

## Thinking Perspectives

### The Layered Meaning of Heinrich Tessenow's Drawings (1901 – 1926)

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# Thinking Perspectives

The Layered Meaning of  
Heinrich Tessenow's Drawings (1901–1926)

Jurjen Zeinstra

**Thinking Perspectives**

**The Layered Meaning of Heinrich Tessenow's Drawings (1901 – 1926)**

Dissertation

for the purpose of obtaining the degree of doctor  
at Delft University of Technology

by the authority of the Rector Magnificus prof.dr.ir. T.H.J.J. van der Hagen  
chair of the Board for Doctorates

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by

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*foar Heit*

## Table of Content

5	<b>Acknowledgements</b>
7	<b>Glossary</b>
9	<b>Introduction</b>
12	An unexplored point of view in the scholarship on Tessenow
16	Detached perspectives: research questions and methodological approaches
19	Overview: the structure of this dissertation
21	<b>Chapter 1. Tessenow's perspectives as part of German architectural practice at the beginning of the twentieth century</b>
26	Arguing through drawings: The role of perspectives in German architectural practice and media around 1900
31	Theoretical perspectives: Reflections on architectural drawings by Tessenow's contemporaries
35	<b>Chapter 2. The publishing context: Tessenow's perspective drawings in journals and books</b>
38	<i>Gewünschte Skizzen</i> : Perspective drawings responding to questions
42	'Zu den Zeichnungen von H. Tessenow': Perspective drawings initiate discourse
50	<i>Zimmermannsarbeiten</i> : Depicting tradition and modernity
54	<i>Der Wohnhausbau</i> : Depicting dwelling
60	<i>Hausbau und dergleichen</i> : Depicting restraint
69	<b>Chapter 3: <i>Haus</i>, from <i>Gartenhaus</i> to <i>Kleinwohnung</i></b>
72	<i>Haus</i> and <i>Empfindung</i>
75	<i>Haus</i> and <i>Abstraktion</i>
78	<i>Haus</i> and <i>Gewöhnlichkeit</i>
81	Perspective drawings of <i>Haus</i>
82	Responding to the landscape: Detached houses in a nature setting
84	Formal explorations of a typology: Intertwined houses in a rural setting
86	Responding the street: Detached houses in an urban setting
88	Duplication and the joint: Twin houses in an urban setting
90	Expressing both individuality and collectivity: Multiple houses in an urban setting
92	Uniformity and individual distinction: Row housing in an urban context

94	Representing collectivity: Multi-family buildings in an urban context
96	The representation of <i>Haus</i> in Tessenow's perspective drawings
<b>99</b>	<b>Chapter 4: <i>Raum</i>, from <i>Raumgestaltung</i> to <i>Raumbegrenzung</i></b>
102	<i>Raum</i> and <i>Empfindung</i>
104	<i>Raum</i> and <i>Abstraktion</i>
105	<i>Raum</i> and <i>Gewöhnlichkeit</i>
107	Perspective drawings of <i>Räume</i>
108	Labyrinthic obscurity or clear order: Infinite space
110	Perimeter and columns: The space of the courtyard
112	Enlarged representational space: The <i>Diele</i>
114	Dissolution of the perimeter: The space of the room
116	An aedicular space in the garden: The <i>Laube</i>
118	Transitional space added to the house: The pergola
120	Transitional space carved out of the house: The niche
122	Compressed transitional space: The threshold
124	The representation of <i>Raum</i> in Tessenow's perspective drawings
<b>127</b>	<b>Chapter 5. <i>Sache</i>: From <i>Formgefühl</i> to <i>Zweckgesinnung</i></b>
131	<i>Sache</i> and <i>Empfindung</i>
133	<i>Sache</i> and <i>Abstraktion</i>
136	<i>Sache</i> and <i>Gewöhnlichkeit</i>
139	Perspective drawings of <i>Sachen</i>
140	From traditions to modernity: The chair
142	From <i>Sache</i> to <i>Raum</i> : the staircase
144	<i>Sache</i> as a condensation of <i>Raum</i> : The front-door
146	A set at the entrance: Front door with bench and tree
148	Out of the shadow: Staircase with door
150	Affinity of shapes: Chairs with table



152	How sets of <i>Sachen</i> constitute the interior: Chair and desk in a room
154	The looming shade of a departed person: Table and chair in a room
156	The representation of <i>Sache</i> in Tessenow's perspective drawings
<b>159</b>	<b>Conclusions: Tessenow's perspective drawings as a form of architectural thinking</b>
160	Starting a discourse: Tessenow's perspectives in journals and magazines from 1902 to 1906
161	Editorial control: Tessenow's perspective drawings in his books from 1907 to 1916
163	Exploring the scales and themes of the <i>Kleinwohnung: Haus, Raum</i> and <i>Sachen</i>
165	Exploring three epistemic notions: <i>Empfindung, Abstraktion, Gewöhnlichkeit</i>
169	New perspectives on Tessenow and some contemporary prospects
<b>170</b>	<b>Bibliography</b>
<b>183</b>	<b>Curriculum Vitae</b>
<b>186</b>	<b>Summary</b>
<b>188</b>	<b>Samenvatting</b>
<b>190</b>	<b>Appendix: list of Tessenow's perspective drawings 1901-1926</b>

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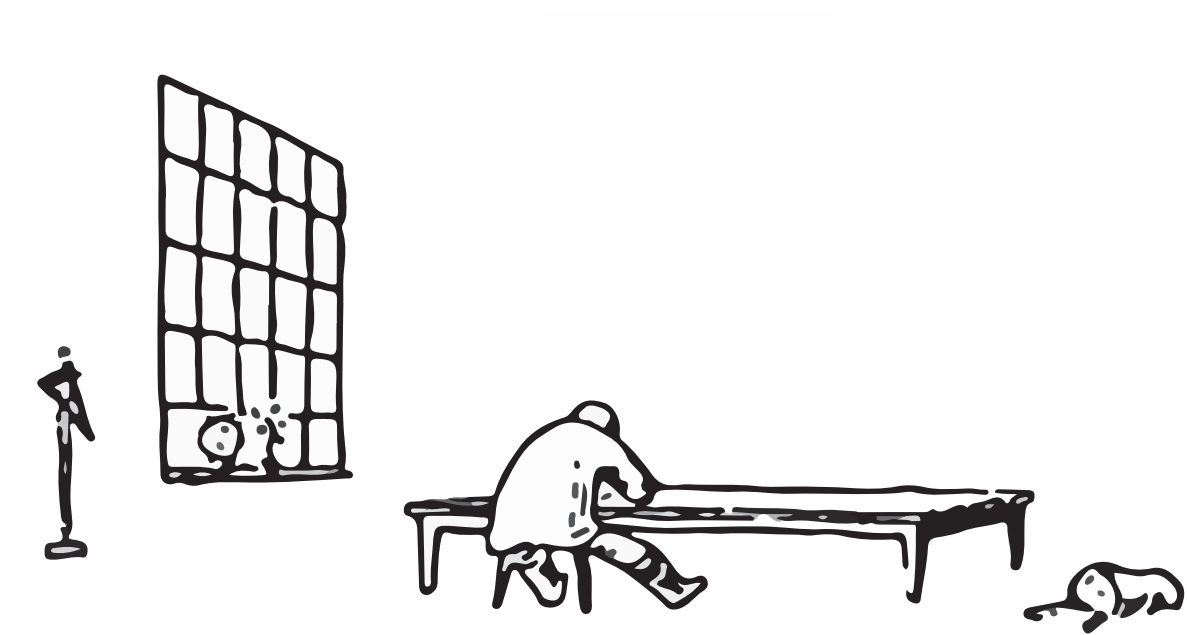
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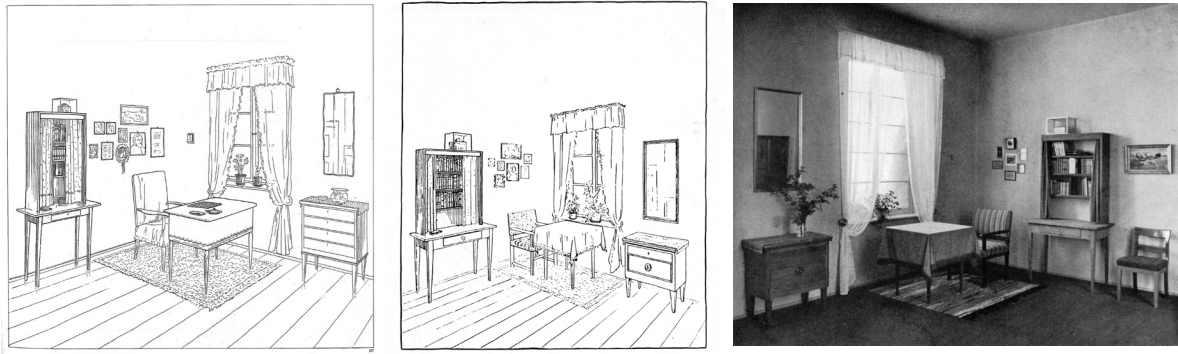
## **Glossary of frequently used German terms in this dissertation:**

Abstraktion:	abstraction
Bäuerlich:	rural, related to farming
Bautechnisch:	related to building technology
Bauernhaus:	farmhouse
Bürgerlich:	middle-class
Empfindung:	perception, sensibility
Gartenhaus:	garden house
Gewerbe:	trade, craft
Gewerblichkeit:	craft industry
Gewöhnlichkeit:	ordinariness
Großstadt:	metropole
Handwerk:	manual craft
Kleinstadt:	small town
Kleinwohnung:	workers' and lower middle-class house
Laube:	arbour
Haus:	house
Raum:	room, space
Raumvorstellung:	representation of space
Raumwahrnehmung:	perception of space
Sache:	object, thing
Sachlich:	objective, thing-like
Stimmung:	atmosphere
Vorstellung:	perception
Wohnhaus:	house, dwelling
Zeitschrift:	journal





Introduction: Detached perspectives



From left to right: Aus dem Wohnzimmer, c. 1917<sup>1</sup>; Ecke eines Wohnzimmers, c. 1921<sup>2</sup>; and Ecke eines einfachen Wohnzimmers, c. 1925 (mirrored)<sup>3</sup>

Architectural perspectives are fascinating images that are able to transform an inherently abstract set of orthogonal plan drawings into a naturalistic spatial illusion. The history of this type of drawings is rich and closely linked to fields as diverse as geometry, art history, psychology and philosophy.<sup>4</sup> As an architect teaching and doing research at the Faculty of Architecture at Delft University of Technology, my fascination for perspectives has initiated a number of undertakings in the recent past.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, I gradually discovered the importance of the architectural perspective drawing to giving expression to theoretical concepts and ideas in a non-verbal way. For designers and architects, this implicit ability of not only the perspective, but every architectural drawing, to communicate beyond the immediate representation of the depicted building, space or object is essential. While *disegno* or drawing forms the core of the field of architecture and design, and provides a tool for designers and architects to communicate with others but also with themselves, the perspective drawing seems to hold a special position in regard to other architectural drawings.<sup>6</sup>

My most substantial encounter with perspective drawings took place in 2014 in the editorial preparation of an issue of *DASH* on exhibited domestic interiors.<sup>7</sup> For this issue, I invited my colleague Frederique van Anandel to write a short contribution on the furniture arrangement designed

<sup>1</sup> Waltraud Strey, *Die Zeichnungen von Heinrich Tessenow. Der Bestand in der Kunstbibliothek Berlin* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1982), 47, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich Tessenow, 'Vier Zeichnungen', *Kunst und Künstler* XXIV, no. 2 (1926): 51

<sup>3</sup> Karl Scheffler, 'Neue Arbeiten von Heinrich Tessenow'. *Kunst und Künstler* XXIV, no. 2 (1926): 54-60

<sup>4</sup> Most general works on the nature of the perspective image do not address the architectural perspective as such, but some offer valuable insights on the complex nature of perspectival representation. See, for instance: Elkins, *The Poetics of Perspective* (1994); Damisch, *The Origin of Perspective* (1994); Erwin Panofsky, *Die Perspektive als 'symbolische Form'* (1927). A concise history of perspective theory is offered by: Andersen, *The Geometry of an Art* (2007). With regards to the more recent history of the architectural perspective drawing, see: Carpo and Lemerle, *Perspective, Projections and Design* (2008).

<sup>5</sup> Regarding the role of the perspective drawing in my research, see, for instance: Jurjen Zeinstra, 'A view without scenery', in *Amsterdam Places*, edited by Jurjen Zeinstra, 185-195. Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 2013. A clear example of the role of (perspective) drawing in my education is the Master Studio 'Drawing Rooms' that I initiated in 2019, together with my colleague Charlotte van Wijk and the Tetar van Elven Museum in Delft.

<sup>6</sup> See: Pérez-Gómez and Louise Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge* (1997), Carpo and Frédérique Lemerle, *Perspective, Projections and Design* (2008) and Carl Linfert. 'Die Grundlagen der Architekturzeichnung. Mit einem Versuch über französische Architekturzeichnungen des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, Bd.1 (1931), 133-247.

<sup>7</sup> See: Delft Architectural Studies on Housing (DASH) 11, *Stijlkamers / Interiors on Display*, 2014.

by German architect Heinrich Tessenow (1876-1950) for a housing exhibition in 1925.<sup>8</sup> In preparing her contribution, Frederique found out that this furniture arrangement, documented in a photograph, had been preceded by two almost identical perspective drawings: one dated 1921 and traditionally linked with the photograph and one made four years earlier, showing interior furnishings for a living room in a Hohensalza row-housing project.<sup>9</sup>

There is something intriguing about these two drawings. First of all, they share a remarkably similar content. What is shown in these two perspectives is a lower-middle-class living room, with a simple arrangement of a table, a chair, a bookcase and a chest of drawers placed on a wooden floor near a window in a corner of a room. Loose furnishings, such as a mirror, potted plants on the windowsill and the small pictures behind the chair also appear in both drawings. Closer inspection shows the subtle differences between the furnishings of the rooms: a lower table, a higher back of the chair, a smaller carpet, a lower side-table and so on. Both drawings also share a similar drawing technique with meticulously precise thin lines, dashes and dots. On second look, there is something else that is intriguing. In both drawings, the delineations between the two walls and between the walls and the ceiling are not visible. It is probably the absence of these delineations, more than anything else, that triggered my interest not only in these particular drawings, but in Tessenow and his perspective drawings in general.

Heinrich Tessenow was one of the key figures in early twentieth-century German architecture.<sup>10</sup> His practice ran parallel with both a teaching career at a variety of schools and universities and a career contributing to a similar diverse range of journals and magazines, leading to the publication of three books before 1920. Often creating the impression of holding an outsider position in architecture culture, his influence as an architect and writer has nevertheless been substantial. From 1904 on, Tessenow's reputation rose rapidly as one of the forerunners of German modernist architecture, both as an architect of lower- and middle-class housing and prestigious projects such as the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute (*Festspielhaus*) in Hellerau and the Landesschule in Klotzsche.<sup>11</sup> The importance of Tessenow and his works for the development of European modern architecture contrasts sharply with the minor or overlooked role assigned to this architect in the dominant historiography in the twentieth century.<sup>12</sup> After becoming more and more intrigued by the works of this architect, I managed only quite recently to expand my knowledge of his oeuvre when initiating a number of projects with students, a series of exhibitions and a symposium.<sup>13</sup> While Tessenow's oeuvre (consisting of buildings, furniture, exhibition designs, drawings and writings) has remained relatively

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<sup>8</sup> The furniture arrangement is described as 'Kleinbürgerliches Wohnzimmer' and was made for the 4<sup>th</sup> *Jahresschau Deutscher Arbeit 'Wohnung und Siedlung'* in Dresden. See: Frederique van Aniel, 'Kleinbürgerliches Wohnzimmer', in: *DASH 11 Stijlkamers / Interiors on Display* (2014), 96-99.

<sup>9</sup> See for the photograph and the ca. 1921 perspective also: Gerda Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow – seine Tätigkeit als Stadtplaner, Architekt und Möbelgestalter' in: *Heinrich Tessenow. Ein Baumeister 1876-1950. Leben Lehre Werk* by Gerda Wangerin and Gerhard Weiss, 11-77, 54 and 264. See for the ca. 1917 perspective also: Marco De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow Das architektonische Gesamtwerk*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1991), 69.

<sup>10</sup> See also chapter 2 for an overview of the role of drawing in Tessenow's career. For a concise overview of Tessenow's life and full career see: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950*. (1991), 343-346.

<sup>11</sup> See for the *Festspielhaus* in Hellerau: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950*. (1991), 13-39 and 205-213. See for the *Landesschule* in Klotzsche: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950*. (1991), 120-121 and 273-275.

<sup>12</sup> In Frampton's *Modern Architecture* (1980), the main historical textbook at the Faculty in the years I studied there, the name Tessenow is mentioned only twice: as a secondary figure influencing the young Le Corbusier and as an associate of Paul Schultze-Naumburg. See: Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 151, 217.

<sup>13</sup> See for a description of these projects: Jurjen Zeinstra, 'Tessenow's interior perspectives and why we continue building models'. In: *Teachings of Tessenow. Contemporary Relevance of an Architectural Oeuvre*, edited by Jurjen Zeinstra, 135-153. Delft: TU Delft, 2018. The symposium 'Teachings of Tessenow', organized with Herman van Bergeijk, was held at the TU Delft in May 2018 as the closing event of the exhibition 'Learning from Models'. In this exhibition three architecture schools showed models of a number of Tessenow's projects, focusing on their interior sensibility. See: Zeinstra, *Teachings of Tessenow*, 155-163. Models of the *Festspielhaus* were shown at a one-day event in the *Festspielhaus* in Hellerau in October 2017, as part of the manifestation 'Reconstructing the Future'.



unknown outside Germany, an ongoing interest in his oeuvre has nonetheless simmered, both in Germany and in some particular architecture circles outside Germany.<sup>14</sup> For contemporary architects and artists interested in topics such as ordinariness and the relation between abstraction and figuration, both Tessenow's buildings and his perspective drawings remain an important source of inspiration.<sup>15</sup> This continuous interest in Tessenow's work, and more in particular his drawings, therefore justifies an in-depth investigation of these drawings. My investigation will focus on the years 1901-1926. After 1926, the role and importance of perspective drawing in Tessenow's work and thinking changed substantially, as I will try to make clear in Chapter 1.

Besides the two drawings shown at the beginning of this introduction, Tessenow published more than 250 perspectives in the years between 1901 and 1926. Looking at this sheer number and at the care and detail that Tessenow put into them, the question arises whether these drawings should be considered as mere illustrations of executed buildings, interiors and objects and depictions of unrealized proposals and studies; or if they also might have served other purposes. A closer look at the historiography on Tessenow might therefore be useful to obtain insight into the role assigned to these drawings up until now.

### **An unexplored point of view in the scholarship on Tessenow**

While only minorly addressed in the international canonical histories of modern architecture, Tessenow and his work did receive proper attention in the German-speaking world.<sup>16</sup> Initially, Tessenow's legacy was fostered by a number of former students and employees, united in the Heinrich Tessenow Gesellschaft, founded in Hamburg in 1951. An important role in this Gesellschaft was played by Tessenow's former employee and student Otto Kindt, who issued several publications with quotes and texts by Tessenow.<sup>17</sup> Besides these books, a number of more scholarly publications by others appeared in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

These publications on Tessenow, almost all written in German, have recovered an admirable amount of information on Tessenow's oeuvre, with the extensive catalogue of his architectural work by Marco de Michelis standing out.<sup>18</sup> Within 16 years of Tessenow's death in 1950, two retrospective studies on his work were published in one volume: a dissertation by Gerda Wangerin and another by Gerhardt Weiss.<sup>19</sup> Gerda Wangerin, who studied architecture at the TU Hannover, structures her work on Tessenow chronologically according to the various phases in his career, focusing mainly on the design of public buildings, monuments, urban plans and furniture. Tessenow's perspective drawings are mentioned a few times. In describing Tessenow's early contributions to architecture journals, Wangerin points at the characteristic 'fine and tender nature of his pen drawings', which

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<sup>14</sup> See for instance: Giorgio Grassi, 'Architektur als Metier' (1974); Rasmussen, 'Heinrich Tessenow und unsere Zeit' (1976); Francisco Martinez Mindeguia, 'Study of a house over the lake' on: <http://www.mindeguia.com/dibex/Tessenow-lago-e.html>, visited 04-03-2021; Van Hee, 'In search of harmony and balance' (2018).

<sup>15</sup> See also: Meulendijks, 'The secret house' (2018), 57-72 and Somers 'Five types of figuration' (2018).

<sup>16</sup> Pevsner does not mention Tessenow at all in his *The Sources of Modern Architecture and Design* (1968) (London, Thames and Hudson & New York, Praeger; Benevolo only at one occasion in his *History of modern architecture. Volume two: The modern movement* (1971), p. 553, wrongly stating that Tessenow 'defended craftsmanship against industry, handiwork against that of the machine'. In the 1985 edition of Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, Tessenow is only briefly mentioned as an influence for the architects Le Corbusier, Schultze-Naumburg and Leon Krier. Curtis only briefly mentions Tessenow in relation to Behrens and shows a birds-eye view perspective of the Dalcroze Institute in Hellerau in *Modern Architecture since 1900* (1996), p. 142

<sup>17</sup> See: Otto Kindt (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow: Geschriebenes* (1982); Otto Kindt (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow: Ich verfolgte bestimmte Gedanken* (1996); Otto Kindt (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow: Nachdenkliches* (2000).

<sup>18</sup> Most of the main secondary literature on Tessenow is written in German: Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976); Weiss, 'Der Wohnungsbau Heinrich Tessenows' (1976); Strey, *Die Zeichnungen von Heinrich Tessenow* (1981); De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950*. (1991). An exception is the unpublished dissertation by Adler, 'Tessenow in Hellerau' (2004).

