier scholarship that analyzed political economy and social history, attempted to articulate a German colonial *Sonderweg* (exceptionalism), and became overshadowed by National Socialist histories. A number of research foci, all shaped by cultural history, have taken the place of these earlier concerns. These include, as characterized by historian Sebastian Conrad, a focus on the patterns of knowledge production and modes of representation that structured German colonialism, the variety of colonial subjectivities that evolved despite the proclaimed binary of racial and cultural difference, and the long-term effects of colonialism on those subjectivities and on the social, economic, and cultural lives of affected societies.[10] Issues of memory—exemplified, for instance, in recent calls for reparations for the 1904 genocide of the Herero people in Southwest Africa—have reminded scholars to pay attention to colonialism's material and structural effects alongside the abstractions of colonial discourse and representation.

In 2004 Germany was for the first time publicly reimagined as a postcolonial nation when the minister of development aid, Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, apologized to Namibia for the Herero genocide. Beyond reparations, the significance of colonialism to German history is one of the most widely debated topics in the field. How are we to weigh the import of an experience that lasted a scant thirty years and directly involved only a few thousand German citizens at its height? Understanding and counteracting the invisibility of colonial history in the contemporary German national psyche has also become fertile ground for scholarship. While remaining wary of simplistic causal arguments, this book supports

the claim that colonialism is embedded in German history on a number of intersecting levels, and contributes to efforts to make colonialism's impact more visible.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE GERMAN COLONIES

Becoming a colonial power required at least a minimal level of investment and intervention in the built and designed environments of each colony. Soldiers, bureaucrats, and merchants needed acceptable lodgings and places to conduct business. Harbors, roads, and railroads had to be built in order to export products like sisal, palm oil, and bird of paradise feathers to Germany. German colonial officials and settlers built entirely new cities, towns, and districts, as well as a wide variety of public and private buildings. In order to design and erect these buildings, the colonial administration brought in engineers, "building technicians," and architects from Germany and other parts of Europe. A few architects also established private practices in larger colonies such as Southwest Africa and Kiaochow. Labor, too, in the form of overseers and specialized craftsmen, had to be imported in the early years because locals were not acquainted with German construction methods and materials. "Arab, Indian, Goan, Greek and Italian" builders were used in German East Africa, while Basel Mission Society–trained workers from the Gold Coast and bricklayers from Togo assisted in German Cameroon. Despite their invisibility in official accounts, local unskilled laborers—paid or forced—did much of the strenuous and at times dangerous work of excavating, hauling, and assembling materials. The situation gradually stabilized as German officials became more familiar with and were able to harness local resources like the black volcanic rock of Buea (Cameroon), and launched Western-style brickyards like Diederichsen Jebsen and Co. in Qingdao. However, manufactured items like windows, toilets, and light fixtures continued to be imported at great cost.[11] When time and resources were limited in the early days, administrators and settlers built provisional utilitarian structures, rented from cosmopolitan elites like the Douala in Cameroon, or expropriated buildings from locals. Over time, they rebuilt or transformed these first shelters into permanent and more elaborate buildings. They chose scale, form, material, and siting for practical reasons such as defense, but unspoken objectives also governed these choices. Monumental structures like Buea's immense white neo-Renaissance colonial governor's palace complete with a grand neo-Palladian entry sequence, entrance portico, flanking polygonal towers, rusticated first-floor walls, quoins, and crowning lantern dome, served to proclaim German political, economic, and
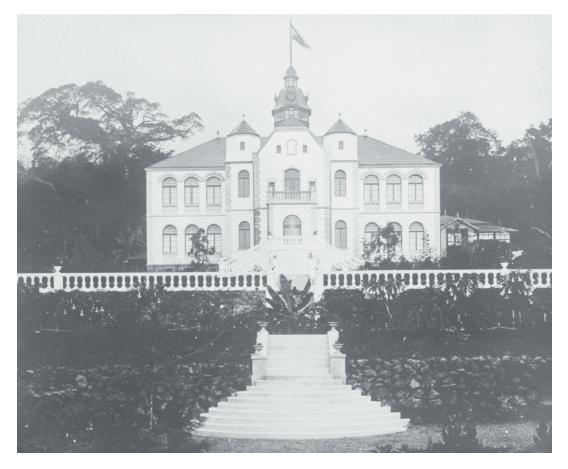
FIGURE I.2. GOVERNOR'S PALACE, BUEA, CAMEROON, BUILT 1902, DESIGNED BY GOVERNMENT ARCHITECT SCHÜTZ. GERMAN COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS APPLIED A HISTORICIST APPROACH, TYPICAL OF WILHELMINE BUILDINGS IN GERMANY, TO IMPORTANT COLONIAL BUILDINGS. COURTESY COLONIAL PICTURE ARCHIVE, FRANKFURT UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

cultural power (figure I.2). This reliance on historicist style, so common in high-profile buildings in Wilhelmine Germany, became characteristic of public architecture in the German colonies. On the other end of the spectrum of colonial buildings, simple, utilitarian settlers' houses articulated racial difference through their snow-white linens and curtains or policed it through kitchens placed "in a special small addition, in order to keep the black personnel as far from the house as possible."[12] In this sense, architecture was part of the field of representation that, together with actual colonial institutions, reproduced and naturalized structures of power.[13]

Despite the opportunity to learn from earlier colonial powers, German builders made some of the same mistakes. In East Africa, German

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buildings often used soft woods that were soon besieged by termites. Rooms were laid out in tight configurations that obstructed ventilation and trapped heat. This too changed with experience. But experience itself could be a pitfall: attempts to apply accumulated knowledge led, for instance, to the construction of tropically inspired verandas in the relatively temperate climate of Qingdao in eastern China.[14]

This overview makes it clear that German colonial architecture bore many similarities to the practices and forms developed by existing colonial empires. Like these architectural cultures, German colonial architecture disregarded local building practices and architectural traditions or characterized them as technically simplistic and aesthetically unprepossessing. Thus, a German army officer named Smend declared bitingly in a 1909 article about Togo that "the dwellings of the negroes are generally small and musty. . . . They are always put together randomly and without a plan."[15] Around the same time, a public health officer in British colonial Zanzibar in 1913 explained that "native huts" were "without any sort of proper lighting or ventilation" and therefore bred all sorts of nasty diseases.[16] There were a few exceptions to this pattern of denigrating indigenous architecture, such as the "beehive" domes of the Mousgoum (Cameroon) and the soaring "saddle-roofs" and ornate figural veranda posts of elite Bamum architecture (Cameroon), which German colonial administrators and visitors mythologized.[17] With the exception of the massive, multistory, residential masonry complexes of the Arab elite on the coast of East Africa, however, even these celebrated indigenous architectures were not seen as suitable models for German structures. Despite their commendable qualities, they too did not meet European expectations for hygiene and comfort, nor could they satisfy colonialism's need to visually and materially assert authority.

On the larger scale of urban design and planning, Germans also implemented policies similar to those of other colonial empires. In Dar es Salaam, officials initially set themselves apart by denuding the landscape surrounding their houses in order to eliminate insects and diseases. This was not an overtly segregationist policy, but it foreshadowed a practice of spatial segregation between Germans and locals that would soon be institutionalized. Four years later, in 1891, the first building code for the city explicitly designated much of the desirable land adjacent to the harbor for European use only. In Qingdao at the turn of the century, colonial officials designed a segregated city from the beginning, with a swath of open space separating European and Chinese districts. They based these policies on racializing rationales that equated biology with poor personal and housekeeping habits that invited disease, and with subpar buildings

susceptible to fire. At this time, British and French colonial city planning were both turning toward overtly segregationist policies in response to the discovery that mosquitoes transmitted tropical diseases. As urban historian Odile Goerg points out, this scientific evidence actually justified and formalized existing attitudes. The same logic characterized German urban planning. However, Germany invested considerably less in colonial city building, in an effort to avoid the mistakes of colonial states that had sunk excessive amounts of money into infrastructure. German colonialism therefore interacted explicitly with other colonialisms. This policy was expressed in architectural terms when the director of the building department in East Africa, Friedrich Gurlitt, traveled to India in 1899 to evaluate British colonial architecture for lessons for East Africa.[18]