<sup>19</sup> Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976).

were immediately appreciated as independent graphic works of art.<sup>20</sup> She also mentions the Jugendstil influence on his early works, both on the drawing style visible in the applied thin lines and the layout of the page, but also regarding the content in which spatial impressions of a limited number of organic forms and ornaments dominate.<sup>21</sup> Despite some accurate observations on Tessenow's drawings, Wangerin mainly focusses on the texts in Tessenow's own publications, thus ignoring the specific role the perspectives play in these books. In a short chapter dedicated to the topic of furniture- and interior design, Wangerin points at the high total number of 220 pieces and objects that Tessenow must have designed, but only describes a few examples.<sup>22</sup> She notices the similarities between the formal treatment of a chair design if compared to the interior design of a room. Paraphrasing Tessenow in his book *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916), she points at the *empfindsame* (sensitive) connection of the various parts of the chair, making these parts both formally independent and at the same time mutually related so that 'impure' overlapping forms are avoided.<sup>23</sup> A corner of a room, visible in a c. 1921 perspective, shows Tessenow's endeavour to create spacious rooms that give a quiet impression through the repeated application of singular forms in various pieces of furniture, so Wangerin writes. His aim, she continues, is not the creation of an aestheticized *Gesamtkunstwerk* but a purposeful and comfortable environment by defining the forms and arrangement of the pieces and objects in this environment.<sup>24</sup> Wangerin does not acknowledge the role of the perspective drawings in Tessenow's investigations of these forms and arrangements. In her view, so it seems, the drawing predominantly serves as a temporary representation of a project that in the end is best characterized by a photograph of its execution.<sup>25</sup>

The dissertation of Gerhard Weiss, who studied architectural history and sociology at the university of Göttingen, is published together with Wangerin's, and has a clear focus on Tessenow's designs for housing and especially the *Kleinwohnung* (workers' and lower middle-class house). After a historical introduction of German workers' housing design in the second half of the nineteenth century, Weiss divides his text into four chronological parts related to Tessenow's career, with the period of his housing projects in Hellerau as the most intense and fruitful. Weiss describes and categorizes the various projects in detail. Similar to Wangerin, he refrains from addressing Tessenow's perspective drawings, mainly regarding these as illustrations of schemes that are in essence defined, according to him, by their plan drawings (floorplans, sections, elevations). In an exceptional case, Weiss points at the role of Tessenow's perspective as opposed to a façade drawing for an alternative design by another architect. He perceptively notes that while the alternative façade drawing shows the house as an isolated object with the staircase, trees and shrubs depicted merely as additional decor, Tessenow's perspective gives the same weight to both house and surroundings, with the stairs as mediating element.<sup>26</sup> Weiss seems to recognize here the potential of the perspective drawing to relate these aspects of the design to the experience of the visitor or user, but does not further elaborate this thought.<sup>27</sup> Another characteristic of the perspective drawing, noticed by Weiss, is its ability to correct the 'real' situation, as in the case of the house Auf dem Sand 12 in Hellerau, of which a simplified or purified version was published by Tessenow in *Hausbau und dergleichen*.<sup>28</sup> Tessenow's designs for interiors and pieces of furniture are not discussed by Weiss. This seems remarkable, considering the important role that interior and furniture designs played in Tessenow's

<sup>20</sup> Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976), 14.

<sup>21</sup> Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976), 21.

<sup>22</sup> Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976), 51-55 and 73, footnote 217.

<sup>23</sup> Heinrich Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen* (Berlin, Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1916), 47-51.

<sup>24</sup> Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976), 54-55.

<sup>25</sup> 'Wie genau die Zeichnung die Stimmung des Raumes wiedergibt, zeigt die Aufnahme von der Dresdner Jahresschau 1925, auf der sein Entwurf als Einrichtungsvorschlag ausgestellt wird'. Wangerin refers here to the photograph and the drawing made in 1921 that I showed at the beginning of this chapter. As far as I am concerned, the photograph of the 1925 interior display is an attempt to come as close as possible to the perspective drawing, and not the other way around. See: Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976), 54.

<sup>26</sup> Weiss, 'Der Wohnungsbau Heinrich Tessenow's' (1976), 106, 169.

<sup>27</sup> Weiss, 'Der Wohnungsbau Heinrich Tessenow's' (1976), 98.

<sup>28</sup> See for the house Auf dem Sand 12: Weiss, 'Der Wohnungsbau Heinrich Tessenow's' (1976), 118.

proposals for the *Kleinwohnung*, but it fits well with Weiss's approach to Tessenow's housing as a predominantly typological assignment.

Art historian Waltraud Strey, prompted by the Kunstbibliothek Berlin's acquisition of Tessenow's archive, published a catalogue of his drawings in 1981.<sup>29</sup> In this catalogue, Strey describes 267 original drawings and subdivides them into six categories.<sup>30</sup> Each drawing is described individually in detail, by first indicating respectively the subject, the original archival code, the signature, the applied technique, the paper and image size, the medium and in some cases its condition. This is followed by a detailed description of the image, often accompanied by a paragraph with some background information of the depicted project.

In her introduction, Strey connects Tessenow's works and writings mainly to the British Arts and Crafts tradition of William Morris and John Ruskin, following the traditional Pevsnerian reading of modernism's history.<sup>31</sup> In an attempt to position Tessenow vis-à-vis his contemporaries, Strey distinguishes him from a traditionalist like Paul Schultze Naumburg, but also from avant-garde rationalists such as Walter Gropius. With regards to Tessenow's perspective drawings, Strey remains surprisingly brief, with only two sentences in her introduction that merely paraphrase Gerda Wangerin's description and additionally characterize Tessenow's perspectives as subtle, loving and unpretentious.<sup>32</sup> Focusing on the drawings as 'originals', she leaves out information about the journals, magazines and books in which these drawings were published. In line with the intended purpose of the catalogue, Strey's descriptions of the drawings are often remarkably accurate and detailed, while at times they attempt to describe the atmosphere of the drawing in somewhat vague terms, suggesting an intuitive grasp of the evocative powers of the perspective drawing.<sup>33</sup> All in all, Strey's discussion of Tessenow's drawings remains within the realm of art history and doesn't explicitly address the important meaning of these drawings for Tessenow's architectural thinking.

Marco de Michelis opens his monumental monograph, published in 1991, with a chapter on the genesis of the Festspielhaus in Hellerau, Dresden (1911), thus emphasizing the central role he assigns to this work in Tessenow's oeuvre. In the second chapter, he briefly sketches how Tessenow in the early days of his career was noted for his drawing skills, but he also states that now and then doubts were raised about whether Tessenow would ever be able to transfer the excess of meticulousness in his drawings and his painterly-poetic leanings to the realization of one of his projects.<sup>34</sup> De Michelis regards the publication of *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909) as a turning point in Tessenow's career, but mainly because of its text.<sup>35</sup> *Der Wohnhausbau* opened the door, so he writes, to Tessenow's involvement in the design of workers' and lower-middle-class houses for Hellerau. In the fourth chapter of De Michelis's book, called 'Die Moderne', he describes in detail the various roles that perspective drawings play in the early years of Tessenow's career: as representations of his projects published in *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* and *Deutsche Bauhütte*, as illustrations appearing in Wilhelm Bode's books on Goethe and Weimar, and as surveys of villages and farmhouses found on his hiking tours in the German countryside and published in various journals.

However, overlooking De Michelis's monograph on Tessenow, it is clear that this author regards, similar to most other authors on Tessenow, the perspective drawing predominantly as an illustration

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<sup>29</sup> The archive, severely affected by the Second World War, had been kept by the Heinrich Tessenow Gesellschaft until 1981. See also: Strey, *Die Zeichnungen von Heinrich Tessenow* (1981).

<sup>30</sup> These categories are: housing; urban studies; monuments and tombs etc.; building surveys, plants studies etc.; and furniture designs. Strey, *Die Zeichnungen von Heinrich Tessenow* (1981), 5.

<sup>31</sup> Strey, *Die Zeichnungen von Heinrich Tessenow* (1981), 9.

<sup>32</sup> Strey, *Die Zeichnungen von Heinrich Tessenow* (1981), 11.

<sup>33</sup> F.i.: 'Die Zeichnung gehört zu jenen sanften, harmonischen Stimmungsbildern' ('The drawing belongs to those delicate, well-balanced atmospheric pictures', my translation). Strey, *Die Zeichnungen von Heinrich Tessenow* (1981), 20.

<sup>34</sup> De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 40.

<sup>35</sup> The title of the book was changed to *Wohnhausbau* with the third edition in 1927.

and a predecessor to the 'real' building. Nevertheless, De Michelis also makes an effort to incorporate most of the perspectives as 'Werke' in the catalogue that forms the second part of his book.<sup>36</sup> This catalogue is extensive and includes studies and unexecuted proposals but excludes, for reasons that are not clearly stated, Tessenow's designs for furniture and small objects such as clocks and bins.<sup>37</sup> Contrary to Strey, De Michelis does give a detailed overview of the journals, magazines and books in which Tessenow's projects (and therefore often the perspective drawings) have been published.

In his unpublished dissertation (2004), architect Gerald Adler positions Tessenow's oeuvre between the Wilhelmine architectural tradition, rooted in the nineteenth century, and the modernist architecture of the 1920s, with its radical aesthetic and technological changes.<sup>38</sup> After introducing Hegel's *Geist* and *Materie* as metaphors for 'space' and 'matter' and regarding these two concepts as major poles that define German architecture at the start of the twentieth century, Adler translates this dichotomy also to Tessenow's oeuvre, with an initial focus on the executed buildings. However, Adler also stresses the fact that realized buildings, writings and drawings are all 'media' employed by Tessenow in communicating his architecture. 'All three are, in effect, *doubly* mediated, as they require the agency of a publisher to be brought into the public realm,' he writes.<sup>39</sup> Adler also makes a number of interesting observations regarding Tessenow's drawings. In a subchapter called 'Tessenow and Representation', he introduces two long quotes from Scheffler's seminal 1917 essay 'Architekturzeichnungen'.<sup>40</sup> Following up on these quotes, he continues noticing peculiarities regarding Tessenow's drawing style and the content of his drawings, noting the 'traces' of human presence in many of the drawings and comparing the effects of Tessenow's exclusion of human figures in his drawings with their inclusion in his perspectives of domestic scenes by Swedish artist Carl Larsson.<sup>41</sup> With these valuable observations on Tessenow's drawings and the inclusion of excerpts of Karl Scheffler's 1917 article on Tessenow's drawings in the appendix, Adler has begun to unlock the important – or at least less subordinate – meaning of Tessenow's perspectives.<sup>42</sup> The author no longer prioritizes the executed buildings, but considers Tessenow's perspectives as an integral part of his oeuvre, and mainly focusses on the idiosyncrasies that his writings, drawings and buildings share. Although this way of working allows him to touch upon a number of quite important aspects in his description of some of the drawings, the more fundamental meaning and purpose of Tessenow's perspective drawings as a body of work in its own right is not specifically addressed here. At the end of his dissertation, Adler introduces a number of important notions such as domesticity, the aedicular and the everyday that characterize, in his eyes, Tessenow's architecture. Adler convincingly relates these notions to projects and writings of both Tessenow and his contemporaries. With only a few exceptions, however, Adler does not immediately relate these notions to an analysis of Tessenow's drawings.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 155-341.

<sup>37</sup> De Michelis simply writes in his introduction to the catalogue: 'Nicht aufgeführt sind dagegen Entwürfe für Möbel und andere Ausstattungsgegenstände' (Not listed, however, are designs for furniture and other furnishings). See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 155, my translation.

<sup>38</sup> Adler, 'Tessenow in Hellerau' (2004).

<sup>39</sup> Adler, 'Tessenow in Hellerau' (2004), 11.

<sup>40</sup> Adler, 'Tessenow in Hellerau' (2004), 13-14. Scheffler's essay was originally published together with Tessenow's drawings in the magazine *Kunst und Künstler*. See also Chapter 2 in this dissertation.

<sup>41</sup> Adler, 'Tessenow in Hellerau' (2004), 13-16. For Carl Larsson see: Michael Snodin and Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark (eds.) *Carl and Karin Larsson* (1997).

<sup>42</sup> Adler refers to an abbreviated version of Scheffler's article, published in Carl Georg Heise and Johannes Langner (eds.), *Karl Scheffler. Eine Auswahl seiner Essays aus Kunst und Leben (1905-1940)*. Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1969, 87-91. See for the full text: Scheffler, 'Heinrich Tessenows Zeichnungen' (1928), 43-55

<sup>43</sup> These exceptions are 'Studie für eine Dorfkirche' (1903); 'Bismarckturm' (1903), 'Zusammengebaute Einfamilienhäuser, Neu-Dörlau' (1905) that are quite briefly discussed. More attention is given to 'Wohnzimmer' (1908) See: Adler, 'Tessenow in Hellerau' (2004), 15-16.

Overlooking the most important secondary literature on Tessenow and what has been written here on his perspective drawings, a few observations can be noted. First, all authors clearly recognize the quality of Tessenow's perspectives: they feature prominently on the cover and in abundance throughout the books, as is the case with the publications by De Michelis and by Wangerin and Weiss. Some of the drawings are discussed in detail, for instance in Adler's dissertation, or they literally form the core of the publication, as with Strey's catalogue. However, besides making some quite interesting observations, none of these publications systematically link Tessenow's perspective drawings with the development of his architectural thinking. For a thorough understanding of this particular role of Tessenow's perspectives, it is therefore necessary to take a closer and more systematic look at these drawings, no longer regarding them as illustrations to schemes that are predominantly described by plan drawings, but as projects in their own rights.

### **Detached perspectives: research questions and methodological approaches**

In the secondary literature on Tessenow, the important interaction in his oeuvre between drawing, building and writing has been recognized.<sup>44</sup> However, this interaction in itself does not give insight into the specific role of each of these activities for the development of Tessenow's architectural thinking. It is at this point that one can detect a serious gap in the hitherto available knowledge of Tessenow's perspective drawings as both tools and representations of this thinking. A number of questions can be asked here. What kind of drawings are these perspectives? Are they predominantly sketches, preparing the architectural ideas that would end up in orthogonal plan drawings? Or are they carefully composed presentation drawings, created after the completion of the plan drawings to communicate with laymen? These questions thus lead to the essential research questions: What is the meaning of the perspectives created by Tessenow between 1901 and 1926, and what role did they play in the development of his architectural thinking? And how did these drawings constitute the core of Tessenow's visual theory of architecture?

In order to obtain more insight into the complex and layered meaning of Tessenow's perspectives, the drawings first needed to be collected. To find the perspective drawings that Tessenow published between 1901 and 1926, a number of sources have been consulted. The first source was formed by the Heinrich Tessenow Archiv of the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin. Although many of Tessenow's drawings did not survive the Second World War, a total of 267 of his original drawings can be found here, of which approximately 145 perspectives.<sup>45</sup> More important for my investigation, however, has been the large collection of photocopies of articles by (and on) Tessenow with reproductions of his drawings from the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>46</sup> These photocopies formed an important source in retracing the journals and magazines in which Tessenow's drawings had been published and also provided some insight into their publishing context.<sup>47</sup> It is important to realize that for my investigation, the value of the original drawing was limited, since my analyses focused on the content and drawing style of the drawings, including their perspectival composition, line thickness, line type, and the graphical layout of the image as a whole. The reproduction of the perspective drawing, appearing in various journals and magazines in the early decades of the twentieth century, was in that regard as valuable as the original, especially since most of Tessenow's perspectives were line drawings and therefore quite suitable for reproduction. Besides that, it should also be noted that not the original drawing but the reproduction actually played a role in the dissemination of Tessenow's

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<sup>44</sup> See for instance Adler, 'Tessenow in Hellerau' (2004), 11-16.

<sup>45</sup> The archive was handed over by the Heinrich-Tessenow-Gesellschaft to the Kunstbibliothek Berlin and the original drawings have been listed in a partly illustrated catalogue. See: Strey, *Die Zeichnungen von Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 7.

<sup>46</sup> These photocopies were made by Otto Kindt, a former student and employee of Tessenow, and belonged to the archive of the Heinrich Tessenow Gesellschaft. Information provided by Martin Boesch in a conversation we had in August 2020.

<sup>47</sup> Important information in this regard can also be found in the catalogue raisonné made by De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 156-341 and in Wangerin, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1976), 157-159.

ideas. The photocopies in the archive have pointed to volumes of journals and magazines in libraries and archives that subsequently have been consulted to find the reproductions of Tessenow's perspective drawings. These drawings have been photographed and collected in a spreadsheet, also containing the drawing's title, date and the names of the magazines, journals or books in which they first appeared.<sup>48</sup>

Besides his perspective drawings, Tessenow's writings have also been taken into consideration in the investigation that forms the core of this dissertation. Understandably, giving the aforementioned important role of his perspective drawing as a form of tacit knowledge, Tessenow's written reflections and ideas do not cover all of his architectural thinking. To fill in these lacunae, and also to provide some context for his writings, I have complemented his written statements with texts by contemporaries, found in various books and articles published mainly between 1890 and 1920, that constitute part of the broader German discourse on art, architecture and design. This broad discourse was highly dispersed, predominantly taking place in the rapidly developing printed media and images played an increasingly important role here, due to the increase in reproduction quality at the beginning of the twentieth century. I have therefore looked more closely at the publishing context of Tessenow's perspective drawings, namely the journals and magazines related to architecture and building in which his articles were published, and at his own books. The role of his perspective drawings in two specific journals, *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* and *Deutsche Bauhütte*, have been investigated in more detail. Both journals offered a publishing platform for the young Tessenow but in each of these two cases the interaction between the published drawings and the reader's response worked differently. Also three of his books, *Zimmermannsarbeiten* (1907); *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909) and *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916) have been analysed on the character and role of the perspectives in these publications. Finally, I have also taken a closer look at one of the few contemporary articles on Tessenow's drawings by Karl Scheffler (1917). Although mainly written to support Tessenow's career, the article nevertheless offers a precise interpretation and evaluation of his drawings.

After having given an impression of the publishing context of Tessenow's perspectives, a fresh methodological approach to Tessenow's oeuvre has been introduced here to obtain more insight into the complex and layered meaning of these drawings. This approach consists of three subsequent steps. First of all, the perspectives are detached from their immediate context, both regarding the projects that they depict and the media in which they appeared. At the same time, these drawings are also extricated from the chronological order in which they appeared. Applying this multifaceted strategy of detachment seems appropriate for two reasons. First of all, Tessenow's perspectives show a remarkable consistency during the first quarter of the twentieth century.<sup>49</sup> Already early in his career, a number of fixed subjects and ways of drawing emerge that in the subsequent 20 years remain seemingly unchanged, making Tessenow's perspective drawings quite recognizable as being his. The second reason for looking at these drawings as individual works is the fact that they are also subjected to an ongoing migration. Tessenow not only transferred his perspectives from one journal to another and ultimately to his own books, but often changed their title or even adjusted the drawings. The fact that he continuously reused and republished his drawings indicates, in my view, their importance as individual works that contribute to the development of his architectural thinking. Their detachedness, initiated by Tessenow himself, has also encouraged me to treat these drawings as independent projects, disregarding (to a certain extent) the chronological order of their publication, the precise occasions and conditions under which they originated and their publishing

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<sup>48</sup> See appendix.

<sup>49</sup> In the very first years of his career Tessenow experiments with his drawing style under the influence of the so-called *Wagner Schule*. See also Chapter 1.

context. Approaching these drawings as relatively independent works made it possible to rearrange and regroup them to allow for a theme-based, systematic investigation.

This introduces the second step in my methodological approach. Based on both the content of these drawings and on the main themes in Tessenow's own writings, the more than 200 perspective drawings were now subdivided and studied accordingly in three main thematic categories. The first of these categories has been labelled *Haus* (house), pertaining to the theme of the house, in its broad meaning of a place where one dwells. It incorporates a variety of dwellings and settings, ranging from the detached house in a landscape to the more urban multifamily apartments and all the stages between these two house types. A second thematic category is formed by *Raum* (room or space) and relates to both the room as such and to the various other spatial configurations that can be found in Tessenow's work, including the courtyard but also peripheral elements such as *Lauben* (arbours) and pergolas. The third of the three thematic categories applies to the *Sache* (thing or object). To this category belong both the various pieces of furniture in the interiors and the smaller loose furnishings, but also building elements such as doors, windows and stairs, found both outside and inside the house.

Landscape, urban setting, architecture, but also interior design and furniture design are equally important and often strongly related in Tessenow's drawings. The three categories *Haus*, *Raum* and *Sache* are both specific enough to cover particular scales and fields, but also broad enough to allow a certain merging from one category into another. Nevertheless, rearranging the perspectives into these three categories seriously helped to get an insight into the gradual development of Tessenow's architectural thinking related to each of these categories. While the choice of these three categories mainly follows from the content of Tessenow's drawings, the terms to describe them are taken from writings by Tessenow and his contemporaries. The word *Haus* features prominently in two of his main publications (*Der Wohnhausbau* and *Hausbau und dergleichen*) and *Raum* in its most pragmatic meaning of 'room' appears, for instance, in the main text of *Der Wohnhausbau* as a subtitle of one of its short chapters (*Die einzelnen Räume der Kleinwohnung*),<sup>50</sup> while the word *Sache* is hardly used by Tessenow. The three terms, however, also imply a broader connotation that goes beyond their immediate meaning. One only needs to think of the adjectives *häuslich* (domestic), *räumlich* (spatial) and *sachlich* (matter-of-fact-like) that gained an important meaning in the German language, especially in relation to architecture and design, in the first decades of the twentieth century.<sup>51</sup>

After having subdivided the perspectives into three categories, the introduction of subcategories helped to distinguish the different variants. However, a third step in my methodological approach was needed to relate the drawings to the development of Tessenow's architectural thinking. Given the absence of an all-encompassing design method or theory written down in his books or articles, the investigation has relied on what Tessenow and some of his contemporaries have formulated in various writings.<sup>52</sup> Out of these writings it was possible to distil a number of notions, described here as 'epistemic', in the sense that they not only define Tessenow's architectural approach, but effectively relate to a broader German architecture culture emerging at the start of the twentieth century. The three main epistemic notions thus distilled from the writings by Tessenow and some of his contemporaries are *Empfindung* (sensibility), *Abstraktion* (abstraction) and *Gewöhnlichkeit* (ordinariness). The use and meaning of these German terms will be illuminated further on.

As a last step in my methodological approach, these three notions are now made to intersect with the various subcategories found in the main categories *Haus*, *Raum* and *Sache*. Clearly, the heterogeneous character of the set of notions that we introduced above prevents a strict and

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<sup>50</sup> Theodor Böll (ed.) *Heinrich Tessenow, Wohnhausbau. Heinrich Tessenow Gesamtausgabe, Band 1* (Weimar & Rostock: Grünberg Verlag, 2008), 65.

<sup>51</sup> Theodor Böll (ed.) *Heinrich Tessenow, Hausbau und dergleichen. Heinrich Tessenow Gesamtausgabe, Band 2* (Weimar & Rostock: Grünberg Verlag, 2011).

<sup>52</sup> Most important in this respect has been Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916)

undisputed subdivision of the perspective drawings into piles of three. While in most drawings a *mélange* of the three notions is visible, it has nevertheless been possible to select perspective drawings in each subcategory in which one of the notions dominates. These selected perspectives are then subjected to a comparative iconographic architectural analysis.<sup>53</sup> Concerning the specific nature of the analysis applied here, it is important to realize that the investigated drawings are *architectural* perspective drawings and that both the architectural character of these drawings and the independent nature of each drawing has defined to a large extent the architectural analysis as a final step in my methodological approach. Following a distinction made by art historian Carl Linfert, between the artistic and the architectural perspective drawing, I acknowledge the fact that in the iconographic analysis of an architectural perspective the representation of the building, space or object as a complete entity will always play a role, even though the perspective drawing, by taking a specific view from a specific viewpoint, can only show a fragment of the work.<sup>54</sup> In order to nuance this inherent dichotomy of the architectural perspective, we have to keep in mind that it does not show a random image from a random viewpoint, but rather a highly specific view that either summarizes the main characteristic of a scheme or emphasizes a specific element, or series of elements, that is considered important. Consequently, the analyses of Tessenow's drawings will predominantly focus on architectural aspects, such as the formal composition of façades, the typological organization of the building or space, and the building structure. Compared with the analysis of architectural drawings, such as floorplans, sections and elevations, the analysis of a perspective drawing brings in a broader set of architectural aspects related to the depicted artefact or space, such as the immediate setting (landscape or town), the indication of spatial delineations or the material expression.<sup>55</sup>

Characteristic for the analyses applied here is their comparative nature: three perspective drawings with a similar subject are shown on one page and juxtaposed. By repeatedly comparing perspective drawings that share a similar content but that are quite different in appearance, the specific character of each drawing will become more clear. The method of comparison makes it possible to both reveal general patterns and qualities related to the subject depicted in the different drawings beyond the individual case and at the same time distinguish a number of specific notions related to the visual perception of each individual drawing.<sup>56</sup> In addition, the comparative analysis addresses both the subject of the drawing (*what* is drawn) and the drawing technique (*how* it is drawn).<sup>57</sup> Together, these analyses form the basis of a series of speculative reconstructions of Tessenow's inquiries into a number of relevant topics, related to what basically constitutes the main subject of his work: the *Kleinwohnung*.