It is important to pay attention to these analogies between colonialisms. Was knowledge shared through specific mechanisms? Or did similar conditions and goals invariably result in similar practices and built forms? German colonial engineers, technicians, and architects responsible for building in the colonies conversed with each other, wrote reports, published journal articles, and presented lectures to interested audiences in Germany. Missionaries, administrators, and settlers also shared their experiences and voiced their opinions on how colonial designed environments should work. Together, these professional and lay articulations formed a body of knowledge accessible to architects and historians then and now. A 1913 proposal to compile a library or collection of sources for German architects designing colonial buildings shows that Germans were very much in dialogue with this body of knowledge.[19]

INFRASTRUCTURAL IMPERIALISM

Germany's formal colonial project did not occur in isolation. Rather, it was just one—perhaps the most visible—of the German state's attempts to jockey for economic and political power on the late nineteenth-century world stage. In addition to official efforts, German companies and individuals were globally mobile in ways that sometimes advanced and sometimes undermined state goals. Their activities were part of the increasing integration of the world via capitalism, imperialism, cultural exchange, and migration.[20] That Germany was deeply embedded in these developments is frequently forgotten or dissociated from analyses of other aspects of German history—like architecture. State efforts seem to have focused especially on regions of the world that were yet to be incorporated into European spheres of influence. Unlike much of Africa, south Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, it was theoretically still possible for Germa-

ny to gain leverage over places like the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Japan, and some parts of Southeast Asia like Siam. Governments in each of these regions were aware of their precarious positions, and many attempted to reform their economic and political institutions and modernize on their own terms in order to counteract the European threat. One common thread in their various efforts was a willingness and even a desire to interact with the German state, German businesses, and professionals. Prussia had showcased its military prowess when it defeated Napoleon's armies in 1871 and its share in foreign trade had multiplied in the last decades of the nineteenth century as a function of the newly unified state's rapid industrialization. Precisely because it was in a state of emergence and because it too was fighting British and French monopolies, Germany was seen as a relatively neutral party and potential ally for modernizing states. To that effect, governments in Japan, Siam, Persia, and the Ottoman Empire invited German military officers, state bureaucrats, professionals, scholars, and technicians to consult on modernization initiatives. While each government was working toward its own context-specific ends, the German government welcomed these invitations as opportunities not only to gain new market shares but also to guide developments in these countries to benefit German interests. Some in government circles, the press, and fringe private interests strategized about how German economic and material assistance could become a foothold for full-scale colonization. For example, winning the concession to build the Baghdad Railway after decades of groundwork by German engineers, surveyors, and financiers and engagement with the Ottoman leadership was seen as evidence, by some observers, of imminent German colonization of Asia Minor.[21]

Often, German consultancy involved some form of intervention in the built and natural environments of these regions through the construction of railroads, road networks, new cities and towns, harbors, telegraph stations, factories, buildings, and other amenities. A certain mythology developed around the person of the German engineer. The German government encouraged this trend by establishing a program to send "technical attachés" abroad in the 1880s.[22] Historian Dirk van Laak has developed the concept of "infrastructural imperialism" to describe this complex confluence of imperialist strategies and technoscientific knowledge production and dissemination that characterized German relations with some subaltern societies.[23] I reconnect this phenomenon to the architecture and urbanism of official German colonialism for several reasons. First, though many of the technical experts involved in infrastructural imperialism were engineers, training in engineering and architecture were closely intertwined during this period in German history. For instance,

the German engineer Franz Baltzer, who designed the railroad connecting Tokyo to the rest of the (initially) British-built rail network in the country, also designed Tokyo's main station and associated structures.[24] Second, some of these personnel circulated between the formal colonies and nonimperial spheres of German influence. Others believed that consulting in the Ottoman Empire or Siam gave them the authority to offer advice about Germany's formal colonies even if they had never set foot in them. Richard Seel, who was part of the contingent of German architects who had worked on the railroad in Japan, concocted an award-winning design for a hospital for German Samoa in 1914.[25] Third, as Laak convincingly illustrates, technical expertise and financial support rearticulated as "development" became the means through which Germany maintained relations with its former colonies during the era of independence in the 1960s—a fact that highlights deep connections between distinct periods in German and world history and Germany's diverse brands of political and economic engagement with non-European societies.[26] Some of the most interesting links between colonialism and modernism discussed in this book occurred at the nexus between colonial architecture and infrastructural imperialism with its special emphasis on modernization.

THINKING THROUGH THE ARCHIVE

How have scholars analyzed the impact of the colonial experience on colonizing societies and cultures? Similarly, how do architectural historians conceptualize transformations in architectural practices and forms in response to new conditions such as colonialism? The concept of the archive is useful for thinking through these questions. Colonialism, like much human activity, left traces of itself everywhere. In the German context, we register these traces today when we enter the African Quarter in the Wedding district of Berlin. Or we might encounter, in a flea market somewhere in Germany, a cigarette tin richly decorated with minarets, palm trees, and camels. Or a handful of faded family portraits: the Cameroonian-born Ekwe Ngando, Silesian-born Ida Kleinfelt, and their four mixed-race children dressed in their early twentieth-century Sunday best.[27] These are the informal archives of German colonialism that provide historians with crucial information that might be missing from official records maintained by the formerly colonizing and colonized states. But informal and official colonial archives were and remain much more than artifacts of happenstance. Archives, according to a growing number of theorists of postcolonialism, are sites of knowledge production where the colonial state collected, included and excluded, ordered and reordered

information in the belief that comprehensive knowledge would lead to total control of colonized societies. In this vein, colonial states encouraged and perfected existing and invented new information-generating projects like the museum, the library, and the historical, geologic, and ethnographic survey. Throughout the nineteenth century, these archives were accessioned from the colonial periphery to the imperial center in a process that sheared them of the violence embodied in their acquisition.[28] Though scattered, these material archives are available for writing German colonial histories and they serve as crucial sources for this book.

This materialist concept of the archive is distinct from but overlaps with a more discursive definition. Though the colonial state could never fully control its subjects despite its rampant information gathering, the archive was nevertheless highly productive.[29] By providing colonial administrators with nuggets of graspable knowledge amid vast oceans of information, colonial archives conditioned policies and specific actions in the colonial field. Colonial archives can therefore be understood as systems of organization that defined the "rules of practice" for what could and could not be said within colonial discourse.[30] They were the "instituting imaginaries" that made colonial narratives possible.[31]Archives were the condition for the production of knowledge but were themselves conditioned by existing knowledge, the means and tools available to generate new information, and by the personal circumstances and concerns of those creating the archives. Consequently, they are, in the words of historical anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler, chronicles of "colonial uncertainty," indicative of the partiality, instability, spasmodic character, and anxieties of colonial rule.[32] This is the source of their power for postcolonial interventions. In entering the archive to perform the task of making meaning, we as historians and members of the public can either walk the path well-trodden, proceed along the archive's many detours, roundabouts, and dead ends, or track the path not followed. Seen in this light, a postcolonial approach to the archive can facilitate a "re-centering of material for the construction and contestation of knowledge."[33]

In contrast to the extensive scholarship on the colonial archive, the discipline of architecture has an unacknowledged archival logic at its heart. Architects produce new works by interacting creatively with a bounded body of knowledge alternately branded as precedent, history, tradition, memory, or the canon. This corpus of knowledge consists of extant buildings; their frequently decontextualized fragments and spolia; architectural representations like drawings, models, and photographs; and texts—books, journals, lecture notes, correspondence, and so on. The means of reproduction of this collection especially in the face of new

knowledge has long been debated. Some theorists have posited environment, culture, religion, or social and political factors as the stimulus for new architectural developments. Others emphasized available technologies, and yet others linked architectural change to shifts in cognition and psychological phenomena. What these theories have in common is the conviction that architecture has always been derivative within a limited set of constraints. Design historian Alina Payne has noted, however, that something changed in the fifteenth century. Exploration expanded the horizons of the European intelligentsia and brought the Western idea of a static, unimpeachable ancient canon of knowledge into crisis.[34] For Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, the entire idea of the architectural canon as a stable, universal, accumulated body of knowledge is an artifact of an epistemological shift brought on by colonial encounters.[35] Thus, by the nineteenth century, architecture was concerned with "transmuting archaeology," one of several new colonial sciences, "into invention."[36]