## Overview: the structure of this dissertation

After the introduction, the first chapter will sketch out the role of the perspective drawing, not only in Tessenow's professional career, but also in the German architecture culture in which he operated. Both the changes in the nature of the perspective drawing in German architectural practice and the dissemination of these drawings through the rapidly developing architecture journals and magazines

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<sup>53</sup> For a description of iconographic analyses in art history, see: Donald Preziosi (ed.), *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 217-218.

<sup>54</sup> Linfert, 'Die Grundlagen der Architekturzeichnung' (1931), 141-149.

<sup>55</sup> See also Blomfield, *Architectural Drawing and Draughtsmen* (1912), 8.

<sup>56</sup> The comparative analysis is not uncommon in the history of art history: Wölfflin, for instance, builds his theory of art on a comparative analysis of paintings, pieces of sculpture or architectural objects in different styles. See: Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915). For a contemporary use of this method, see: Barnett, Sylvan. *A Short Guide to Writing About Art*. (Boston: Pearson, 2008).

<sup>57</sup> It should be noted here that 'drawing style' is regarded here not simply as a particular way of drawing, focusing on Tessenow's more or less elegant use of lines, dots and dashes. When 'drawing style' is used here in relation to Tessenow's perspectives, it addresses the full idiom visible in these drawings, encompassing among other things the composition and framing of the drawing and its particular perspectival construction.



will be looked at. Emerging theoretical reflections on this type of drawing in the 1920s and 1930s, embedded in the same architecture culture, will also be highlighted.

The second chapter will deal with the publishing context in which Tessenow's perspective drawings appeared, namely the journals and magazines related to architecture as well as his own books. The role of his drawings in two specific journals, *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* and *Deutsche Bauhütte*, will be further investigated in detail. Both journals offered a publishing platform for the young Tessenow, but the interaction between the published drawings and the readers worked in very different ways. Three of his books, *Zimmermannsarbeiten* (1907), *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909) and *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916), will be analysed on the role that the perspective drawings fulfilled here and on the specific character of the drawings in each of these publications. To this end, a publication on Tessenow's drawings, written by Karl Scheffler (1917) will also be studied. Clearly written to support Tessenow's career, the article nevertheless offers a precise interpretation and evaluation of his drawings.

In Chapter 3, *Haus* is introduced as the first of the three thematic categories. A central place is given here to the question how both the *bürgerliche Wohnhaus* (middle class house), as a reincarnated eighteenth-century tradition, and the tradition of the German *Bauernhaus* (farmhouse) affect the modern *Kleinwohnung*, the main subject of most of Tessenow's work in the first decades of the twentieth century. Looking at the perspectives brought together here under the heading of *Haus*, is it possible to distinguish a development, and if so, how does this development relate to the notions *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit*?

Chapter 4 focuses on the category of *Raum*. Besides the room as an interior space, the larger outdoor spaces and a series of smaller peripheral spaces that constitute thresholds between outside and inside will also be looked at in this chapter. What are the most important changes in the depiction of all these spaces and how are these depictions related to the previously mentioned epistemic notions?

In Chapter 5, the category of *Sache* forms the main subject. Containing both objects such as furniture, for instance chairs and tables, but also various building elements such as doors, windows and dormers, this category offers a particular response to modernity, where a tradition of *bürgerliche Gewerblichkeit* (middle-class craft industry) merges with a strong *bäuerliche* (farming) tradition of building and furniture making. How do Tessenow's perspective drawings address the single *Sache* and what happens in these drawings when various *Sachen* come together in a room or in the façade of a house?

The final chapter provides a series of conclusions. Returning to the main research question on the meaning of Tessenow's perspectives, and in particular their role in the development of his architectural thinking, the theoretical significance of these drawings will be discussed here. As a consequence, out of the various facets that have described fragments of the notions *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit* that we have encountered in the previous chapters, more conclusive definitions of each of these notions are formulated. Finally, departing from my investigations of Tessenow's perspective drawings, I will also briefly touch upon the relevance and meaning of perspective hand drawings for contemporary architectural practice and education.



# 1

Tessenow's perspectives as part of German architectural practice at the beginning of the twentieth century

When investigating the important role of the perspective drawing in Tessenow's career, some additional biographical information on this architect is helpful.<sup>58</sup> If we look at Tessenow's early steps as a student and young architect, it is possible to distinguish three main threads in his professional development, namely a training as a carpenter by his father, an educational training in vocational schools and a few semesters at university, and an ongoing self-education.<sup>59</sup> The first thread of his development is formed by his training as a carpenter. At the age of 17, Tessenow started working in his father's joinery workshop for two years after being forced by pleurisy to leave a teacher training institute.<sup>60</sup> The vocational instruction he received from his father not only influenced both his thinking and work, but also played a role in the way he positioned himself later vis à vis his colleagues. In this phase of his career, perspective drawing most likely will not have played a substantial role. Nevertheless, one of his first publications, titled *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, although clearly reflecting his background in the craft of carpentry, is basically a collection of drawings. In this book, Tessenow's explicit focus on building elements such as arbours, dormers and stairs foreshadows a lasting interest in smaller building elements and their construction.

After this training as a carpenter, another thread in his evolution as architect consists of the somewhat fragmentary education he received at various schools. Unlike some of his close colleagues, such as Fritz Schumacher, Hermann Muthesius and Richard Riemerschmid, Tessenow lacked a full academic education.<sup>61</sup> After having attended three semesters of training at the Bauschule (building school) in Mecklenburg and the Baugewerbeschule (building craft school) in Leipzig, he spent three semesters as an auditor at the Technische Hochschule in Munich in the years 1900 and 1901.<sup>62</sup> Here he studied under, among others, Friedrich von Thiersch, known for his skills in perspective drawing.<sup>63</sup> Not having followed a pre-academic secondary school such as a *Gymnasium* (grammar school), it became impossible for Tessenow to obtain an academic diploma, something that, according to him, seriously obstructed his career prospects.<sup>64</sup> Therefore self-education, the third and perhaps most substantial thread in his development as a practicing architect, became quite important. Tessenow's drawings would play a major role in the way he worked on his career, both as an employee in architect's offices and in the early years of his own practice. His experience as an employee in the office of Munich-based architect Martin Dülfer, from 1901 to 1902, is regarded by Tessenow as the most formative experience in his career. When setting up his own practice, he often combined working on a limited number of commissions with a teaching job. At the same time, he managed to

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<sup>58</sup> For a concise overview of Tessenow's life and career, see: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 343-346; for an overview of his oeuvre and writings, see: Wangerin and Weiss, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1976), 155-164

<sup>59</sup> This tripartite character of Tessenow's development as an architect is first noted by Marco de Michelis. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 94

<sup>60</sup> Wangerin, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1976), 14, 155

<sup>61</sup> Frank, *Fritz Schumacher* (2020), 314

<sup>62</sup> See also: Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976), 14. Durth mentions that not being educated at a *Gymnasium*, a grammar-like secondary school, hindered Tessenow in his academic education. See: Durth, *Deutsche Architekten* (2001), 57

<sup>63</sup> See: Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), *Friedrich von Thiersch. Ein Münchner Architekt des Späthistorismus 1852-1921*. München: Karl M. Lipp, 1977, 35-36

<sup>64</sup> Gerda Wangerin quotes from Fritz Schumacher, *Stufen des Lebens. Erinnerungen eines Baumeisters* (3. Auflage), Stuttgart, 1949, p. 526, note 140a. See: Wangerin, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1976), 15

get his perspective drawings published in architecture journals in these early years, something that substantially contributed, I would like to argue here, to his development as an architect.<sup>65</sup>

Tessenow's development as an architect was not self-evident. He considered himself a *Kleinstädter* (small-town man) and struggled with the worldly character of the architect's profession: 'I . . . realized more and more that the profession of architect in general has to be seen as a metropolitan profession and thus requires all kinds of special metropolitan personal qualities, of which I only possessed a few inklings at best'.<sup>66</sup> Tessenow compensated this lack of special 'metropolitan personal qualities' with both a cultivation of his craft-man's background and with his drawing skills. At the same time, the start of his career in the early twentieth century coincided with the rise of new cultural elites in Germany that had developed a more general distrust in the academic architect. This distrust was related to both a growing fatigue with historicism and academism in architecture, represented in the various neo-styles, and a continuous anxiety for what was supposed to become the style of a new age.<sup>67</sup> The influential art- and architecture critic Karl Scheffler, who became a strong supporter of Tessenow, devoted one of the chapters of his 1908 book *Moderne Baukunst* to 'Akademische Baukunst' (academic architecture) in which he addressed the academic architect as follows:

Anyone who wants to be honoured rapidly and comfortably and who wants to show himself to his surroundings with the glory of ideal mastery, chooses the academic path. In this way he is sure to avoid failure and to obtain rewarding commissions. Complete disregard for modern needs, a total absorption of school wisdom and historical formulas, disdainful arrogance in the face of all youthful vigour: these are the characteristics of those who occupy almost all the university chairs today, who sit on permanent chairs in the building offices of the government and set the tone in public life.<sup>68</sup>

The rise of these strong anti-academic tendencies with quite deep roots in German culture was advantageous for Tessenow.<sup>69</sup> While he initially struggled to overcome his academic deficiencies, he soon discovered that his drawing talent was actually far more valuable than any academic training. Especially his skills in making perspective drawings gave him the key to access the rich and flourishing German architecture culture of the early twentieth century.

When looking at the many job changes and moves between German towns in the first years of Tessenow's career, one gets the impression that the young architect was driven by a strong impatience and restlessness. In 1902 and 1903, his early teaching positions at vocational schools in the minor towns of Sternberg and Lüchow coincided with the start of his own practice and the first

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<sup>65</sup> Dülfer, an important Jugendstil architect based in Munich, designed a number of theatres in Germany, but also residential buildings and interiors. See: Dieter Klein, *Martin Dülfer: Wegbereiter der deutschen Jugendstilarchitektur*. München: Lipp Verlag, 1981

<sup>66</sup> 'Ich erkannte doch auch mehr und mehr, daß der Beruf des Architekten im allgemeinen als ein eigentlich großstädtischer Beruf zu gelten hat und so allerlei speziell großstädtliche persönliche Eigenschaften erfordert, von denen ich bestenfalls immer nur andeutungsweise einiges besaß'. Quoted from the career history, written by Tessenow himself, in the Tessenow Archive in Berlin (my translation). See: Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976), 14

<sup>67</sup> See for instance: Werner Durth and Paul Sigel. *Baukultur: Spiegel gesellschaftlichen Wandels*. Berlin: jovis Verlag, 2009

<sup>68</sup> 'Wer bequem und rasch zu Ehren kommen und sich mit der Glorie idealer Meisterlichkeit umkleidet seiner Umgebung zeigen will, wählt den akademischen Weg. So ist er sicher, nicht zu straucheln und zu lohnenden Aufträgen zu kommen. Vollständige Missachtung moderner Bedürfnisse, völliges Aufgehen in Schulweisheit und historischem Formelkram, ekle Dünkelhaftigkeit gegenüber aller jungen Kraft: das sind charakteristische Merkmale Jener, die heute fast alle Lehrstühle besetzt halten, in der Baubureaus ser Regierung auf festen Stühlen sitzen und den Ton im öffentlichen Leben angeben.' See: Scheffler, *Moderne Baukunst* (1908), 105. (my translation)

<sup>69</sup> This is reflected in the enormous popularity of the anonymous publication *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, 1890, accredited to Julius Langbehn. See for the context of this publication: Nipperdey, Thomas. *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918*. 2. Bd, Machtstaat Von Der Demokratie. München: Beck, 1998, 289-311

publications of his drawings in relatively unknown journals.<sup>70</sup> Through the publication of these drawings he got in touch with people like Paul Schultze-Naumburg, who in 1904 asked him to join as a teacher in the Saalecker Workshops. Initially concurring with Schultze-Naumburg's reformist ideas, Tessenow moved to Saaleck, a small village near Leipzig, but left as early as 1905 to settle in Trier. There he led a new Baugewerbeschule and worked as a practicing architect, building his first substantial project.<sup>71</sup> All these events in the first five years of his career illustrate how his activities as professional architect and teacher remained somewhat scattered, while the ongoing publication of his perspective drawings in an increasing number of journals and books formed a consistent red thread that strengthened his growing reputation in Germany.

In 1909, an important step in his career followed from an invitation by his former employer Martin Dülfer who, as newly appointed professor at the Technische Hochschule in Dresden, asked Tessenow to become his assistant. Accepting the invitation, his move to this established cultural city also formed an entry to a much more ambitious cultural and professional environment. In the same year, the publication of his book *Der Wohnhausbau* marked the beginning of one of the high points of his career.<sup>72</sup>

In the years that follow, Tessenow is asked to participate as one of the architects, along with Richard Riemerschmid and Hermann Muthesius, to design housing projects in the new garden city of Hellerau, one of the most discussed and prestigious reformist initiatives in Germany at that time.<sup>73</sup> His close contacts with Karl Schmidt, owner of the furniture factory Deutsche Werkstätten and initiator of the garden city of Hellerau, also resulted in Tessenow designing a substantial number of pieces of furniture for this firm.<sup>74</sup> Also in 1910, he joined the newly established Bund Deutscher Architekten, marking his official entry into the profession, while the same year saw him become a contributor to the prestigious reformist art magazine *Kunstwart*, both events illustrating his accession to the forefront of German culture.<sup>75</sup> On top of this, Tessenow also received the commission for designing the prestigious Jaques-Dalcroze Institute, a revolutionary training institute and dance school in Hellerau.<sup>76</sup> Shortly after the opening of this remarkable building in 1912, he was asked to become a professor at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna, in those days one of the true centres of modern architecture.<sup>77</sup> The years just before the outbreak of the First World War thus form one of the high points of Tessenow's professional career, with a great number of buildings under construction, many of his designs for furniture pieces being produced by the Deutsche Werkstätten in Hellerau, and a fully established position in the newly developing German architecture culture.

His stay in Vienna marked an important 'intermezzo' in his career, also since his years in the Austrian capital partly coincided with the First World War. As a self-proclaimed small-town man, Tessenow

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<sup>70</sup> Of his actual first executed projects in Sternberg in 1902/1903, a pension and a villa, not much information exists. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 156

<sup>71</sup> A project for housing for 12 employees of the municipal electricity company in Trier. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 97, 180-181 and Weiss, 'Der Wohnungsbau Heinrich Tessenows' (1976), 104-105, 186-187

<sup>72</sup> Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909)

<sup>73</sup> Schinker, *Die Gartenstadt Hellerau* (2013)

<sup>74</sup> Wangerin, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1976), 52-54

<sup>75</sup> For the context in which *Kunstwart* operated, see: Nipperdey, Thomas. *Deutsche Geschichte, 1866-1918. Bd. 1, Arbeitswelt Und Bürgergeist. Sonderausgabe*. München: Beck, 1998, 797-811

<sup>76</sup> See for an extensive description of the development of this project: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 13-39 and Wangerin, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1976), 25-31

<sup>77</sup> See: Lil Helle Thomas, "Stimmung in Der Architektur Der Wiener Moderne : Josef Hoffmann Und Adolf Loos." PhD diss., (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2017)

was now exposed to the metropolitan culture that he considered so essential for the architectural profession: he met members of the Viennese culture scene, including Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos, Josef Hoffmann, Gustav Klimt, Alma Mahler and Johannes Itten.<sup>78</sup> These meetings in Vienna did not so much change Tessenow's view on architecture; he mainly seemed to have used the distance to Germany and the sudden interruption of his practice caused by the war to reflect not only on his own work, but on fundamental issues of architectural design. This reflection speaks from the text of his 1916 publication *Hausbau und dergleichen*, but even more from the perspective drawings that he selected for the image section of this book.<sup>79</sup> The devastating outcome of the First World War and the subsequent consequences for German society in the following years had a strong effect on Tessenow's work. In the years after the war he decided to return to Hellerau, where he became involved in setting up a reformist educational *Handwerkergemeinde* (craftsmen community) and worked on some non-executed housing proposals for *Kriegersheimstätten* (housing for veterans).<sup>80</sup> His more general philosophical contemplations on what he regarded as the ideal community can be found in his 1919 publication *Handwerk und Kleinstadt*.<sup>81</sup>

It is important to note that for Tessenow, the role of the perspective drawings gradually started to diminish after the First World War, while at the same time the number of building commissions assigned to him seemed to rise again.<sup>82</sup> This temporary increase in commissions, however, did not make the flow of work so continuous and substantial that he was able to build up a prosperous practice.<sup>83</sup> In the mid-1920s, Tessenow accepted the invitation to fill one of the architecture Chairs at the Technische Hochschule in Berlin. His move to *Großstadt* Berlin marked an important turning point. He became involved in many competitions and also saw a substantial number of buildings realized.<sup>84</sup> The role of his perspective drawings created after 1926 changed, and in the rare publications on his work after 1926 drawings are more and more often replaced by photographs.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> There is little information about these contacts and mutual exchanges of ideas. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950*, 100-106

<sup>79</sup> De Michelis gives an extensive summary of the text of this publication. For an analysis of Tessenow's perspective drawings in this book, see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

<sup>80</sup> See Weiss, 'Der Wohnungsbau Heinrich Tessenow' (1976), 126-127; De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950*, 81, 252-257

<sup>81</sup> Heinrich Tessenow, *Handwerk und Kleinstadt* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1919). In this book, only illustrated with a few diagrams, Tessenow builds on the ideas of critics of metropolitan culture, such as Langbehn and Riehl, and discusses the effects on modern society. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950*, 75-77. See also: Theodor Böll, (ed.) *Heinrich Tessenow. Handwerk und Kleinstadt. Heinrich Tessenow Gesamtausgabe, Band 3* (Weimar & Rostock: Grünberg Verlag, 2013)

<sup>82</sup> Executed projects in the years 1919-1926 are the Kleinsiedlung "Am Gruneberg" (1920-1922), the Siedlung "Am Gries" (1921-1922) and the Siedlung Bahnhofstraße (1922-1923), all in Pößneck; the Kleinsiedlung Pillnitzerweg or "D-Zug" in Hellerau (1922); a *Gutsherrenhaus* in Büssow, today named Buszow, Poland (ca. 1920); Siedlung Rannersdorf in Vienna (1921-1924); a railway-bridge in Meißen (1924-1925); the Landesschule in Klotzsche (1925-1927) and various temporary pavilions and exhibitions in Dresden and Berlin (1925-1926).

<sup>83</sup> See De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow*, 128-132

<sup>84</sup> As an example, there are competition entries for vocational schools in Berlin-Charlottenburg; a school complex in Berlin-Wedding; a music academy in Berlin-Charlottenburg. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950* (1991), 286-288, 302. The most important buildings finished in the 1920s are: a secondary school in Kassel (1927-1930); the interior of a municipal swimming-pool in Berlin-Mitte (1927-1930); some housing projects as part of a *Siedlung* in Berlin-Zehlendorf (1927-1928); the refurbishment of Schinkel's Neue Wache into a war memorial (1930-1931) and his own house in Berlin-Zehlendorf (1930). See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 280-284, 293-297, 303-309, 310-311

<sup>85</sup> Examples of 'presentation-drawings' are the perspectives of a church design in Karlshafen made in 1929-1930. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 300-301. The most important publications on Tessenow's work immediately after 1926 are: Karl Scheffler, 'Neue Arbeiten von Heinrich Tessenow'. *Kunst und Künstler* XXIV, Hft 2 (1926), 54-60 and Karl Scheffler, 'Heinrich Tessenow'. *Kunst und Künstler* XXVI, Nr 2 (1928), 43-55

The 1930s saw dramatic political developments in Germany, with an increase in the powers and influence of the fascist NSDAP.<sup>86</sup> Tessenow found himself trapped between two political sides. On the one side there was his membership of Der Ring, the politically leftish-oriented group of modernist architects, and his acquaintanceship with people like Jewish publisher Bruno Cassirer; on the other side were his friendship with architect Paul Schmitthenner, party member and official in the NSDAP, and the extreme right orientation of a number of his students, with Albert Speer as the most famous of them.<sup>87</sup> Tessenow's practice faced a serious crisis, caused by both the disastrous economic situation; by conflicts with his colleagues at the Technische Hochschule Berlin<sup>88</sup> and by controversies in the press around a number of his projects.<sup>89</sup> It is also in these years that Tessenow deliberately stopped designing interiors and pieces of furniture.<sup>90</sup> Tessenow's lack of commissions in the 1930s and the dawn of the Second World War worsened the situation for his practice: with the aid of Albert Speer, who in 1934 had become the most important architect for the new regime, he was able to participate in a number of competitions and designs for monuments and buildings. While still relying on his skills in perspective drawing, the context and the impact of Tessenow's drawings had now dramatically changed.<sup>91</sup>

In hindsight, Tessenow's move to Berlin marked a turning point regarding his drawings. This doesn't necessarily mean that Tessenow made fewer drawings after 1926 or that the quality of these later drawings decreased. However, since they were no longer published as widely as before, the drawings no longer played an important role in the dissemination of his ideas and no longer contributed to an ongoing architectural debate. This reinforces the assumption that, in the first quarter of the twentieth century, his architectural perspective drawings played their most important role as a discursive tool, both within his practice and in the printed media. Therefore, in this dissertation the focus is on the perspective drawings from the early, pre-Berlin years.

### **Arguing through drawings: The role of perspectives in German architectural practice and media around 1900**

The fact that his perspective drawings lent Tessenow access to both a promising career and to German architecture culture in general, depended to a large extent on two parallel developments at the turn of the century. The first of these developments concerns the changing nature of the perspective drawing in architectural practice, while the other development has to do with the rapid expansion of the printed media that focussed on architecture and design.

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<sup>86</sup> Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei. See also: Hans-Ulrich Thamer, *Die NSDAP von der Gründung bis zum Ende des Dritten Reiches*, München: ZpB, 2021

<sup>87</sup> For *Der Ring* see: Dietmar Claus, 'Der Ring – eine Elite im Aufbruch' *Berlinische Monatschrift*, Hft 7, 1996, 92-95; for Cassirer see: Harry Nutt, *Bruno Cassirer*. (Berlin: Stapp, 1989); for Schmitthenner see: Wolfgang Voigt and Hartmut Frank. *Paul Schmitthenner. Architekt der gebauten Form*. (Berlin: Wasmuth GmbH, 2021). See for a detailed description of this phase of his career: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 128-153 and Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976), 56-77

<sup>88</sup> Especially with Hans Poelzig, Emil Rüster and Erich Blunck. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 128 and Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976),

<sup>89</sup> This is the case with the GAGFAH-Siedlung in Berlin-Zehlendorf; Stadtbad Mitte in Berlin and the refurbishment of the Neue Wache, also in Berlin. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 128

<sup>90</sup> Wangerin, 'Heinrich Tessenow' (1976), 55

<sup>91</sup> The most interesting perspective drawings in these years are made for the 'Kraft durch Freude-Seebad' competition (1936) and a number of well-elaborated urban plans, both during the Second World War and for the reconstruction after the war. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 138-139 and 319-321

At the end of the nineteenth century, perspective drawings were mainly used by architecture offices to present a project as realistically as possible.<sup>92</sup> In order to serve clients asking for an artistic depiction of their project, or to impress juries in architectural competitions, these elaborate architectural perspectives, displaying rich drawing and watercolour skills, had developed into a highly naturalistic form of representation, associated primarily with French Beaux-Arts education. These impressive perspective drawings summarized the project by showing both its volumetric organization, its appearance and its immediate surroundings, and for that reason the art and architecture critic Karl Scheffler referred to these drawings as *Landschaftsbilder* or prospects.<sup>93</sup> One of the most renowned German architects with particular skills in creating these naturalistic *prospect*-perspectives was the Munich-based Friedrich von Thiersch, professor at the local Polytechnic University. He attracted students from all over Germany, including a young Tessenow during his study year in Munich in 1900-1901.<sup>94</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, the prospect-perspective was already facing serious competition from the rapid developments in the technology of photography and its reproduction in the printed media.<sup>95</sup> In order to respond to these developments, the architectural perspective as a presentation drawing had begun to move away from an ever-increasing naturalism. In essence, two different responses to the increasingly improved photographic reproduction then gained ground in German architectural practice, namely the carefully chosen spontaneous perspectival hand sketch and the carefully composed and graphically refined highly artificial perspective.<sup>96</sup>

The spontaneous hand sketch as a form of presentation drawing gained some popularity in German architecture culture at the very end of the nineteenth century. While the prospect-like perspective had gradually developed into a highly illusionistic but rather impersonal drawing, often created by specialized firms, the sketchy perspective offered the opposite, showing both the personality of the author and reflecting the spontaneity of the idea. Especially the personal character of the sketch, the fact that it shows the 'hand' of the architect in an immediate way, was appreciated in the 1890s by a young generation of German architects who began to use this sketchy way of drawing to present their projects. Architects such as Otto Rieth, Theodor Fischer and Wilhelm Rettig, all working in the office of successful architect Paul Wallot, promoted sketch-like presentations made in a personal drawing style.<sup>97</sup> In particular Otto Rieth became popular among colleagues with his highly personal drawing style, freely using the ink pen for outlines and abandoning detailed hatching and colour, thus suggesting a natural spontaneity that countered the impressive naturalism of the prospect-like perspectives.<sup>98</sup> This popularity did not only follow from his sketchy drawing technique, but was also related to the loose or eclectic use of historical forms and ornaments in the designs depicted in these sketches. In Rieth's perspectives, blank surfaces were contrasted with densely scribbled ornaments,

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<sup>92</sup> See: Winfried Nerdinger and Florian Zimmermann (eds.), *Die Architekturzeichnung. Vom barocken Idealplan zur Axonometrie. Zeichnungen aus der Architektursammlung der Technischen Universität München*. (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1986), 13. See with regards to architectural perspectives in general also Mario Carpo and Frédérique Lemerle (eds.) *Perspective, Projections and Design: Technologies of Architectural Representation*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2008) and in particular the contribution by Alice Thomine-Berrada, 'Pictorial Versus Intellectual Representation : Teaching Perspective to Architectural Students at the École Des Beaux-Arts in Paris (1824-1900).' In: *Perspective, Projections and Design*, ed. by Mario Carpo and Frédérique Lemerle (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 141-150.

<sup>93</sup> Scheffler, 'Heinrich Tessenows Zeichnungen' (1917), 21

<sup>94</sup> See: Winfried Nerdinger, *Friedrich von Thiersch. Ein Münchner Architekt des Späthistorismus 1852-1921*. (München: Karl M. Lipp, 1977), 35-36. See also: Wangerin, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1976), 51

<sup>95</sup> Rolf Sachsse, *Bild und Bau. Zur Nutzung technischer Medien beim Entwerfen von Architektur*, Bauwelt Fundamente Nr. 113 (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1997), 59-159

<sup>96</sup> See: Nerdinger *Die Architekturzeichnung* (1986)

<sup>97</sup> Nerdinger, *Die Architekturzeichnung* (1986), 14

<sup>98</sup> Otto Rieth, *Skizzen, architektonische und dekorative Studien und Entwürfe, 4 Folgen*, (Leipzig: 1890-1899). See also: Nerdinger, *Die Architekturzeichnung* (1986), 13-15



displaying a certain carelessness towards history that opposed the highly academic historicism of the previous decades. What Otto Rieth's drawings shared with the perspectives that Tessenow published a few years later, was the atmosphere evoked by a highly personal drawing style and the emphasis placed on specific elements in the drawing.

While in Germany young architects such as Otto Rieth and Theodor Fischer published their sketch-like drawings to oppose the elaborate naturalistic prospects of their older colleagues, the Austrian capital Vienna saw students and young architects around 1900 respond in a completely different way to the outdated Beaux-Arts drawing traditions.<sup>99</sup> Under the wing of well-established architect and teacher Otto Wagner, they were able to experiment with representation techniques that incorporated the latest developments in the field of graphic design.<sup>100</sup> The drawings of this so-called Wagner School moved away from the naturalism of photography and the prospect-like perspective – not by turning to a highly personal sketch-like drawing technique, but by embracing the artificiality of graphic art works.<sup>101</sup> In the perspectives created by the Wagner Schule, the architectural artefact was often shown with a prominent, but highly abstracted background that consisted of the white of the plate, leaving the depicted buildings or interiors in a floating state.<sup>102</sup> To further increase the dramatic effect, viewpoints were often positioned quite low, and in many cases the eccentrically chosen cut-outs of the images reinforced a strong estrangement. This estrangement is related to the architectural intentions of these young Viennese architects, who sought to replace an academic historicism with a rigorous 'modern' architecture, based on radically new artistic principles. Their perspective drawings visualized this new architecture, not only through the content but also through the style of drawing and the graphic layout. In his book *Moderne Architektur*, of which the first edition appeared in 1896, Wagner had stressed the fact that the artificial character of the architectural drawing should be emphasized instead of concealed.<sup>103</sup> Rejecting both the naturalistic prospect-perspectives, but also the forced casualness of the sketch-like perspective drawings, Wagner propagated drawings that incorporated the latest developments in graphic representation in order to present an image of truly 'modern' architecture.<sup>104</sup>

The conspicuous drawings of the so-called Wagner School, in which text, frame and ornaments were integrated with the depicted architectural design, not only had an immediate relation with the modern architecture in content and drawing style, they also served the young Viennese architects as provocative advertisements or pamphlets.<sup>105</sup> By publishing these drawings in architecture journals and in magazines such as *Ver Sacrum* and *Hohe Warte*, these young and relatively unexperienced architects not only were able to extend their visibility beyond Vienna, but their drawings, because of the wide circulation of journals and magazines at that time, immediately influenced the work of their colleagues in Germany and other countries. And although Tessenow's perspectives quite substantially differ from the drawings made by the Wagner School – especially in their content – the effects of the Wagner School perspectives on Tessenow's drawing style should not be

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<sup>99</sup> See: Andreas Nierhaus 'Architekturzeichnung und Moderne um 1900: ästhetische Strukturen und mediale Strategien in den Projekten und Publikationen der Schule Otto Wagners' *Marburger Jahrbuch Für Kunstwissenschaft* 39.2012, 181-207 (2012)

<sup>100</sup> For Otto Wagner (1841-1918), see: Harry Francis Mallgrave (ed.), *Otto Wagner: Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1993)

<sup>101</sup> Nierhaus, 'Architekturzeichnung und Moderne um 1900' (2012), 183

<sup>102</sup> Nierhaus, 'Architekturzeichnung und Moderne um 1900' (2012), 195

<sup>103</sup> Otto Wagner, *Moderne Architektur*. (Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll & Co, 1902), 118-123.

<sup>104</sup> Nierhaus, 'Architekturzeichnung und Moderne um 1900' (2012), 186-187

<sup>105</sup> Nierhaus, 'Architekturzeichnung und Moderne um 1900' (2012), 200

underestimated.<sup>106</sup> Especially in his early drawings, the influence of the young Viennese architects is clear, besides influences of artists-illustrators such as Aubrey Beardsley and Thomas Theodor Heine, who also worked predominantly with line drawings.<sup>107</sup> Perspectives such as 'Studie für eine Dorfkirche' (1903) and 'Haus am See' (1903) clearly show how Tessenow successfully uses the white of the page to create a dramatic effect, while the drawings 'Landhauskolonie Neu-Dörlau' (1905) and 'Straße in einer Kleinstadt' (1903) show the impact of perspectival distortion.

With the young Viennese architects, Tessenow also shared an awareness of the importance of using his drawing skills to establish his position in a German architecture discourse in which journals played an important role. In the early stage of his career, Tessenow began contributing his drawings to a number of minor architecture- and building-related journals.<sup>108</sup> In these journals, his drawings not only responded to more general, societal questions, but also quite literally to reader's questions. And readers, in their turn, replied to his drawings; in some cases the journal invited art historians or architects to write contributions that responded to and were published together with one or more of his drawings. As his career proceeded, this response was widened to reviews of Tessenow's buildings and, especially, the books in which he collected his drawings.

In this way, his drawings soon became part of an ongoing architecture discourse, together with a great many other drawings, photographs and texts by other architects and art historians.<sup>109</sup> In this discourse, which effectively integrated theoretical and aesthetic ideas with more pragmatic or practice-based issues, new notions and concepts were introduced and discussed by architects, art historians and other intellectuals.<sup>110</sup> Specific terms and neologisms were thus introduced and applied to the works of architects and designers, described in texts but also visualized through photographs and drawings.<sup>111</sup>

The substantial role played by drawings in mediating, and thus effectively debating architectural ideas, was of course not new.<sup>112</sup> But what had changed during the nineteenth century was, first, the increase in the quality of the printed reproductions of images, such as drawings, engravings and photographs, and second, the unprecedented growth of the number of publications, such as books and journals, that focussed on architecture and building. Consequently, there was an enormous growth of the audience that these media could reach, thus offering a previously unseen dissemination of architectural images.<sup>113</sup> At the turn of the century, printed media thus facilitated a

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<sup>106</sup> Scheffler points at the similarities between Tessenow's drawings and those made by Olbricht. Scheffler, 'Heinrich Tessenows Zeichnungen', (1917), 24

<sup>107</sup> Aubrey Beardsley (1872-1898) was a British illustrator. His drawings had a strong influence on the aesthetics of the early twentieth century, including the German Jugendstil movement. See: Jan Marsh. *Aubrey Beardsley: Decadence & Desire*. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2020). For Heine see: Timothy W. Hiles, *Thomas Theodor Heine. Fin de siècle Munich and the origins of Simplicissimus*. (New York: Peter Lang, 1996)

<sup>108</sup> See chapter 2

<sup>109</sup> See also: Eva Maria Froschauer, "An Die Leser!": *Baukunst darstellen und vermitteln - Berliner Architekturzeitschriften um 1900*. (Tübingen / Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 2009), 181-215.

<sup>110</sup> Alina Payne describes how the professional press facilitated the dissemination of the ideas of art historians and severely influenced architectural thinking. See Alina Payne, *From Ornament to Object: Genealogies of Architectural Modernism*. (New Haven Conn., etc.: Yale University Press, 2012), 159-169

<sup>111</sup> See for the importance and changing meaning of specific terms in architecture: Adrian Forty. *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004)

<sup>112</sup> Rolf Sachsse point at the important role of *drawn* architecture around 1800, the subsequent growing importance of both the drawing and publishing skills of architects and the resulting autonomy of the 'art of architecture', the *architecture parlante* and also Schinkel's famous portfolio. See: Sachsse, *Bild und Bau* (1997), 17-28 and also Winfried Nerdinger, 'Vom barocken Planriß zur Axonometrie – Stufen der Architekturzeichnung in Deutschland', in: *Die Architekturzeichnung; Vom barocken Idealplan zur Axonometrie*, ed. Winfried Nerdinger, 8-18. (München: Prestel Verlag, 1986)

<sup>113</sup> Rolf Fuhlrott, *Deutschsprachige Architektur-Zeitschriften. Entstehung und Entwicklung der Fachzeitschriften für Architektur in der Zeit von 1789-1918*. (München: Verlag Dokumentation Sauer, 1975)

dispersed but intense discourse on architecture and design. In this discourse, not only architects but also journalists, writers and especially art historians played an important role. The rapid development of art history or *Kunstwissenschaft* (art science) as a number of art historians began to call their discipline, definitely played a role here.<sup>114</sup> Since the end of the nineteenth century, art historians contributed a range of new ideas, notions and concepts, often resulting in new terms and neologisms, to the architecture discourse in the German-speaking countries. They often used images not only as illustrations of works of art, but also as the subject of their study.<sup>115</sup> *Kunstwissenschaft* had the intention to bridge the gap between art history and contemporary culture. Profound art-historical studies and the related construction of theory out of these studies helped to develop ideas and concepts that eventually found their way into the discussions on contemporary architecture and design.<sup>116</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, important debates that had originated in art history, for instance on ornamentation in relation to abstraction,<sup>117</sup> but also concepts such as *Raumwahrnehmung* (perception of space)<sup>118</sup> and *Sachlichkeit* (objectivity)<sup>119</sup> became increasingly relevant in the developing discourse on contemporary architecture and design.<sup>120</sup> Within this discourse, the important role of images, both photographs and drawings, especially perspective drawings, has already been mentioned here. With the increasing quality of photographic reproductions of executed buildings, interiors and furniture pieces, the role of the perspective drawing in the journals and magazines changed. Perspectives were now increasingly used to give expression to ideal plans and architectural phantasies, communicating new and often utopian concepts and ideas in an immediate way. Art historians or art-scholars, engaged with architecture journals and magazines, recognized in these drawings the will to explore new directions, similar to the way architects and artists had explored new territories in previous centuries.<sup>121</sup> With their skills in the precise reading and interpretation of historical images, they were fully equipped to also discuss contemporary architectural drawings.<sup>122</sup>

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, the perspective construction as such also formed part of an ongoing debate by German art historians. Although predominantly focussing on historical subjects such as the representation and perception of pictorial space in Renaissance paintings, the scholars involved in this debate became increasingly aware of both the specific character of architectural

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<sup>114</sup> Payne, *From Ornament to Object* (2012), 112-116.

<sup>115</sup> Payne, *From Ornament to Object* (2012), 22-23. For the use of images by art-historians see: Heinrich Wölfflin. *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst*. (München: Bruckmann, 1915) and his tripartite article on the correct way of photographing sculpture: Wölfflin, 'Wie mann Skulpturen aufnehmen soll', 1896, 1897, 1915.

<sup>116</sup> The most known examples of such art scholars are Heinrich Wölfflin, Alois Riegl, Paul Frankl, and Cornelius Gurlit. See for the influence of German art historians on architects at the start of the twentieth century also: Payne, *From Ornament to Object* (2012), 116-149

<sup>117</sup> See for instance Alois Riegl. *Stilfragen. Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik*. (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Siemens, 1893). See also: Maria Ocón Fernández, *Ornament und Moderne: Theoriebildung und Ornamentdebatte im Deutschen Architekturdiskurs (1850-1930)*. (Berlin: Reimer, 2004), 202-234, 214

<sup>118</sup> See also August Schmarsow. *Das Wesen Der Architektonischen Schöpfung*. (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1894), 14. Translated in Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikononou (eds.). *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893*. Texts & Documents. Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 281-298

<sup>119</sup> See for a description of how various views on *Sachlichkeit* entered the German discourse through Otto Wagner and Richard Streiter already at the end of the nineteenth century: Harry Francis Mallgrave, 'From Realism to Sachlichkeit : The Polemics of Architectural Modernity in the 1890s.' in: Mallgrave, , *Otto Wagner* (1993), 281-321. See also: Payne, *From Ornament to Object* (2012), 175-187

<sup>120</sup> Froschauer, *An die Leser!* (2009), 40-44 and 150-157

<sup>121</sup> See for instance: Emil Kaufmann, *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier: Ursprung und Entwicklung der autonomen Architektur*. (Vienna etc.: Passer, 1933) and Linfert, 'Die Grundlagen der Architekturzeichnung' (1931)

<sup>122</sup> Art historians such as Walter Müller-Wulckow, Dagobert Frey and Alfred Lichtwark published frequently on contemporary architecture, as did a range of artists and architects. See: Froschauer, *An die Leser*, 38-44

drawings compared with artistic drawings, and of the highly ambiguous position of the architectural perspective, situated between the architectural and the artistic drawing.<sup>123</sup> For a more theoretical understanding of Tessenow's perspective drawings, it is therefore worth taking a closer look at what some of these art historians, contemporaries of Tessenow, have written on the nature of the architectural perspective drawing.

### **Theoretical perspectives: Reflections on architectural drawings by Tessenow's contemporaries**

While architectural perspectives clearly contributed to the lively German discourse on architecture and design, the character of this particular type of drawing as such initially received surprisingly little attention in this discourse. Although the phenomenon of perspective construction in visual art works and the related architectural and philosophical notions such as *Raumwahrnehmung* (perception of space) and *Bildraum* (pictorial space) were intensely discussed at the beginning of the twentieth century by German-speaking art scholars, there were two restrictions that prevented the contemporary architectural perspective from being incorporated in this discussion.<sup>124</sup> First, geometrical perspective construction was regarded as a tool that contributed to a spatial illusion on the canvas, historically developed by architects but appropriated by visual artists. The focus of attention lay with its historical roots, its gradual development in Western painting in particular and its often problematic relation with the assumed aesthetic quality of the contemporary art work.<sup>125</sup> Second, architectural drawings as such often failed to be discussed by German-speaking art historians, since not so much the drawings but the concrete buildings and spaces represented in these drawings were considered to be the 'real' subjects of architecture. It was not until the 1920s and 1930s that the specific character of the architectural drawing, and the way this drawing distinguished itself from the artistic drawing, began to receive attention from those art scholars.<sup>126</sup> Architect and art historian Dagobert Frey, one of the first German art historians in the twentieth century to address the architectural drawing as such, made an attempt to describe the specific nature of the architectural drawing by following, in essence, the theoretical premises described by Alberti.<sup>127</sup> Whatever its artistic qualities, so Frey wrote while following Alberti, the architectural drawing is in essence not a work of art but a communicative tool based on conventions, able to transfer a three-dimensional artistic idea, related to specific materials and specific dimensions, in a univocal way to the workforces that will execute it. This communicative tool, however, doesn't offer a set of arbitrary signs but a systematic abstraction in which the *Gefühlsinhalt der Form* (emotional content of the form) persists. According to Frey, the formal similarities between the two-dimensional figure of the plan and the three-dimensional work of architecture bring about *gleichgerichtete Einfühlungstendenzen* (parallel sensitive inclinations).<sup>128</sup> While Frey pointed out the inherent

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<sup>123</sup> German art historians played an important role in this investigation. See for instance: Burger, 'Perspektive und Allgemeines über Raumprobleme' (1913) and Erwin Panofsky. *Die Perspektive als 'symbolische Form' Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1924-1925.* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1927)

<sup>124</sup> See: Panofsky, 'Die Perspektive als 'symbolische Form'' (1927); the chapter 'Perspektive und Allgemeines über Raumprobleme' in Fritz Burger. *Die Deutsche Malerei Vom Ausgehenden Mittelalter Bis Zum Ende Der Renaissance.* (Berlin-Neubabelsberg: Koch, 1913), 103-120; but also Hans Jantzen, 'Die Raumdarstellung bei kleiner Augendistanz.' *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 6.1911, 119-123 (1911)

<sup>125</sup> Art scholars such as Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Bürger questioned the role of perspective for contemporary art. See: Panofsky, 'Die Perspektive als 'symbolischer Form'' (1927), 125 and 163 footnote 73. See also: Burger, *Einführung in die Moderne Kunst*, 115

<sup>126</sup> See: Ursula Baus, "Zwischen Kunstwerk und Nutzwert. Die Architekturzeichnung, gesehen von Kunst- und Architekturhistorikern seit 1850" (PhD diss., Fakultät Architektur und Stadtplanung der Universität Stuttgart, 1999)

<sup>127</sup> See also Dagobert Frey, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek and Alfred Stix. *Die Architekturzeichnungen der Kupferstichsammlung der Österreich. National-Bibliothek.* Österreichische Kunstbücher, 19. Wien: E. Holzels, 1920

<sup>128</sup> Frey, *Die Architekturzeichnungen*, 1920, 8

abstraction of architectural plan drawings, he also acknowledged the fact that both these drawings and the building are able to evoke similar feelings in the viewer. In regard to the architectural perspective, Frey, again following Alberti, downplays its role as an architectural drawing.<sup>129</sup> In his eyes, architectural perspectives mainly serve to communicate an architectural scheme to laymen, while plan drawings (floorplans, sections, elevations) have a more substantial role.<sup>130</sup> Contrary to the perspective with its fixed viewpoint, the set of plan drawings not only mediates between the architect-designer and the *Handwerker* (craftsman), but also visualizes the building and space in its entirety to the trained eye of the architect, allowing, according to Frey, for 'the representation of space to be liberated from the restricting optical image'.<sup>131</sup> In general, Frey remained quite sceptical towards a more autonomous role of architectural drawings that are disconnected from the concrete building, such as drawings that depict ideal architectural visions.<sup>132</sup> In an article on Emanuel Margold's perspective drawings, published in 1922, he severely criticized the utopian phantasies made by this architect and by some of his contemporaries, such as Bruno Taut.<sup>133</sup> In opposition to these expressionist 'castles in the air', Frey interestingly enough placed Tessenow's 'simple house, the simple room in which one will happily dwell, in peace with the Lord and the world'. Curiously enough, Frey didn't seem to realize that, most of the time, Tessenow showed his 'simple houses' in perspective drawings.<sup>134</sup> While Frey thus saw the perspective drawing mainly as a pragmatic tool for communicating with laymen or as a refuge in utopian dreams, he failed to recognize that the architectural perspective, unlike most other architectural drawings, is also able to transmit specific notions or atmospheres ('a simple room in which one will happily dwell'). Making a strict distinction between the architectural drawing and the artistic drawing, Frey failed to appreciate the real value of perspective drawing, which holds an ambiguous position between the artistic and the architectural disciplines.