What I am describing as architecture's archival logic is similar to the "archival reasoning" that Thomas Osborne attributes to disciplines like art history. Osborne argues that these disciplines depend on an "evidentiary paradigm" to make their truth claims. An analogy also exists between collecting in art history and archiving: both practices "introduce meaning, order, boundaries, coherence, and reason into what is disparate and confused."[37] Put another way, the art historical canon is a "structuring structure" in a continuous process of self-reproduction mediated through external forces.[38] This paradigm is also at work in the architectural design process and in the architectural object itself, but, contra Osborne, it exists long before the architectural historian intervenes. Like the genealogical relationship between works of art, precedent, and memory—what art historian Hal Foster describes as art's "subtextuality," architecture has a filial relationship to the corpus of which it is part.[39] Similarly, Osborne writes of art history's "evidentiary paradigm" in terms of the discipline's obsession with detail but the multiple meanings of "detail" in architectural thinking extend beyond his argument. A detail is a small and specific element of a building (a number of which make up the whole). But a detail is also a large-scale, fine-grained drawing of one of these elements. In "archispeak," *to detail* is to draw or build said element. The detail is therefore the linchpin between architecture's "archival" and "transformative" gestures. It is how the architect moves from precedent to innovation. Just as the purpose of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European neoclassical architecture was to obey the law of the architectural archive, so too reformist architecture in Europe and the United States since the end of the nineteenth century depended on a deep intimacy and conversation

with the archive. All architects, in the words of Mark Wigley, are therefore "archival experts."[40]

Some theorists of the archive have recognized architecture's archival character. For Achille Mbembe, architecture's archival logic has implications for all archives: the archive's storage function, archivization process, and material site of the official state archives (the monumental edifice similar to a temple) are deeply entangled. The archive, like architecture, is a "montage of fragments" that creates an illusionary unity. It has an "inescapable materiality" that feeds into its role as an instituting imaginary.[41] Despite their apparent differences, the materialist and discursive interpretations of the archive are not at odds. Indeed, it is the very looseness—alternately, the capaciousness—of the concept of the archive that is productive.[42] The two modalities of the colonial archive—archive as encyclopedic documentation and archive as a system governing discourse—offer a framework for analyzing how German architecture came to terms with the new social, political, economic, and cultural conditions of colonialism. How can we, I ask, read the German colonial archive in relation to architecture's own archival logic?

Apart from the idea of the archive, scholars have developed a variety of concepts to address how architecture negotiates knowledge produced through interaction with foreign societies. "Influence" is the de facto argument: the Japanese *sukiya* residential building type epitomized in Katsura Palace in Kyoto influenced, via interlocutors like Bruno Taut and Frank Lloyd Wright, modern architecture in Germany and the United States.[43] However, the influence hypothesis is not sufficient, as art historian Michael Baxandall eloquently argues, because it forecloses further analysis and is misleadingly one-sided. "Influence" flattens all sorts of complexities and nuances and is especially disingenuous because it discounts asymmetrical power.[44] "Translation" has been proposed as a heuristic to come to terms with this problem. Here, *translation* describes the movement of people, ideas, information, technologies, and images between two or more places, and the process of transformation that occurs during this repositioning.[45] Translation therefore shares some features with the concept of archive. "Archive," however admits the possibility that what goes into the archive can be recombined to produce outputs with little to no resemblance to the original idea or form. In fact, not all inputs necessarily lead to outputs. The archive can produce nothing at all, since archives are meaningless outside actual use.[46] In a sense, archive precedes translation by defining, in the first instance, the limits of what it is possible to think and say about subaltern cultures and societies, and thereby providing the raw material for translation. In analyzing the forms

of specific objects, buildings, and designed environments in Germany in relation to colonialism, the concept of the archive extends beyond previous approaches to focus on known and potential routes of knowledge generation and their nuanced implications.[47] The architects discussed in this book themselves use the word *archive* to describe their activities. But even more than this, the archive as instituting imaginary provides a means to transcend the limiting focus on architectural form as the necessary location of architecture's engagement with colonialism. Rather, it creates an opening to explore the profusion of writing, idiosyncratic language, and distinctive rhetorical formulations associated with both modernism and colonialism in Germany during this period.