It was art historian and journalist Carl Linfert who in 1931 did address this ambiguity when theorizing the essential difference between the architectural and the artistic drawing in his investigation of French eighteenth-century architectural drawings.<sup>135</sup> Important in his investigation is his proposal to differentiate between *Bildanschauung* (the perception of an image) and *Architekturanschauung* (the perception of a work of architecture). Architecture, according to Linfert, is fundamentally different from the visual arts since it is not only looked at, but has an immediate relation with the human body, and only through our movement in and use of space, we are able to perceive architecture. Linfert then carefully distinguishes the architectural drawing from the artistic drawing, by comparing the role of the *surface* on which the image appears. Since early modern times, according to Linfert, most paintings and artistic drawings basically find their aesthetic meaning in the composition on the plane of the canvas or paper.<sup>136</sup> When spatial illusions are provoked in artistic drawings, for instance

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<sup>129</sup> See: Carpo and Lemerle, 'Introduction' in: Carpo, *Perspective, Projections and Design*, (2008), 1-4

<sup>130</sup> Frey, *Die Architekturzeichnungen*, 1920, 7

<sup>131</sup> 'Befreiung der Raumvorstellung von beschränkten optischen Bild'. See: Frey, *Die Architekturzeichnungen*, 1920, 8

<sup>132</sup> 'nur der in der harten Realität geschaffene Bau aus Stein und Eisen ist dem Architekten das Kunstwerk' (My translation: 'it is only the building of stone and iron created in the harsh reality that is the architect's 'work of art' ) In Frey, *Die Architekturzeichnungen*, 1920, 10

<sup>133</sup> Emanuel Margold (1889-1962) was an Austrian architect and designer, who began his career as assistant of Josef Hoffmann

<sup>134</sup> Dagobert Frey. 'An Taut, Margold und anderen', *Der Architekt, Monatshefte für Bau- und Raumkunst*, XXIV, 1922, 33-36

<sup>135</sup> Carl Linfert studied art history in Cologne and wrote in 1927 his dissertation *Die Phantasiearchitekturzeichnung der Franzosen vom Ende des Louis Quartorze bis zum Louis Seize (Oppenort bis Delafosse)* in Cologne supervised by A.E. Brinckmann. His article 'Die Grundlagen der Architekturzeichnung' was based on his dissertation and published in the same issue of *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen* that also featured the article 'Zu einen strengen Kunstwissenschaft' by the magazine's editor Hans Sedlmayer. Linfert, 'Die Grundlagen der Architekturzeichnung' (1931)

<sup>136</sup> See Linfert, 'Die Grundlagen der Architekturzeichnung' (1931), 134-135. See also: Baus, *Zwischen Kunstwerk und Nutzwert* (1999), 72-73

through the use of perspective techniques, the depicted subjects are incorporated in the arrangement of the scene on this plane. For the regular architectural plan drawings, such as the orthogonal projections of plan, section and elevation, this same plane has a completely different meaning and simply forms an indifferent surface on which architectural forms are notated. Besides that, the architectural drawing also differs from the artistic drawing since it captures by its very nature only parts or fragments of the entire project, and its aesthetic value therefore cannot be found on the plane of the drawing.

Architecture, and as a consequence also its orthographic drawings, by nature resist the 'image' character that one finds in the artistic depiction, Linfert writes, and a complete *Vorstellung* (representation) of a building or space therefore cannot be caught in one specific image, but should incorporate all viewpoints and view directions<sup>137</sup>. While having followed Frey's and Alberti's line of thought by assigning a certain objectivity to plan and section, he now introduces a more nuanced argument, acknowledging that the subjective 'image' aspect inevitably increases when elevations are drawn, especially when painterly effects such as shadows are added. If we simply extrapolate this line of thought to the architectural perspective, it is clear that its subjectivity will substantially increase and so the question arises how the architectural perspective in the end distinguishes itself from the artistic perspective drawing. Linfert was aware of the ambiguous position of the perspective and therefore introduced the notions *malerische Raumvorstellung* (painterly representation of space) and *architektonische Raumvorstellung* (architectural representation of space) to describe the fundamental difference between the two different uses of perspective. He then distinguished two different representations of space, one of which is concerned with the subjectivity of the *Bildraum* (pictorial space). The other one concerns 'an objective effect of the building on the entire physical and imaginative being of the observer'.<sup>138</sup>

Unlike the artistic perspective, its architectural counterpart has an immediate relation to the three-dimensional proportionality of the building itself, Linfert states.<sup>139</sup> In addition, he opposes the cut-out space of the artistic perspective, framed on the canvas, to the wider *Raum* (space) of the architectural drawing. At the same time, after having thus distinguished the architectural from the artistic perspective, Linfert also recognizes the ambiguous position of this type of drawing. Traditionally, architectural drawings have been subdivided into the measurable and rational 'objective' floorplan, section and elevation, and the unmeasurable and painterly 'subjective' perspective drawing. It is important, however, to understand that this dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity might also be misleading, so Linfert writes. According to him, every architectural drawing is situated somewhere on a spectrum between the subjective representation of the appearance and the objective notation of the building itself.

Linfert has touched here on a fundamental characteristic of the architectural perspective drawing. Its assumed 'subjectivity', often criticized by architects looking for rationality and objectivity, is always tempered by the 'objectivity' of the architectural space or building that it depicts.<sup>140</sup> But it is precisely

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<sup>137</sup> 'Betrachtung und schließlich die bloße Anschauung ist für die sachgemäße Aufnahme eines Bauwerks nicht so wesentlich wie die *Vorstellung*, die alle Stand-Punkte und Richtungen der Auffassung zusammennimmt.' See: Linfert, 'Die Grundlagen der Architekturzeichnung' (1931), 144

<sup>138</sup> 'eine(r) objektive(n) Einwirkung des Bauwerks auf das gesamt körperliche und vorstellungsmäßige Sein des Betrachters' (my translation). See: Linfert, 'Die Grundlagen der Architekturzeichnung' (1931), 144. See also: Baus, *Zwischen Kunstwerk und Nutzwert*, (1999), 74

<sup>139</sup> See: Linfert, 'Die Grundlagen der Architekturzeichnung' (1931), 147-149

<sup>140</sup> In the 1920s the perspective image will even be discredited as outmoded, for instance by El Lissitzky, who described it as 'a tool of a limited and limiting rationalism'. See: Klaus Jan Philipp. 'Die Imagination Des Realen : Eine Kurze Geschichte Der Architekturzeichnung.' In: *10. Bauhaus-Kolloquium Weimar Vom 19. - 22. April 2007*, 2008, 149; El Lissitzky, 'K.(unst) und

this dichotomy that also attracts other architects, such as Tessenow, and that challenges them to explore the evocative power of this type of drawing, finding the right balance between objectivity and subjectivity. All in all, Linfert remains quite sceptical about the architectural perspective. He notes the sometimes difficult relationship between architecture and image, when he states: 'Architektur als solche ist nicht Bild' (architecture as such is not image).<sup>141</sup> In architecture, so he writes, the true *Vorstellung* (representation) comprises all viewpoints and view directions, while the contemporary use of perspectives merely reinforces 'an absentminded and routine outlook'.<sup>142</sup>

Although they highlighted the dichotomous character of the architectural perspective, both Frey and Linfert were not able to pin down the meaning of this drawing. It actually was one of Linfert's sources, British architect Reginald Blomfield, who came closest to this meaning when he wrote in his 1912 book on architectural drawings:

In geometrical drawings students should eschew all . . . tricks and devices, and be content to do a plain thing in a plain way. The situation is almost reversed when we come to the second function of architectural drawing, that of producing in the mind of another the impression of an architectural idea. . . . The impression aimed at is a complex one; that is, the draughtsman aims at producing the impression not only of certain abstract forms of architecture, but of those forms as a whole, and as a whole considered in relation to its placing on the site, its environment of sky and landscape, and even the intention of the building.<sup>143</sup>

Nevertheless, the theoretical reflections on the architectural drawing from the 1920s and 1930s, in the niches of a German discourse on architecture that had already moved in other directions, demonstrate a strong awareness of the importance of the architectural drawing. This awareness clearly has its roots in the first decade of the twentieth century, when Tessenow's drawings, too, were widely published and discussed as part of a tense discourse on the role and meaning of architecture and design.

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Pangeometrie', in: Carl Einstein, Paul Westheim (eds.), *Europa Almanach. Malerei, Literatur, Musik, Architektur, Plastik, Bühne, Film, Mode*, (Potsdam, Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1925), 103-113, p. 103. Quoted in: Panofsky, *Perspektive als 'symbolischer Form'*, note 73, p. 125

<sup>141</sup> Linfert, 'Die Grundlagen der Architekturzeichnung' (1931), 144 (my translation)

<sup>142</sup> 'Perspektive ist heute eine unbedachte und gewohnheitsmäßig allgemeine Auffassungsweise'. See: Linfert, 'Die Grundlagen der Architekturzeichnung' (1931), 154 (my translation)

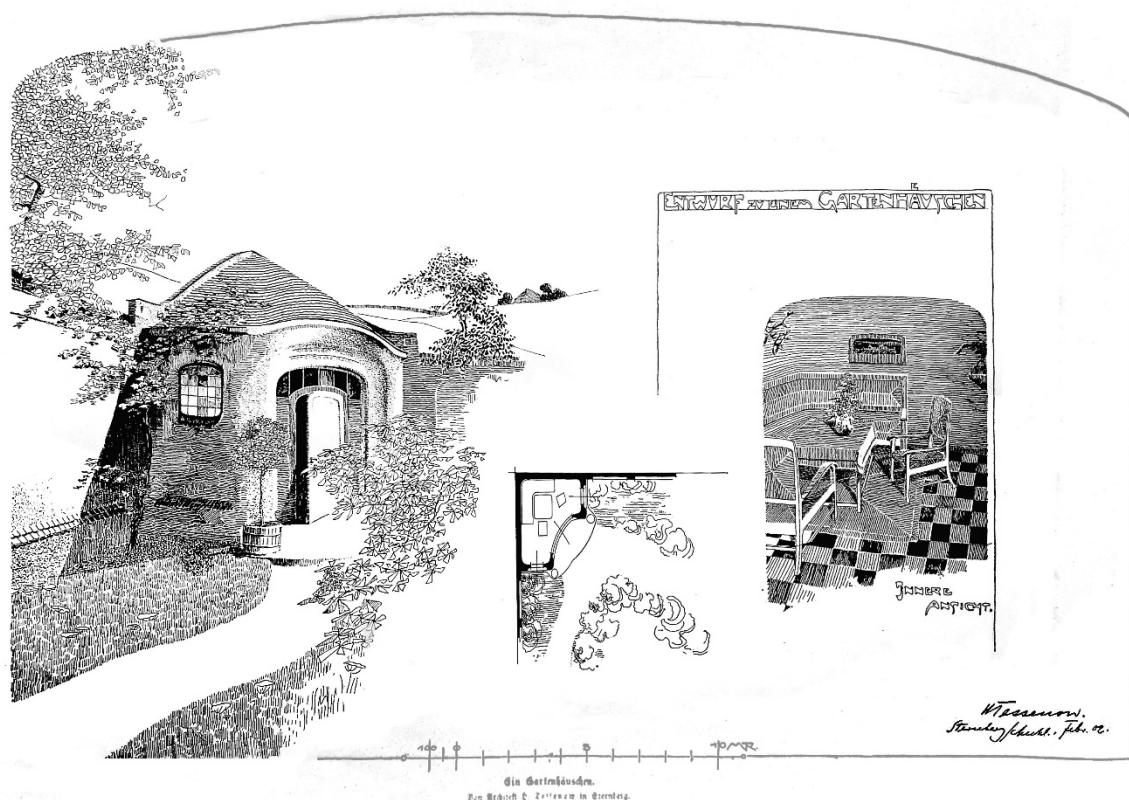
<sup>143</sup> See: Reginald Blomfield. *Architectural Drawing and Draughtsmen*. (London etc.: Cassell & Company, 1912), 8



# 2

The publishing context: Tessenow's  
perspective drawings in journals  
and books





*Gartenhäuschen, 1902*

One of the earliest publications of a project by Tessenow appeared on 5 July 1902 as a spread in the supplement to the weekly journal *Bautechnische Zeitschrift*.<sup>144</sup> This spread, titled ‘Ein Gartenhäuschen’ (a little garden house), featured on the left a perspective drawing of a small pavilion in a corner of a garden, while on the right was visible an interior perspective of this pavilion, with a fixed bench, a table and two chairs. A floorplan was placed between these two perspectives.

In the existing literature on Tessenow, this drawing has not received much attention.<sup>145</sup> Still, it forms the beginning of the publication of at least 180 perspective drawings by Tessenow in various German architecture journals during the first decades of the twentieth century. This remarkably high number immediately raises a number of questions. Where did these drawings originate? And how did readers, such as architects but also art historians and others, respond to these images? Since Tessenow himself hardly reflected on his drawings and their reception in his texts or letters,<sup>146</sup> we will have to take a closer look at the various journals in which his early works were published in order to get a better understanding of the role and meaning of Tessenow’s drawings in a developing discourse on architecture and modernity in German-speaking countries.

<sup>144</sup> See: *Beilage* to ‘*Bautechnische Zeitschrift. Illustrierte Wochenschrift über die Fortschritte im Bauwesen.*’, 17th Jg. 1902.

<sup>145</sup> The drawing is not part of the Heinrich Tessenow Archive at the Kunstbibliothek Berlin and was thus not included in Strey, *Die Zeichnungen von Heinrich Tessenow* (1981). De Michelis includes it with a small illustration in his chronological catalogue of works. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 156. Wangerin and Weiss do not show the drawing, but mention the design as project E 50. See: Wangerin and Weiss, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1976), 159

<sup>146</sup> The catalogue of works made by De Michelis refers to the publication of at least 180 perspectives and still leaves out a number of perspective drawings. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 155-280 for an overview of the years 1901-1926.

*Bautechnische Zeitschrift*,<sup>147</sup> the journal that premiered the publication of one of Tessenow's perspective drawings, was a weekly aimed at professionals in the field of architecture and building. It was first published in 1887 and initially focussed mostly on new developments in the profession, such as upcoming materials and techniques, targeting practicing architects in particular. Around 1900 this journal was part of an expanding and highly diverse field of journals in the German language that covered all fields related to architecture, crafts and building technology.<sup>148</sup> Rapid technical developments and the emergence of new professional fields such as urbanism and landscape architecture had caused an increase in more specialized architecture- and building-journals.<sup>149</sup> This continuous specialization not only gave birth to new journals, but also forced existing ones such as *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* to reposition themselves and redefine the topics they wanted to address. While maintaining a strong focus on professional pragmatics, *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* from 1902 on also began offering room for broader cultural-architectural issues, such as aesthetics and formal composition, in order to respond to a growing interest among its readers.<sup>150</sup>

It is not clear how the fruitful connection between Tessenow and *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* came into being. The fact that Tessenow worked for well-known German architect Martin Dülfer from 1901 to 1902 may have played a role.<sup>151</sup> Whatever the reasons, inviting the talented, but relatively unknown Tessenow in 1902 as a *Mitarbeiter* (regular contributor) to the journal fitted well in the strategy of the journal, which sought to position itself as a cultural innovative platform. A few pages before Tessenow's garden house is shown to the readers of the *Bautechnische Zeitschrift*, the young architect is announced by one of the editors as follows:

In the supplement a new contributor introduces himself: the architect H. Tessenow, now teaching at the Technikum in Sternberg in Mecklenburg. We invite you to take a good look at his garden house: it is a highly successful attempt to grasp with a new structure the poetic beauty that otherwise is always connected exclusively with antiquities. Our readers know the complaints of Paul Schultze-Naumburg: here we have with us an architect that this painter will have to accept.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> See: Fuhlrott, *Deutschsprachige Architektur-Zeitschriften* (1975), 122. *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* appeared from 1887 till 1913 and had a maximum of 3,700 subscribers. While it started as a monthly journal, published by Scholtze Verlag, Berlin under the guidance of the architect G.H. Nix, in the years Tessenow published most of his drawings the now weekly journal was published by R. Wagner Sohn, Weimar with and W. Bode as chief editor. From 1907 to 1910 it was published by Callwey Verlag, Berlin.

<sup>148</sup> According to Froschauer, around 1900 no less than 300 journals seem to have existed in Germany solely dedicated to architecture and the fields related to it. See: Froschauer, *An die Leser!* (2009), 19. The number of 300 is not supported by any clear sources here.

<sup>149</sup> Fuhlrott, *Deutschsprachige Architektur-Zeitschriften* (1975), 253

<sup>150</sup> In the years 1902-1904, for instance, the journal addressed in its opening articles issues as diverse as ventilation in lodging houses; the production of clay bricks; systematics of cost estimates and new timber building structures, next to a review of Paul Schultze Naumburg's crusade against eclectic architecture (See respectively: Moorman, 'Gute Luft in den Wirtsstuben' in: *Bautechnische Zeitung* 1902, 17 Jg, Nr. 27; anon. 'Ehen mann eine Ziegelei anfängt' in: *Bautechnische Zeitung* 1903, 18. Jg, Nr. 8; anon. 'Eine Kostenanschlags-Schema.' in: *Bautechnische Zeitung* 1903, 18. Jg, Nr. 25; W. Blessing, 'Des Malers Strafpredigt gegen die Baumeister', in: *Bautechnische Zeitung* 1902, 17 Jg, Nr. 9, p. 65-68)

<sup>151</sup> Dülfer is named as a *Mitarbeiter* (contributor) in the 1902 index.

<sup>152</sup> 'In der Beilage stellt sich uns ein neuer Mitarbeiter vor: Herr Architekt H. Tessenow, zur Zeit Lehrer am Technikum in Sternberg in Mecklenburg. Wir bitten, sein Gartenhaus wohl zu beachten; es ist ein vortrefflich gelungener Versuch, mit einem neuen Bau die poetische Schönheit zu erreichen, die wir sonst immer nur mit dem Altertümlichen verknüpft finden. Unsere Leser kennen die Anklagen von Paul Schultze-Naumburg; hier haben wir einen Architekten vor uns, den dieser Maler gelten lassen muß.' In: *Bautechnische Zeitschrift*, XVII (1902), Nr. 27, p. 210. Quoted in De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 156. (my translation)

Besides launching him as a promising new architect, this introduction also positioned Tessenow in a debate on contemporary architecture and aligned him with the artist and architect Paul Schultze-Naumburg,<sup>153</sup> at that time an outspoken representative of the German reform movement, whose book *Hausbau* was reviewed by *Bautechnische Zeitschrift*.<sup>154</sup> Knowing that in 1904 Tessenow would indeed work together with Schultze-Naumburg and teach in his art school for one year, the foresight of this introduction was remarkable.<sup>155</sup> Unlike Schultze-Naumburg, who in his books expressed his outspoken ideas on art and *Lebensreform* primarily in texts and photographic illustrations, Tessenow used his drawings, and in particular his perspective drawings, to give expression to his main architectural ideas.<sup>156</sup> The early texts written by Tessenow initially served as extended captions to these drawings or expressed rather pragmatic ideas about building. It was therefore mainly through his perspective drawings and not through his texts that Tessenow was able to participate in a wider cultural debate and reflect on important architectural issues. His thinking and reflecting as expressed in these drawings was therefore no longer a private affair: the fact that these drawings were published gave them a broader theoretical agency.

In this chapter we will zoom in on two journals in which Tessenow was able to publish and we will also take a closer look at the first three books that he published, in order to gain insight into the various ways his perspective drawings were able to communicate architectural themes and ideas to a wider audience.

### ***Gewünschte Skizzen: Perspective drawings responding to questions***

Almost 50 of Tessenow's perspectives appeared in the *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* between 1902 and 1909, mainly in two sections, one of which was called 'Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder' (Our Examples and Images) and the other 'Fragen und Antworten' (Questions and Answers), later accompanied by a subsection called 'Gewünschte Skizzen' (Requested Sketches).

Questions and Answers-sections appeared under various titles in many journals aimed at practicing architects and builders.<sup>157</sup> In the highly competitive publishing market, responding to readers' questions allowed journals to build a more durable relationship with their subscribers through a very direct form of communication. In *Bautechnische Zeitschrift*, however, this section became so popular in the first years of the twentieth century that it began to fill increasingly more pages of the journal.

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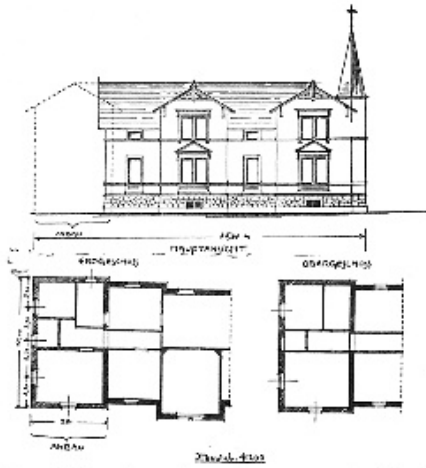
<sup>153</sup> See for Schultze-Naumburg: Norbert Borrmann: Paul Schultze-Naumburg. Maler, Publizist, Architekt 1869-1949 (Essen: 1989) and Hans-Rudolf Meier, Daniela Spiegel (eds.) *Kulturreformer. Rassenideologe. Hochschuldirektor. Der lange Schatten des Paul Schultze-Naumburg*, (Heidelberg, arthistoricum.net, 2018)

<sup>154</sup> See for the reform movement in Germany: Wolfgang R. Krabbe, *Kulturkritik und Lebensreformbewegung: 1870 -1930*. (Hagen, FernUniversität: 2005) See also, with a focus on the interwar years: Thomas Rohkrämer 'German Cultural Criticism. The Desire for a Sense of Place and Community' in Rajesh Heynickx & Tom Avermaete (eds.), *Making a New World. Architecture and Communities in Interwar Europe* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2012), 31-41

<sup>155</sup> Perhaps less remarkable is the reputation that Schultze-Naumburg already achieved in Germany as early as 1902. Although by then, he had only published two books on architecture and design, namely *Häusliche Kunstpflege* (1899) and *Hausbau* (1901), both were immediately noticed in the professional world of architecture and design as well as in wider cultural circles. See: Borrmann, *Paul Schultze-Naumburg* (1989), 19

<sup>156</sup> See for Schultze Naumburg's use of photographs: Matthias Noell, 'Kultur der Sichtbaren. Der fotografische Blick des Herrn Schultze' in: Hans-Rudolf Meier, Daniela Spiegel (eds.), *Kulturreformer. Rassenideologe. Hochschuldirektor. Der lange Schatten des Paul Schultze-Naumburg*. (Heidelberg: arthistoricum.net, 2018), 33-45

<sup>157</sup> See: Froschauer, *An die Leser!* (2009), 67



da aus dem Kuban herauskommen? Es wird ziemlich gleichgültig sein, was man da anbaut. Ja, wenn man noch das Ganze umbauen dürfte! Aber auch da könnte man tagelang sitzen, ehe man eine schöne Lösung findet."

Wir wissen der negativen Antwort nur dies entgegen zu setzen: Solche verzweifelte Aufgaben stellt der Beruf dem Baukünstler nun einmal; sie müssen irgendwie ausgeführt werden. Und es gibt hier, wie überall im Leben, ein Besseres und schlechter, schöner und öder. Ist hier kein hohes Ideal zu erreichen, so kann man doch ein Übel vermindern.

Wir drucken deshalb die Skizze ab und fragen unsere Leser: Wer wagt es?



### Gewünschte Skizzen.

Der künftige Besitzer, die sich als solche ausweisen, können unsere Mitteilungen durch seine Vermittlung Wände vorzeigen. Sie haben einen entsprechenden Stellenbeitrag (einschließlich des 1/2 M. für jeden Plan) zu zahlen, 5 M. für jede Skizze (einschließlich des 1/2 M. für jeden Plan) zu zahlen, 5 M. für jede Skizze (einschließlich des 1/2 M. für jeden Plan) zu zahlen. Einige Ideen sind uns noch zu geben. — Die Wünsche können wir deutlich und ausführlich mitteilen; begleitende Skizzen müssen sich zum Abbau eignen (Schwarze Federzeichnung, Angabe der Maße und Höhenverhältnisse).

#### 1. Kleines Haus mit Werkstatt.

Ich möchte für mich selber ein kleines Wohnhaus mit ziemlich hohem Kniestock bauen. Im Erdgeschoß möchte Wohnzimmern, Werkstatt und Küche vorgesehen sein; ich will in dem Hause ein kleines Zementwarengeschäft betreiben. An der vorderen Front soll es einen kleinen Vorsprung oder Veranda auch an einer Seite ein Türchen oder einen Erker haben. Kunststeine zu Fensterstößen, Giebeln, darüber von Kunststeinen; für die Wandflächen möchte ich vom Hartsteinwerk Waldsee Zementkalksteine brauchen, in grau, vielleicht zu den Bögen in rot, zu einer Gurt und Eisen ebenfalls in roter Farbe. — Der Keller für Hausgebotene würde überbaut, die anderen Räume mit Schlenen und die Treiber mit Beton. H. L. in J.

Ausführung. Auf S. 3 sind die gewünschten Skizzen. Keller- geschoß und Schnitt habe ich nicht beigesteuert, da sie jeder leicht nach dem gegebenen Grundriß und Fassaden anfertigen kann. Ich habe lieber mehrere Varianten für die Fassade beigelegt. Rote Steine zu den Bögen und Eisen würde ich nicht empfehlen, da mit solchen Mitteln, welche noch aus der Zeit unseres „kometrischen Aufschwungs“ herrühren, und die überhaupt im deutschen Hausbau nicht begründet sind, eine Überhebung und Züchtelung, abgesehen von ihrer Mähterweil, nicht zu erzielen ist.

Ich würde vorschlagen, das ganze durchweg zu verputzen, und zwar mit Schwarzkalkmörtel, nicht mit Zement. Die in den einzelnen Fassaden sichtbaren Verzierungen könnten im Putz ausgeputzt und mit Lack oder anders behandelt werden. Kappellen, Abfalltrichter und Dachrinnen wären genau zu setzen; Fensterproffen und Nagelwerk weiß; Fußbodenputz genau ober gelblich, rauhe Struktur; Dach mit Silberblechen rot gedeckt. Die Kupferung, wie sie angebracht ist, müßte natürlich auch angebracht werden. — Die offene Halle (s. Grundriß) könnte zum Auffstellen von fertigen Werkstücken benutzt werden, später auch zur Vergrößerung der Werkstätte. Die Freitreppel könnte ganz in Zementstein oder Beton ausgeführt werden.

Bezüglich der Baukosten wäre zu bemerken: Zu Fig. 1. Überbauter Raum ca. 790 cdm à 11 M. = 8690 M. Zu Fig. 2. Diebstahl Baukosten. Zu Fig. 3. Überbauter Raum 1050 cdm à 11 M. = 11 550 M. Zu Fig. 4. Überbauter Raum: 1190 cdm à 11 M. = 13 090 M. Überall ist angenommen, daß das Dachstuhl ganz ausgebaut wird oder das einzige Staken eingebaut sind. Fig. 1 zeigt den Erker an der Ecke, Fig. 2 und 3 an einem Ende des Wohnzimmer, Fig. 4 wieder an der Ecke. Auch ist gezeigt, wie man die offene Halle nach der Straße legen könnte. Das Haus ist ganz unterkellert. Der Ebelsteinrand wäre oberhalb des Abortes anzubringen, wie Skizze zeigt. Zu weiterer Auskunft bin ich bereit.

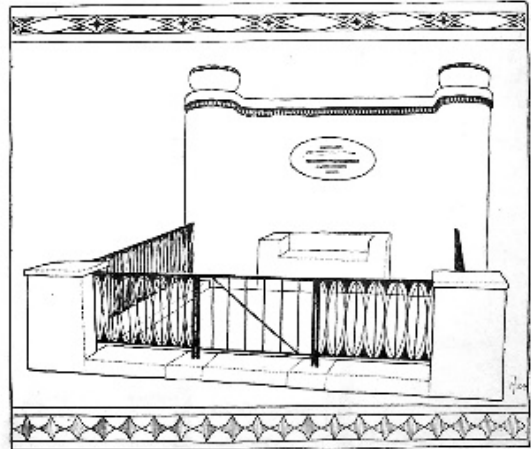
H. Thurn, Kompten, Bayern.

#### 2. Erbbegräbnis.

Ich habe ein Erbbegräbnis auszuführen und bitte um eine Skizze. Es handelt sich um eine 1 Stein hohe Wand als hinteren Abschluß für 2 Grabstellen. Stütze und vorn soll ich einen eisernen Baum auf Kunststeinsockeln aufstellen. Die Mauer soll 3 m lang und 2,50 m hoch ausgeführt werden, natürlich etwas architektonisch ausgebildet.

A. W. in T. (Brandenburg).

(Zur Frage gehört eine Skizze, die wir nicht abdrucken. D. Neb.)



Ausführung. Es wird sich empfehlen, die Erde, statt seitlich (wie Sie skizzieren), in die Mitte zu legen; diese Anordnung ist, der Grabstätte gemäß, freier und ruhiger. Dann rate ich Ihnen, von der geplanten Antragsarbeit abzusehen; damit soll nicht gesagt sein, daß Antragsarbeit an sich ungeeignet sei, eine Grabstättenwand zu schmücken; aber ich habe den Eindruck, daß gerade heute diese Antragsarbeiten zwar „kalt“, aber auch in der Regel nutzlos behandelt werden. Die Platte, die die Wand oben abschließt, denke ich mit 5 cm überlebend; diese Platte soll — gleich der Wand — gemauert und gepußt werden und ist dann mit Zink abzudecken. Unter dieser Platte denke ich mir einen schmalen Fries als Sgraffito-Fries (siehe auch meine Grabmonumente in der „Bautechnischen Zeitschrift“ 1903, Nr. 41). Basen und Schrifttafel sind aus Bronze herzustellen. Tessenow.

The readers' questions were addressed by a variety of building specialists, among them established architects such as Ludwig Hoffmann and Alfred Messel, but also a younger generation with people like Paul Schultze-Naumburg and August Joseph Lux.<sup>158</sup> Tessenow clearly belonged to this younger generation and distinguished himself with his drawing talents, which served the reader's responses even better when the section 'Gewünschte Skizzen' (Sketches on Request) was added to the content of the journal.<sup>159</sup> *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* gradually began to formalize the terms and conditions for the readers' responses: only regular subscribers of *Bautechnische Zeitung* were allowed to send in requests and from March 1904 on a small fee was asked for the drawings accompanying an answer: 3 Marks for a floorplan and 6 Marks for a facade sketch.<sup>160</sup> In Tessenow's contributions to 'Fragen und Antworten' and 'Gewünschte Skizzen', he addressed a wide variety of questions and assignments, such as the design of a facade, a single family house, a house with apartments on top of shops, but also tombs for a graveyard and a church gate. In his responses, Tessenow often drew a simple plan or a facade, but the journal regularly offered him more room in the *Beilage* (supplement) to publish elaborate perspectives, allowing him to demonstrate to an audience of both architects and laymen not only his skills and experience as a designer, but also his drawing talents. A number of these perspectives, such as *Bürgerliches Wohnhaus an einem Hang* (1905); *Pfarrhaus* (1907) and *Reihengrabstätte* (1908) were later republished in his own book *Der Wohnhausbau*, thus showing how Tessenow would return to these drawings and reuse them. The drawings changed, so to speak, from illustrations responding to a specific reader's questions, into drawn propositional statements in his own book.



*Wohnhaus des Architekten, Sternberg, 1902*

<sup>158</sup> Austrian art historian and writer August Joseph Lux (1871-1947) was one of the well-known collaborators involved with this section. Among the architects that regularly wrote responses are, besides the Berlin-based Ludwig Hoffmann (1852-1932) and Alfred Messel (1853-1909), Hugo Licht (1841-1923) from Leipzig, and also a younger generation such as Berlin-based Swedish architect Alfred Grenander (1863-1931) and Hermann Billing (1867-1946) from Karlsruhe. See Froschauer, *An die Leser!* (2009), 67.

<sup>159</sup> A section with a similar name also appears in the Lübeck-based architecture journal *Der Bauzeichner* (1902-1910), which continued under the name *Deutsche Baukunst* (1911-1914). See: Froschauer, *An die Leser!* (2009), 87, footnote 258.

<sup>160</sup> Froschauer, *An die Leser!* (2009), 67 and 87 footnote 258. See also *Bautechnische Zeitung*, 1904, Jg. 19, Nr. 12

Besides the drawings that immediately responded to readers' questions, Tessenow was also able to publish in sections such as 'Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder' (Our Examples and Images) or 'Unsere Bilder' (Our Images), which often appeared as a supplement on thicker paper. In these sections, Tessenow's drawings were published as a spread, accompanied by a short informative text by either himself or one of the editors elsewhere in the journal, thus gaining a strong independent character. Among the projects presented in these sections are the design for his own house in Sternberg; a semi-detached house in an undefined suburb, a row of four houses and an elaborate row-housing scheme.<sup>161</sup>

Besides *Bautechnische Zeitschrift*, there were other practice- and profession-oriented journals that offered Tessenow a platform to publish his drawings, such as the Berlin-based journals *Zentralblatt für das deutsche Baugewerbe*, that served as a communication-platform for various building and craft organisations, and *Der Baumeister*, a journal that distinguished itself by publishing projects with a substantial amount of working drawings and details.<sup>162</sup> Journals located in other parts of Germany gradually also became interested in his work. From 1906 on, Tessenow published a number of perspective drawings of houses, entrances and pergolas in the Lübeck-based *Der Bauzeichner*.<sup>163</sup> Many of his drawings also appeared in the *Süddeutsche Bauhütte*, a Munich-based journal that had developed from a regional information bulletin into an architecture journal for the south of Germany.<sup>164</sup>

Publishing perspective drawings made by Tessenow and many other architects benefited both the journals and the architects. For the journals, this was one of the ways to broaden their scope from a predominant focus on building pragmatics to broader cultural issues related to the profession. At the same time, publishing regularly in these journals offered architects a public platform. This was particularly important for Tessenow, who came from a lower middle-class family and did not have a regular academic education, since it provided him with an unique opportunity to make himself known to colleagues and others interested in architecture.

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<sup>161</sup> Cited in De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 156, 158, 160. See also: 'Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder. Wohnhaus des Architekten H. Tessenow in Sternberg' in: *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* 1902, 17. Jg., Nr. 32, p. 252-253 and *Beilage*; 'Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder. Ein Zweifamilien-Wohnhaus für die Vorstadt' in: *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* XVIII (1903) Nr. 8, 59-60 and *Beilage*; 'Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder. Eine Hausegruppe für 4 Familien' in: *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* XVIII (1903) Nr. 16, 124, 133 & *Beilage* 16 and 17; Sch. 'Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder. Reihenhäuser für Kleinbürger und Arbeiter' in: *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* XIX (1904) Nr. 20, 154-159, *Beilage*

<sup>162</sup> A. Tessenow (sic), 'Haus am Berge und Pförtnerhäuschen' in: *Zentralblatt für das deutsche Baugewerbe* nr II (1903), 740. See for information on *Zentralblatt*: Fuhlrott, *Deutschsprachige Architektur-Zeitschriften* (1975), 166. See also: H. Tessenow 'Zwei Einfamilienwohnhäuser für die Landhauskolonie Neu-Dörlau' in: *Der Baumeister*, 1903, Nr. 4 and H. Tessenow, 'Eingelochte und aufgesattelte Treppen' in *Der Baumeister*, 1903, Nr. 6. For *Der Baumeister* see also: Fuhlrott, 164

<sup>163</sup> See: Fuhlrott, 170. *Der Bauzeichner* existed from 1902 till 1910 and was published in Lübeck by Colemann Verlag. The journal wanted to reach architects, craftsmen, engineers and students by showing examples of simple *bürgerliche* architecture. Tessenow's drawings appear in the following subsequent issues: 1906, Nr. 15, 294 on 'Hauseingang mit laubenartigen Vorbau'; 1908, Nr. 18, 205-211 on Landhäuser Neu-Dörlau; 1908, Nr. 19, 205-211 on Neu Dörlau; Nr. 21, 229 on 'Landhaus'; 1908, Nr. 33, *Beilage* on 'Einfache Haustür'; 1908, Nr. 34, *Beilage* on 'Zweiflügeliche Zimmertür'; 1908, Nr. 36, 400 on Ländliches Einfamilienwohnhaus; 1908, 1908, Nr. 37, *Beilage* on 'Gartenlaube'; Nr. 40, *Beilage* on 'Hauseingang und Holzbank'; 1908, Nr. 50, 537, 542 on Ländliches Arbeiterdoppelhaus; 1908, Nr. 50, 541 on Wohnhaus Bad Brösen

<sup>164</sup> See: Fuhlrott, 160. *Süddeutsche Bauhütte* was founded in 1900 as *Bayerisches Submissions-Blatt*, later changed to *Süddeutsche Bauindustrie*. Becoming more prominent and offering a platform to well-known architects and critics, such as Theodor Fischer, Joseph August Lux, Paul Mebes and Paul Schultze-Naumburg, the name *Süddeutsche Bauhütte* was adopted in 1905 and the magazine existed under that name until 1913. Tessenow published around 20 perspective drawings in *Süddeutsche Bauhütte*, mostly in the section 'Unsere Bilder', and often the same ones that had appeared in *Bautechnische Zeitschrift*.

### **'Zu den Zeichnungen von H. Tessenow': Perspective drawings initiate discourse**

In the same year that saw the launch of his first perspective drawing in *Bautechnische Zeitung*, Tessenow also published *Studie für ein Pfarrhaus* (study for a parish house) in *Deutsche Bauhütte*, one of the other journals that would become an important publishing platform for Tessenow's drawings during the first years of his career.<sup>165</sup> The *Deutsche Bauhütte*, not to be confused with the earlier mentioned *Süddeutsche Bauhütte*, appeared between 1897 and 1942 and initially wanted to bring architects, craftsmen and artists in contact with manufacturers and suppliers for the building market. By 1902 this journal had gradually gained a broader architectural scope, similar to *Bautechnische Zeitung*, but with more intellectual pretensions and an increasing focus on German national identity. The high ambitions of the *Deutsche Bauhütte* are evident, for example, in an editorial piece published in the 1903 edition:

A good trade journal is an ever-effective school for the man who works in practice, that not only constantly advises and helps him in the improvement of individual deficiencies that may be found in the technical or artistic part of his work, but that can also offer him a wealth of new stimuli and ideas.<sup>166</sup>

Between 1902 and 1910, this journal published more than 20 of Tessenow's perspective drawings. Some of these perspectives appeared in a section of *Deutsche Bauhütte* called 'Architektonische Details, Skizzenblätter der Deutschen Bauhütte' (architectural details, Deutsche Bauhütte's sketch sheets) in which views of buildings and building fragments were shown on a single page together with specific ornamental details.<sup>167</sup> A number of Tessenow's perspectives were published along with short essays by editors and invited writers who contributed regularly to the journal.<sup>168</sup> Interestingly, these textual contributions thus offered a variety of views and reflections on Tessenow's drawings in a very early stage of his career and consequently initiated an early dialogue between drawing and text. Creating such a dialogue was a deliberate policy of the *Deutsche Bauhütte*:

Contemporary architecture in particular is eagerly seeking to free itself from the narrow confines of sober scholarship and to re-establish contact with the fresh, natural artistic instincts of the people. This relationship can, however, be extraordinarily stimulated and promoted by the use of the professional press, especially if our artists decide even more to stand up for their artistic views not only with their words, but also with their pens.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> The full name of the journal was: *Deutsche Bauhütte, Zeitschrift und Anzeiger für alle Zweige praktischer Baukunst* (journal and advertiser for all branches of practical architecture). See also: Fuhlrott, *Deutschsprachige Architektur-Zeitschriften* (1975), 144

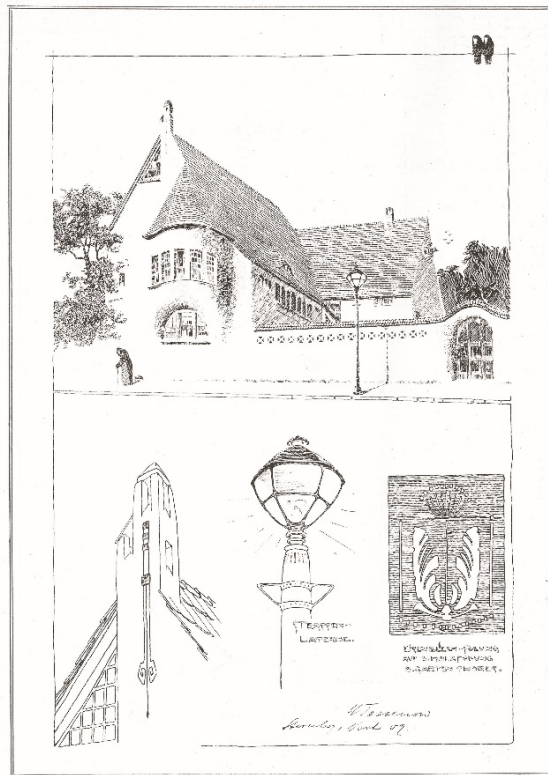
<sup>166</sup> 'Ein gutes Fachblatt ist dem Manne, der in der Praxis steht, eine stets wirksame Schule, die nicht nur bei der Verbesserung einzelner Mängel, die sich bei dem technischen oder künstlerischen Teil seiner Arbeiten finden können, stets ratend und helfend zur Seite steht, sondern die ihm auch eine Fülle neuer Anregungen und Ideen bieten kann.' M. Winter, 'Mehr Kritik und Anregung für den Fachmann', in: *Deutsche Bauhütte*, 1903, 54 (my translation).

<sup>167</sup> As 'Architektonische Details', the following full-page contributions by Tessenow were published in *Deutsche Bauhütte* in 1903: a house entrance, with flowerbox and front door (Nr. 8, 1903); a corner house with worked out parts such as wind vane, chimney top, window with flower balcony (Nr. 20, 1903); a *Wohndiele* (living hall) with chair, cupboard, stair landing, flower vases and curtain rod holder (Nr. 32, 1903); house and garden entrances with two different house entrances, two different garden gates and a small perspective of a doorkeepers house (Nr. 48, 1903)

<sup>168</sup> *Deutsche Bauhütte* invited the following writers to write a text to accompany Tessenow's drawings: M. Winter, E. Schwinghammer, Gust. Eberhardt, O. Gruner, Franz Geiger, F.R. Vogel, A. L. Plehn and A. Haupt.

<sup>169</sup> 'Gerade die Baukunst der Gegenwart sucht mit Eifer, von der engen Schranke nüchternen Gelehrsamkeit frei zu werden und wieder mit dem frischen, natürlichem Kunstsinn des Volkes in Berührung zu treten. Diese Beziehung kann aber durch Benutzung der Fachpresse ausserordentlich belebt und gefördert werden, besonders, wenn unsere Künstler sich noch mehr

It is worth taking a closer look at a number of the texts that accompanied the publication of Tessenow's drawings in *Deutsche Bauhütte*, since many of the invited writers were quite engaged in debates and discussions in the fields of architecture and design and introduced particular notions and issues to a broader discourse on modernity and its expression in architecture, as we will see on the following pages.



Studie für ein Pfarrhaus, 1902

The first drawing published by Tessenow in *Deutsche Bauhütte* is called *Pfarrhaus-Studie* (study for a parish house). The study fills a single page, showing a perspective drawing of an L-shaped building with a high pitched roof, hiding behind a wall that merges with the street facade, from which a circular bay window projects. Three ornamented fragments are drawn in more detail on the lower part of the page: a high chimney, the top of a lamppost and a decorated steel panel filling taken from the entrance gate.

Markward Winter, one of the editors of the journal, responded to this drawing in an accompanying text called 'Vom Mute zur Einfachheit in der Bauweise' (From Courage to Simplicity in Building Style).<sup>170</sup> After a lengthy introduction in which Winter both makes a strong plea for authenticity based on an anonymous tradition of restraint, rejecting the worn-out platitudes of historicism, the author finally arrives at Tessenow's drawing, which is praised for its exemplary courage to display what he describes as 'natural simplicity':

The brief study of a rural parish house is, precisely because of the unaffected simplicity of its architecture, a work that should be regarded as an example. It is a courageous piece of work

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dazu entschlossen, nicht nur durch ihre Worte, sondern auch mit der Feder für ihre künstlerischen Anschauungen einzutreten' See: M. Winter, 'Mehr Kritik und Anregung für den Fachmann', in *Deutsche Bauhütte*, 1903, 54 (my translation)  
<sup>170</sup> M. Winter 'Vom Mute zur Einfachheit in der Bauweise. (Mit der Abbildung ländliches Pfarrhaus von Arch. W. Tessenow (sic), Sternberg)' in: *Deutsche Bauhütte* XX, 362 - 364



that follows the goal: away with all the monstrosities of stylistic experiments on objects that were not created for this purpose - development of the elegant building form from material and purpose, as the old masters did. . . . The architect's stated intentions speak for themselves in all respects in this image, so that to elaborate further would be to say superfluous things.<sup>171</sup>

Looking carefully at the *Pfarrhaus-Studie*, the assumed simplicity that Winter noticed in this proposal lies perhaps not so much in the volumetric layout, with the rather complicated connections between bay window, gable and roof, but more in the rendered facade that the drawing shows. The plain whiteness of this facade, merging not only with the wall and the sidewalk but also with the white of the paper, forms a strong rhetorical gesture. The quote from Winter's contribution also makes clear that while he didn't address Tessenow's drawings in depth ('they speak for themselves'), he fully understood their agency as independent images that tackled the same issues discussed in his text. Winter thus recognized the inherent qualities of Tessenow's drawings and their implied capacity to convert, maybe better than words, essential architectural notions.

One year later, in 1903, in an article called 'Wandfläche und Baustein'<sup>172</sup> (wall surfaces and building stone) the same author focuses on 'fine material honesty, true colours and artistic frugality'<sup>173</sup> and relates these issues to the expression of the ashlar wall in three of Tessenow's perspective drawings shown together on the opposite page. Winter describes these drawings as 'forms expressing a deepening of the thoughts above: studies of an apparently silent, unadorned character and yet full of truly high values, typical of only old works'<sup>174</sup> and points at the quality of the *reizvoll empfundene Baumasse* (attractive building mass).<sup>175</sup> Interestingly, Winter focused here on the highly expressive qualities of natural stone and ashlar walls, materials not often used by Tessenow since he usually worked with rendered facades. Nevertheless, by formulating the effects that Tessenow's drawings had on him by using terms such as *reizvoll empfundene Baumasse*, Winter contributed to fitting these drawings into an architecture discourse.