OVERVIEW

This book considers the effects of colonialism—broadly construed—on the development of modern architecture in Germany from the 1850s until the 1930s. Through five case studies, I explore the myriad ways in which modernism and colonialism engaged with each other. The men and lone woman around that fictional Berlin table in 1913 were only the most high-profile instantiation of this history. The archive—colonial and architectural—is the theoretical apparatus that makes it possible to reconstruct this history: this book reconstitutes elements of the dispersed archive of German colonialism but is also itself a new archive created from these sources. Each case study slips back and forth to suggest the archive's diverse modalities: materialist, discursive, and otherwise. Chapter 1 makes the case for German colonialism as part of a larger nineteenth-century pan-European imperial project by following the colonial archive par excellence, the universal exposition, as it traveled around Germany. At the same time that Germany's mini-expositions shaped German colonial ideology and practice by collecting and ordering knowledge, they also stimulated new architectural thinking. Exhibitions created the intellectual and material conditions for architectural experimentation. My focus in this chapter is on the 1896 Berlin Trade Exhibition and the colonial exhibition that took place in association with it. While this was not the first display of its kind in Germany, it was the largest ever held, and it cast a long shadow over future German exhibitions as well as over the genre across Europe.

Chapter 2 turns to German architects who went to China, Japan, and Siam at the end of the nineteenth century. These architects were agents of infrastructural imperialism, but they also conducted ethnographic research on the allegedly disappearing traditions of these countries. To

a man, each of these architects returned home to publish his findings, which, I argue, constituted a new genre of architectural writing. Each architect-ethnographer explicitly aimed to intervene in future architectural practice in Germany by contributing to a "museum" or "archive" of architectural knowledge. Acknowledging this proliferation and deliberate dissemination of knowledge about African and Asian architectures destabilizes our assumptions about the origins and effects of modern architecture in Germany.

In contrast to the first two chapters, which foreground colonialism's and architecture's overlapping documentation projects, chapters 3 and 4 are more concerned with discursive convergences between colonialism and modernism. They unpack efforts to reform colonial architecture according to emerging modernist tenets like objectivity, purposiveness, and contextualism. Chapter 3 takes the case of the cultural reform organization the League of Homeland Protection, which carefully expanded its distinctive concept of reform to embrace the colonial cultural and built landscape. "Colonial *Heimatschutz*" not only selectively embraced the colonies as part of the German *Heimat* (homeland), it also framed the colonies as mirrors that magnified the problems with Germany's own historicist approach to architecture. Colonial Heimatschutz therefore helped resolve some of the pressing concerns of modern architecture: the extent to which cultural forms of the past should inflect contemporary thinking, and the nature of the relationship between universal experiences of modernity and local specificities.

Chapter 4 examines the effort to reform colonial architecture through the construction of a model colonial house at the 1914 German Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne. Drawing on my earlier analysis of world's fairs and their crucial role in colonialism, I show that this seminal event in the history of modern architecture was imbued with colonial activity. Exposition types, including a bifurcated site plan, a model colonial house, and a native village, permeated the exhibition. For the organizers of the Werkbund colonial house, the question became how to reconcile colonialism's mandate to visually and materially project German hegemony with modernism's pursuit of objectivity, contextualism, and purposiveness. This chapter reevaluates the Werkbund Exhibition—a momentous event in the history of German modernism—in terms of Germany's colonial concerns, and challenges inherited narratives about modern architecture in Germany in the process.

In chapter 5, the materialist and structuring functions of the archive merge in a case study of Germany's prefabrication industry. Like its equivalent in Britain, German prefabrication had overlapping colonial, religious,

and military origins. Institutional histories of two of the country's earliest prefabrication firms, Christoph & Unmack, of Niesky (Saxony), and F. H. Schmidt, of Altona-Hamburg, show that their fortunes rose and fell with Germany's territorial expansion and access to global markets. By the time reform-minded architects like Gropius and Poelzig discovered them in the 1910s, these firms had long been mass-producing technologically advanced, standardized buildings. This chapter demonstrates that the obsession with prefabrication that plagued reformist architects in Germany in the interwar period, and followed German emigrés to the United States in the 1930s and 1940s, had complex origins and associations.

These five case studies upend the image of German insularity common in histories of late nineteenth-century German architecture and construct instead a picture of a country deeply embroiled in global currents. Together, they challenge us to expand our vision of the character and scope of modern architecture in Germany, which can certainly no longer be seen as the product of a few visionary modernist masters, or of uniquely German social, economic, and political conditions. Since nineteenth-century German architectural developments are typically understood as crucial to the evolution of modern architecture worldwide in the twentieth century, this book globalizes the history of modern architecture at its founding moment.