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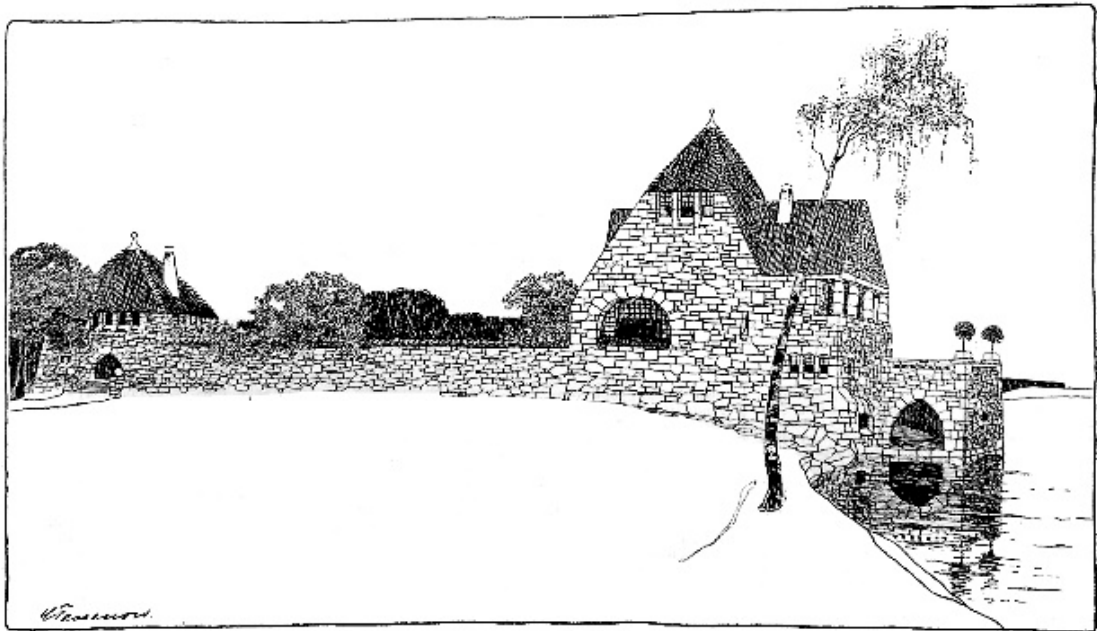
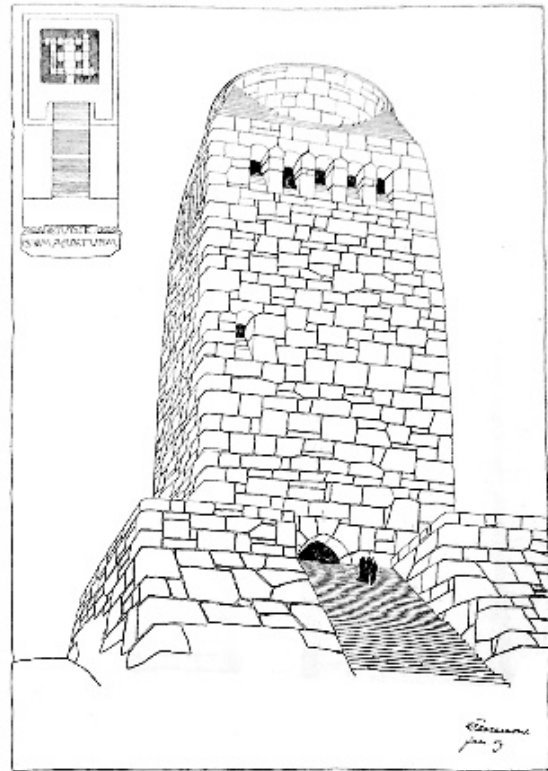
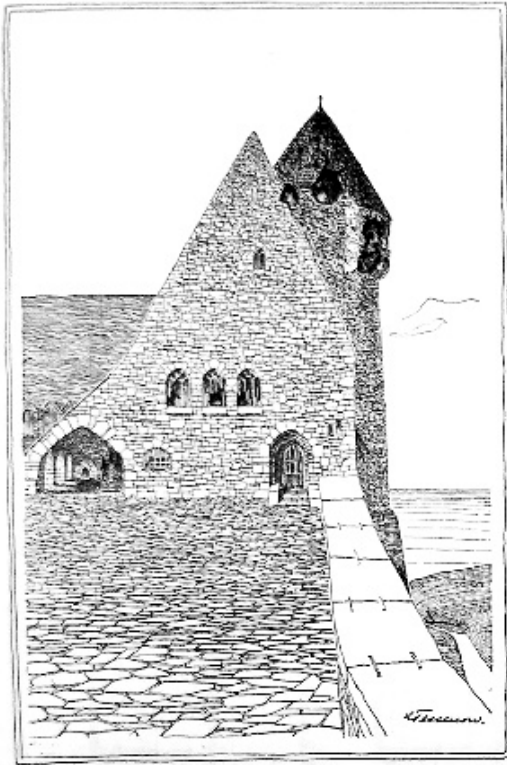
<sup>171</sup> 'Die kleine Studie eines ländlichen Pfarrhauses ist gerade wegen der ungekünstelten Einfachheit seiner Architektur ein Werk, das als Vorbild betrachtet werden soll. Es ist ein mutige kleine Arbeit, die dem Ziele folgt: fort mit allen Ungeheuerlichkeiten stilistischer Experimente an Objekten, die nicht dafür geschaffen sind – Entwicklung der schönen Bauform aus Material und Zweck, wie es die alten Meister gethan haben. (..) Die vorgetragene Absichten des Architekten sprechen bei diesem Bilde in allen Dingen so für sich selbst, das sein weiteres Eingehen heissen würde, Ueberflüssiges (zu) sagen' See: M. Winter 'Vom Mute zur Einfachheit in der Bauweise.' in: *Deutsche Bauhütte* 1902, 364 (my translation).

<sup>172</sup> Markward Winter, 'Wandfläche und Baustein. (Mit Architekturskizzen von C. Tessenow(sic))' in: *Deutsche Bauhütte* (1903) Jg. 7, Nr. 11, p. 72-73

<sup>173</sup> 'Schöne Materialwahrheit, wahre Farben und künstlerische Oekonomie' Winter, 'Wandfläche und Baustein' (1903), 72. (my translation)

<sup>174</sup> 'in Formen gebrachte Vertiefungen der obigen Gedanken: Studien von äusserlich stillem, prunklosem Charakter, und doch voll hoher echter Würde, wie sie nur alten Werken eigentümlich ist'. Winter (1903), 72. (my translation)

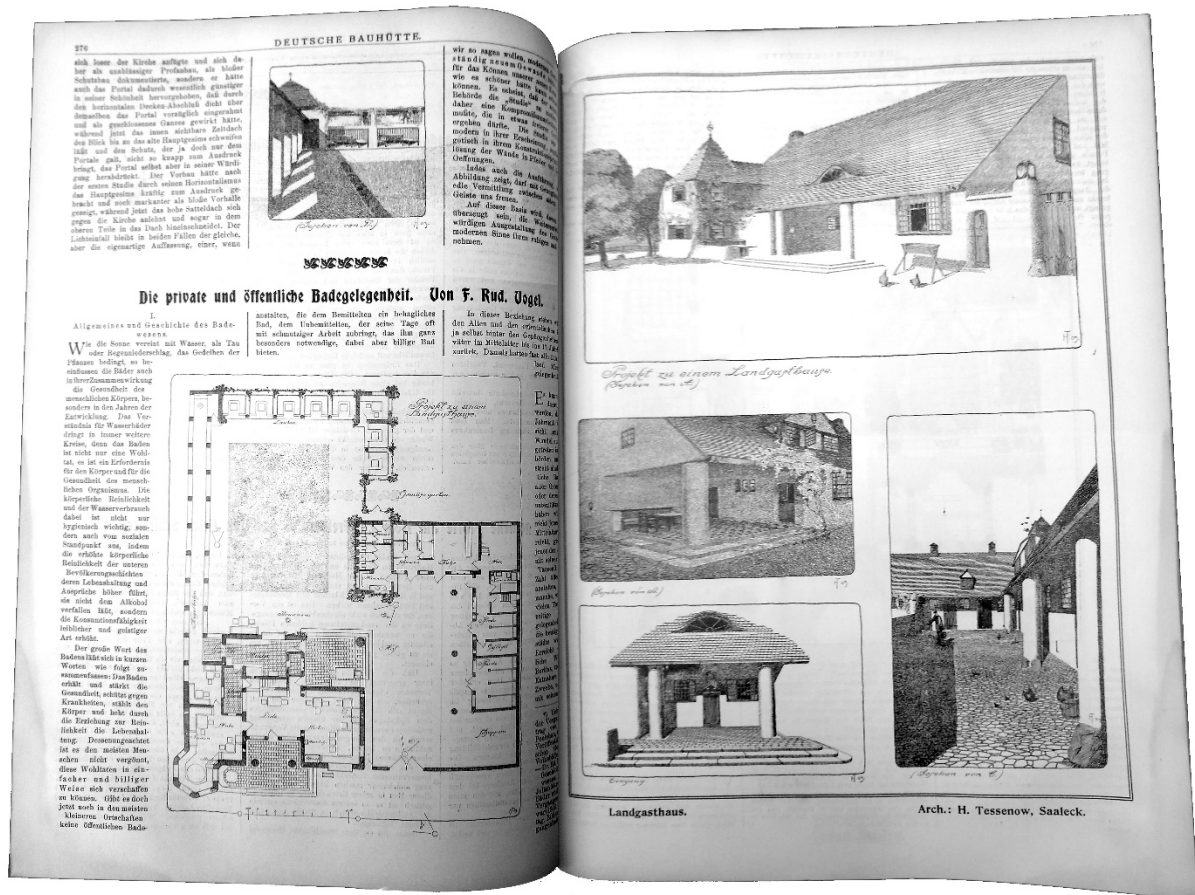
<sup>175</sup> See Winter (1903), 72: 'Wie einfach und doch voller Wucht zeigt sich in dieser Beziehung der schlichte Entwurf eines Bismarckturms, der ohne Ornament, ohne Zierordnung in der Natürlichkeit seines Materials, seinen besten Schmuck hat. Das Landhaus am See, eine in seiner lagerhaften Breite reizvoll empfundene Baumasse führt den Gedanken des Bruchstein-Mauerwerk konsequent durch; die kräftigen roten Dachflächen, die dunkeln Fensteröffnungen und das Weiss der Schornsteine antwortet mit der grünen Laubfarbe auf die zur trüben Monotonie hinneigenden grauen Mauerflächen. Hier ist die rechte Grenze angedeutet und berücksichtigt.' (my translation)



Architektur-Skizzen von C. Tessenow, Sternberg.

Haus im Gebirge; Bismarckturm; Haus am See, 1903

While Winter focussed mainly on the expression of the surface of the facades and on the contour of the building mass, architect Erich Schwinghammer, in his 1904 contribution 'Ueber Landgasthäuser' (on rural guest-houses), drew attention to another important aspect, namely the relationship between use and space.<sup>176</sup> In his brief text accompanying a floorplan and a series of perspectives of a projected *Landgasthaus*, he points at the *zweckmässigkeit* (expediency of use) and the right sensitivity for *anheimelnde Raumwirkungen* (cosy spatial effects) of Tessenow's scheme. The concept of *Raum* that is introduced here, is especially interesting since this *Landgasthaus* consists of a series of interrelated indoor and outdoor spaces on a variety of scales. Tessenow effectively visualizes these spaces in picturesque perspective drawings, that do not 'like so many others that we see today, either drift off into playful silliness or stick stubbornly to stupidities applied in the design of floorplan and elevations', so Schwinghammer notes.<sup>177</sup>



*Landgasthaus, 1903*

Schwinghammer thus recognized the importance of proper perspective drawings for representing the spatial configuration of the interior spaces, in which the *Raumwirkung* (spatial effect) is immediately tied to its representation in the perspective drawing.<sup>178</sup> But he also recognized the true

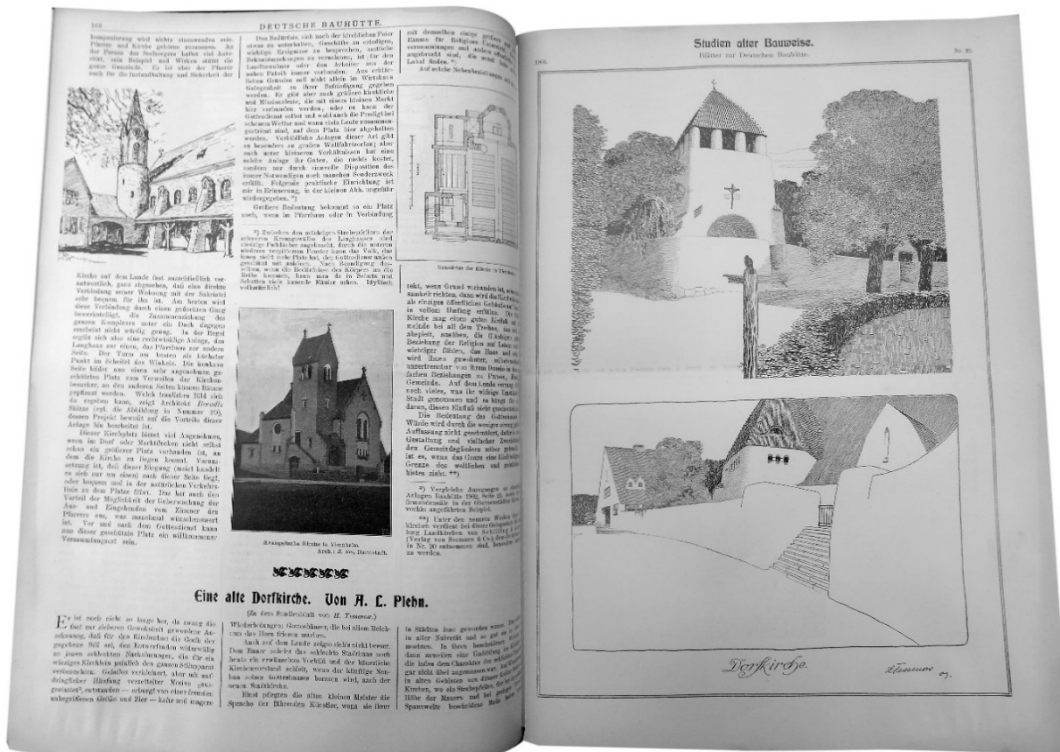
<sup>176</sup> E. Schwinghammer, 'Ueber Landgasthäuser' in *Deutsche Bauhütte* 1904, p. 275

<sup>177</sup> 'Der Autor hat sich geschickt und aufmerksam in die Bedingungen des ganzen Betriebes einer solchen Wirtschaft hineingelebt, und deshalb sind uns seine malerisch so fein abgestimmten Arbeiten doppelt lieb, gerade weil sie nicht, wie so vieles andere, was uns heute zu Gesicht kommt, entweder auf spielerisches Fexentum hinauslaufen oder aber starr an den hergebrachten Dummheiten in Grundriß und Aufbau kleben bleiben.' See: Schwinghammer (1904), 275 (my translation)

<sup>178</sup> Tessenow also published a drawing in the special supplement *Raum-Studien* in 1904. See: *Deutsche Bauhütte* 1904, Nr.

potential of Tessenow's perspectives, by opposing his drawings both against the utopian *Idealpläne*, the playful capriccios that build upon imaginative phantasies, and against the perspective drawing as an almost mechanical translation of plan drawings into three-dimensional impressions.

In the same year, art historian Anna L. Plehn wrote a text to accompany two of Tessenow's drawings of a village church that appeared in the special supplement series *Studien alter Bauweise* (studies of old ways of building).<sup>179</sup> In her article, Plehn appreciates the strong silhouette of Tessenow's proposal, which she considers 'architecturally quiet and painterly impressive at the same time'.<sup>180</sup> Plehn points at the interwoven opposites in this design: 'Although it is an old spirit that speaks in this restrained fine study, it speaks urgently of the new tasks of our time; that is for the architect to be less of an art historian and more of an artist, while his work remains praiseworthy for striving to reach with little means the truthfulness and dignity that so often characterizes old works.'<sup>181</sup> The



Studie für eine Dorfkirche, 1903

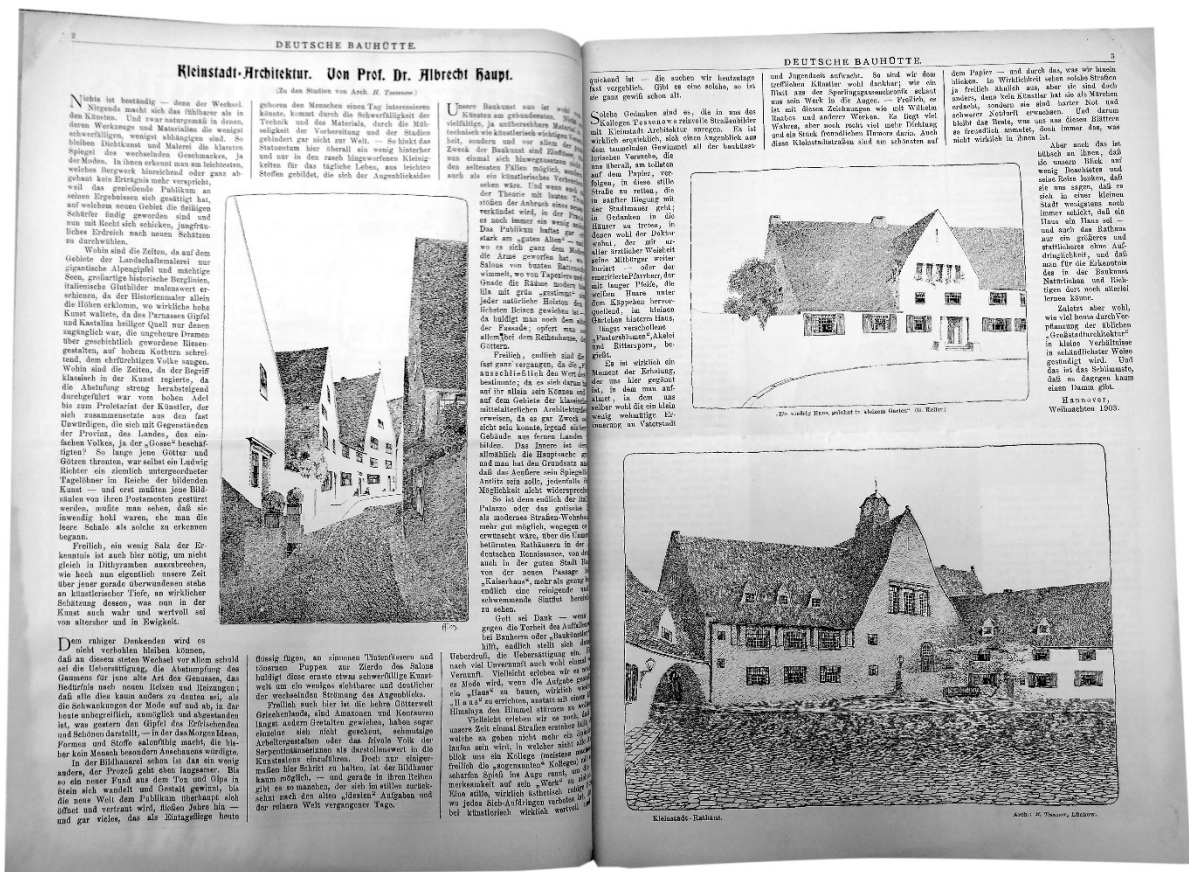
clear influence of the Wagner Schule in this particular drawing, with its unusual viewpoint, the dominant use of the white of the paper and the partial erasure of the tower's outline suggests an

<sup>179</sup> A. L. Plehn, 'Eine alte Dorfkirche (Zu dem Studienblatt von H. Tessenow)' in: *Deutsche Bauhütte* 1904, p. 167, 168. Anna L. Plehn had already written on a variety of subjects in *Deutsche Bauhütte*, such as unadorned walls (Nr. 42, 1902); supports for bay windows and balconies (Nr. 20, 1903); country house entrances (Nr. 29, 1903); reformed street facades (Nr. 31, 1903) and later published *Die Figur im Raume* (Berlin: Marquardt, 1909). In this book, Plehn tries to 'depict how light-relations, used to express bodily phenomena, are artistically created', according to her introduction to another book (*Farbensymmetrie und Farbenwirkung; Prinzipien Deutscher und Italienischer Farbenverteilung* (Strassburg: Heitz & Mündel, 1911)

<sup>180</sup> 'architektonisch ruhig und malerisch eindrucksvoll zugleich'. See Plehn, 'Eine alte Dorfkirche' (1904), 167 (my translation)

<sup>181</sup> 'Trotzdem es alter Geist ist, der aus der stillen feinen Studie spricht, so redet er doch eindringlich von den neuen Aufgaben unserer Zeit, nämlich davon das der Architekt weniger Kunsthistoriker als Künstler sein soll, daß auch dann seine Arbeit allen Beifalls würdig bleibt, wenn sie haushaltend mit Wenigem die Echtheit und Würde erstrebt die so oft der bewunderte Vorzug der alten Werke ist.' See: Plehn, 'Eine alte Dorfkirche' (1904), 168 (my translation).

echo of the modern architecture that was propagated by Otto Wagner and his young followers. At the same time, the content of the drawing aligns strongly with an old tradition of village churches, as Plehn rightly points out. She interestingly recognizes that in Tessenow's drawings a reconciliation between modernity and a tradition that does not depend on academic study or thorough art-historical investigation, but on the sensitivity and intuition of a modern artist. Implicitly, she makes clear that it is in the perspective drawing that this reconciliation takes place. Through his drawings, Tessenow is able to connect modernity ('the new tasks of our time') with tradition ('old spirit' and 'old works'), but Plehn also makes clear that this tradition is not so much one of the historical styles, but of 'truthfulness and dignity' relying on the artist's feeling for authenticity.

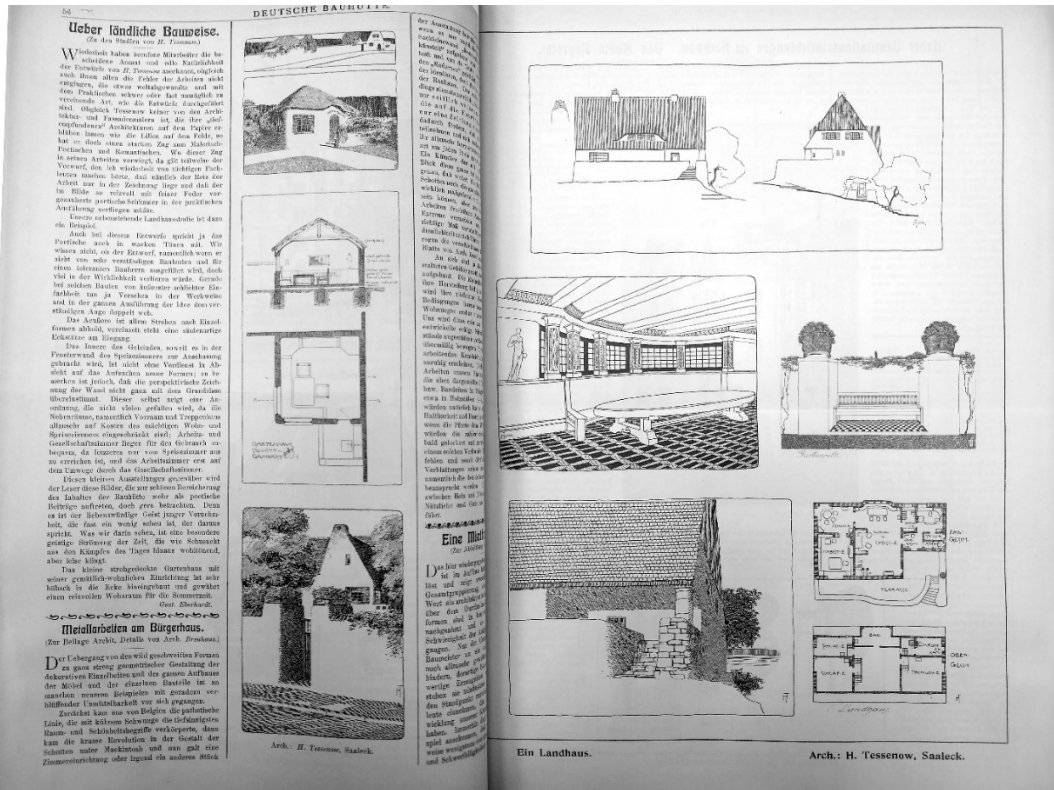


Straße in einer Kleinstadt; Studie für ein Einfamilienhaus; Studie für ein Kleinstadtrathaus, 1903

Hannover-based architect Albrecht Haupt began his 1903 textual contribution to a series of Tessenow's perspectives depicting houses and streets in a *Kleinstadt* by noting how the interior of the house has gained importance again, thus enabling the facade to reflect this interior. 'Perhaps we will live to see the assignment of building a "house" becoming fashionable, to really build a "house" again, instead of trying to storm the sky with a small Himalaya,' Haupt writes.<sup>182</sup> Interestingly, he extends the representation of the house to the whole street and, ultimately, to the *Kleinstadt*. In his reflections, he therefore focusses on this representation in artistic images and in literary texts, and on the projective potential embedded in this. Pointing at the similarities between Tessenow's

<sup>182</sup> 'Vielleicht erleben wir es noch, daß es Mode wird, wenn die in Aufgabe gestellt ist, ein "Haus" zu bauen, wirklich wieder ein "Haus" zu errichten, anstatt mit einem kleinen Himalaya den Himmel stürmen zu wollen' See: Albrecht Haupt, 'Kleinstadt-Architektur. (Zu den Studien von Arch. H. Tessenow)' in: *Deutsche Bauhütte* VIII (1904), Nr. 1, 2 (my translation)

perspectives and the literary work *Chronik der Sperlingsgasse* by Wilhelm Raabe, Haupt writes: 'There is a lot of truth in them, but even more imagination and a bit of friendly humour. These small town streets are also most beautiful on paper – and because of what we can see there.' He then introduces the idea of *Dichtung* (meaning both 'poetical work' and 'imagination') that finds its ways into both Tessenow's perspective drawings and in Raabe's text.<sup>183</sup> But the poetic imagination that he thus finds in both works should not be confused with 'castles in the air', so he writes. In both Raabe's novel and Tessenow's drawings the realism of the *Kleinstadt* forms the core of the work.



*Landhaus; Gartenhaus, 1903-1904*

Tessenow's work was not only positively received in the *Deutsche Bauhütte*. In a contribution accompanying a series of plans and perspectives by Tessenow showing the design of a country house, an author named Gust. Eberhardt was quite critical. According to Eberhardt there is in this design 'something unworldly, and in their realization difficult or almost impossible to reconcile with the practical'.<sup>184</sup> In essence, Eberhardt distrusts the architectural perspective and states 'that the allure of the work lies only in the drawing and that the poetic splendour so charmingly conjured up in the picture with fine pen and ink will vanish in the practical execution'.<sup>185</sup> After criticizing both the impracticalities of the floorplan and the misleading wide angle of the interior perspective, he

<sup>183</sup> 'Es liegt viel Wahres, aber noch recht viel mehr Dichtung und ein Stück freundlichen Humors darin. Auch diese Kleinstadtstraßen sind am schönsten auf dem Papier – und durch das, was wir hinzu blicken.' Haupt (1904), 2 (my translation). Wilhelm Raabe (1831-1910) was a German novelist. *Chronik der Sperlingstrasse* appeared in 1856 and documents the lives of inhabitants of this particular street in Berlin.

<sup>184</sup> 'etwas weltabgewandt und mit dem Praktischen schwer oder fast unmöglich zu vereinende Art, wie die Entwürfe durchgeföhrt sind.' See: Gust. Eberhardt. 'Ueber ländliche Bauweise' in *Deutsche Bauhütte* 1905, IX, Nr. 7, 56 (my translation).

<sup>185</sup> 'daß nämlich der Reiz der Arbeit nur in der Zeichnung liege und daß der im Bilde so reizvoll mit feiner Feder vorgezauberte poetische Schimmer in der praktischen Ausführung verfliegen müßte'. See Eberhardt (1905), 56 (my translation).

concludes his text by stating that Tessenow's drawings should only be considered as 'poetic contributions'. Eberhardt's text illustrates not only that not everyone immediately applauded Tessenow's drawings but that some lasting misunderstandings regarding perspective drawings persisted. These misunderstandings included the idea that architectural perspectives should be 'realistic' depictions of spaces or buildings or that perspectives should foreshadow the 'real' work of architecture. Tessenow's perspectives, as the contributions of the other authors in *Deutsche Bauhütte* made clear, operated much more as independent architectural works.

### **Zimmermannsarbeiten: depicting tradition and modernity**

Architecture journals were not the only platforms in which Tessenow could present his drawings to the world. Not so long after he had started to contribute his drawings to various architecture journals, he was given the opportunity to make a publication under his own name. *Zimmermanns-Arbeiten*, published in four thin volumes by Paul Waetzel Verlag in Freiburg, mainly consisted of drawings by Tessenow and other architects, published as separate plates in a folio.<sup>186</sup> The *Mappenwerk*, a portfolio or 'case for carrying loose papers', had traditionally served as an important publication format for architects, since it prioritized the image, by giving it an independent position in relation to the text.<sup>187</sup> Portfolios offered the viewer the possibility to pick up individual plates and rearrange them in any preferred order.

In the case of *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, Tessenow worked as the sole editor, complementing his own 13 plates with 27 plates by nine other architects<sup>188</sup>. Some of these architects also contributed regularly to *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* and *Deutsche Bauhütte*.<sup>189</sup> The plates of *Zimmermannsarbeiten* contain drawings of building elements such as fences, pergolas and stairs, but also complete house facades with bay windows. Most plates show new designs, although drawings documenting existing houses or building elements are also included. Like many of his colleagues, Tessenow showed an interest in the anonymous tradition of vernacular building and some drawings testify to his visits to specific sites and buildings to document these structures.<sup>190</sup> By freely mixing drawings of existing vernacular buildings with new designs, Tessenow made an attempt to dissolve the opposition between the polarities 'traditional' and 'modern'.

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<sup>186</sup> Heinrich Tessenow, *Zimmermanns-Arbeiten* (Freiburg: Paul Waetzel Verlag, 1910). In later editions, *Zimmermannsarbeiten* is used as the title of the book. In this dissertation, I will use this title for all editions.

<sup>187</sup> For the definition see: [etymology.com/word/portfolio](https://www.etymology.com/word/portfolio). Visited 17-02-2020. For its use by architects, see: Rolf Sachsse, *Bild und Bau* (1997), 67. Quoted in Froschauer, *An die Leser!* (2009), 36

<sup>188</sup> Besides Tessenow, the drawings of the following architects were included: Fritz Schumacher from Dresden, Richard Berndt from Munich, Theodor Becker from Darmstadt-Saaleck; Albert Schutte from the Wuppertal-based office Schutte & Volmer, Lüneburg-based architect Wilhelm Matthies; Philipp Rahm from Eltville (Wiesbaden); Münch from Lübeck; Josef Steinlein from Trier; Gustav Schmoll genannt Eisenwerth from Darmstadt.

<sup>189</sup> Wilhelm Matthies, Theodor Becker and Albert Schutte published their drawings regularly in the supplements of both *Deutsche Bauhütte* and *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* from 1902 to 1907.

<sup>190</sup> Before publishing *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, Tessenow had already written 'Das Bauerndorf im hannoverschen Wendland', in which he gave an impression of his visit to an old farmhouse in a traditional village, focussing on the interior of the *Diele* (hall) and its particular atmosphere. The text appeared in *Der Bauzeichner*, 1909, p. 77-79 but before that in *Leipziger Bauzeitung* 1906, Nr. 11.



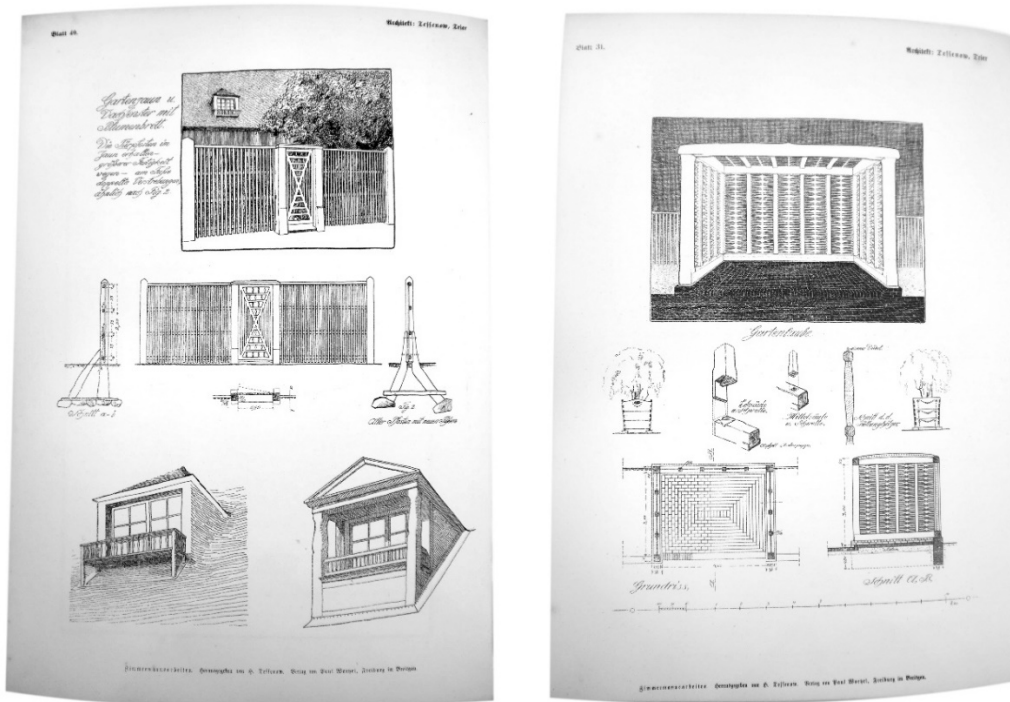
Aus dem Werke „Zimmermannsarbeiten“ von H. Ceffenow.

Typisches ländliches Wohnhaus aus Westpreußen, 1907<sup>191</sup>

<sup>191</sup> Published in: Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXIII (1908), Nr. 7, p. 260



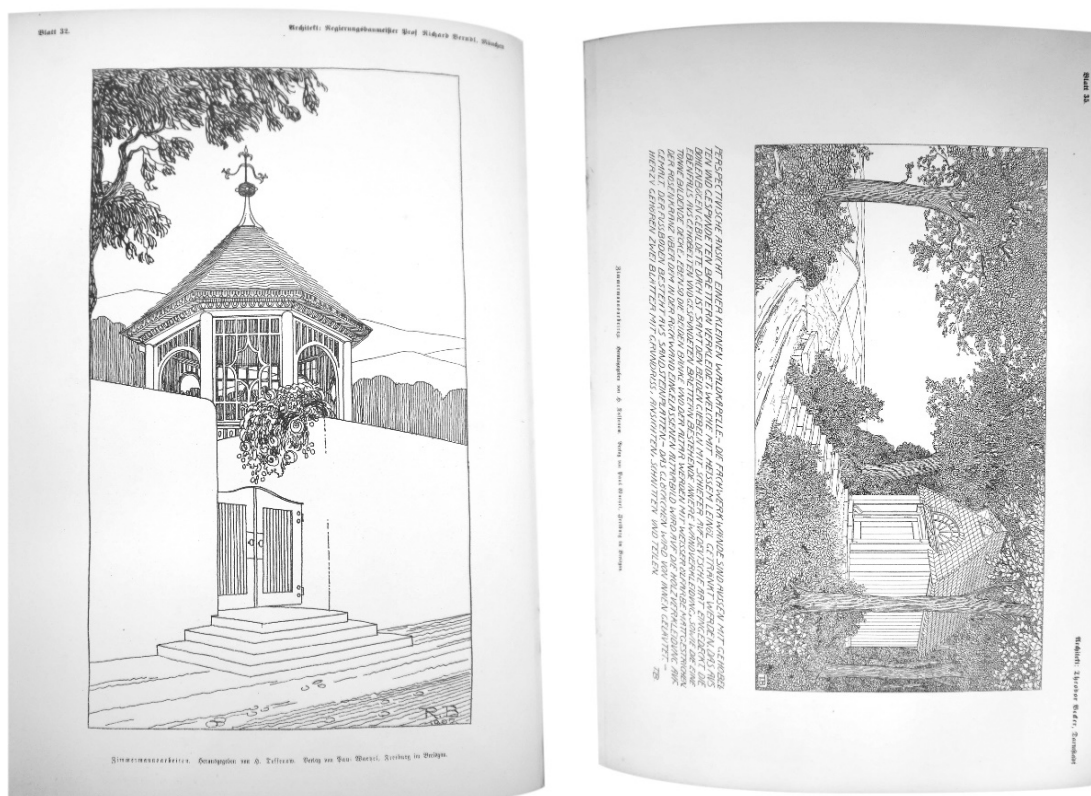
*Zimmermannsarbeiten* is not meant, Tessenow explicitly states in the introduction, as a collection of examples to be copied. And although the book pays great attention to the craftsmanship of carpentry and the related qualities and characteristics of timber, justifying a focus on working drawings and exploded views of details, the publication is also not a handbook. Tessenow regards *Zimmermannsarbeiten* mainly as a source of inspiration for designers.



*Gartenzaun und Dachfenster mit Blumenbrett, c. 1906; Laube, before 1907*

Zooming in on the drawing technique of Tessenow's perspectives in this book, it is clear that in most drawings the depiction of materials and ornamental expressions still dominates. In many perspectives, Tessenow makes an effort to literally draw every clinker and brick in detail, and meticulously depict the ornamental treatment of the materials, whether these are coloured bricks in masonry or the chamfers of timber columns. When shadows are added to these drawings, the amount of hatchings and scribbles at times becomes overwhelming, to the expense of no longer being able to distinguish the separate building elements or pieces of furniture from the background. In some perspectives published in *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, such as plate 17 or 21, Tessenow begins to experiment with a much more abstract way of drawing. However, since these drawings are placed immediately next to drawings with detailed hatchings, the suggestion of either an unfinished drawing or a less important alternative remains.

In the perspectives made by Richard Berndl from Munich, both the white surface of the paper and a striking oblique composition play a prominent role. This drawing technique is strongly influenced by the style of the Viennese *Wagner Schule*, in which attention to the naturalistic representation of materials and light is replaced by a focus on reduction and abstraction.<sup>192</sup> As we have seen, Tessenow had already been experimenting with a similar drawing style, as is visible in perspectives such as *Studie für eine Dorfkirche* (1904) published in *Deutsche Bauhütte*.<sup>193</sup> In *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, however, he mostly applied more traditional drawing techniques and viewpoints, perhaps since this publication focusses explicitly on the material and tectonic characteristics of small timber structures.



Other contributors to *Zimmermannsarbeiten*: Richard Berndl, *Laube* (left); Theodor Becker, *Waldkapelle* (right)

Considering Tessenow's perspectives in *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, it is possible to distinguish a threefold role for this drawing. First, many perspectives are used as a *Schaubild*, or an exemplary image, supporting an architectural scheme that is otherwise presented in a few orthogonal projections and details. This *Schaubild* role of the perspective drawing is closely related to the purpose of this book, namely to provide a source of inspiration. *Zimmermannsarbeiten* offers a range of references for buildings and, more in particular, building elements, but does not provide detailed and complete information to allow for precise copying. Instead, perspective drawings are used here to create an image of a project that combines information about the building mass, the elevations and the context. A second role of the perspective drawing in *Zimmermannsarbeiten* is to be found in

<sup>192</sup> See: Tessenow, *Zimmermannsarbeiten* (1910), plate 25 and 32

<sup>193</sup> See: Plehn, 'Eine alte Dorfkirche' (1904)

the documentation of existing buildings, where the perspective works as both a documenting and an analytical tool. With sections and elevation drawings added to it, the perspective drawing, following from sketches made on site, documents the building. The third role of the perspective drawing in this publication, used by both Tessenow and his colleagues, is the evocation of the visual perception of the visitor or user. In this case the perspective is predominantly used to simulate specific experiences such as the approach to a house<sup>194</sup> or a view of a dormer, seen from below.<sup>195</sup> Especially this last role of the perspective drawing, to evoke the visual perception at eye level, will become dominant in the drawings in the books that follow after *Zimmermannsarbeiten*.

Tessenow also wrote two essays for this book, dealing partly with pragmatic issues, such as the comparison between different types of timber staircases, and partly with more reflective thoughts on the use of wood as a building material.<sup>196</sup> These written contributions are accompanied by small drawings that do not act as explications accompanying the text, but more as emblems. One of these emblems is perhaps the oldest drawing by Tessenow that we know of: a small drawing of a *Bauernhaus am Aachensee (Tirol)* dated 1901



### **Der Wohnhausbau: Depicting dwelling**

Two years after *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, Tessenow's second book *Der Wohnhausbau* appears.<sup>197</sup> Here, using only his own drawings and projects, he shifts his focus from timber structures to the highly relevant subject of the *Kleinwohnung*.<sup>198</sup> After a number of illustrated texts that briefly introduce the subject and then describe, in considerable detail, the various rooms and building parts to be found in the *Kleinwohnung*, the book mainly consists of drawings. The first print of *Der Wohnhausbau* is published both as a bound book and as a portfolio. In both cases, the drawings are published as separate plates. The importance of these drawings is confirmed by Tessenow in the first sentence of the introduction when he states that he initially wanted to publish these without any text.<sup>199</sup>

<sup>194</sup> Tessenow, *Zimmermannsarbeiten* (1910), plate 1, 21, 22, 31, 39, 40

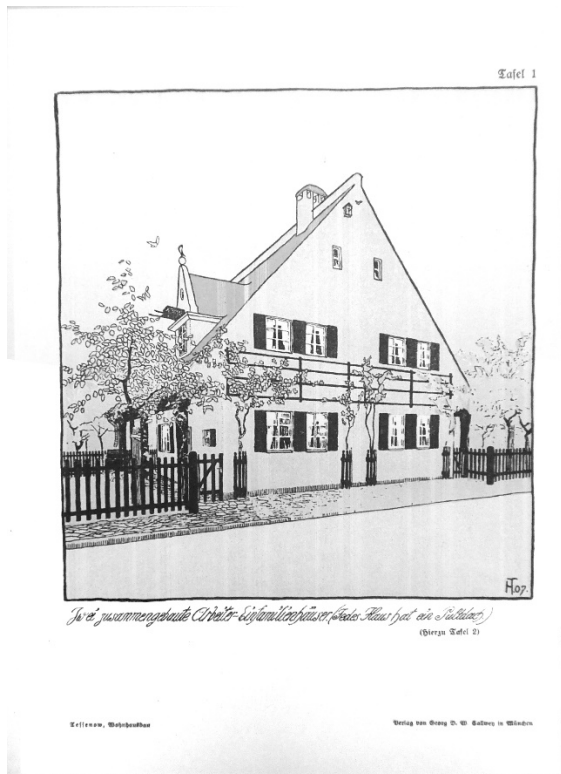
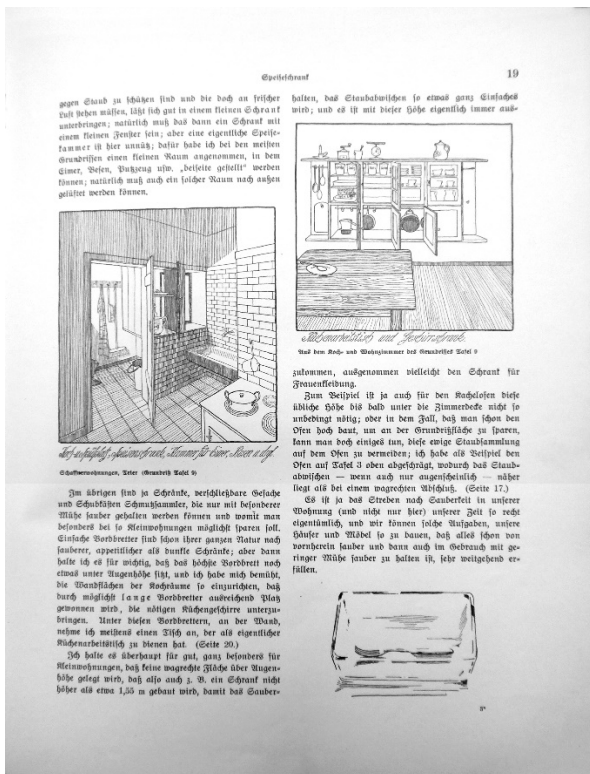
<sup>195</sup> Tessenow, *Zimmermannsarbeiten* (1910), plate 15, 17, 40

<sup>196</sup> Besides the previously mentioned 'Vorwort zur ersten Auflage' (reprinted in Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow, Das Land in der Mitte*, (2017), 39-43; 'Plauderei über das Holz' (reprinted in Böll, 2017, p. 44-48); 'Text zu Blatt 15 und 16' (reprinted in Böll, 2017, p. 49-51); 'Die Ausbildung der Treppe und des Treppenhaus' (reprinted in Böll, 2017, p. 52-60)

<sup>197</sup> See: Theodor Böll (ed.) *Heinrich Tessenow, Wohnhausbau*, (2008). For a comprehensive analysis of the text of *Der Wohnhausbau* and the reception of the book, see: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 40-55

<sup>198</sup> Other publications on this topic before the First World War include Nussbaum, *Bau Und Einrichtung Von Kleinwohnungen* (1901); Holtmeyer, *Einfamilienhäuser* (1909); Beetz, *Kleinwohnungs-Häuser* (1910); Müller. *Die Kleinwohnung als schönes Heim* (1912); Haenel and Tscharmann. *Das Kleinwohnhaus der Neuzeit* (1913)

<sup>199</sup> 'Ich hatte ursprünglich die Absicht, meine folgenden Bauentwürfe und Zeichnungen ohne eigentliche Text zu veröffentlichen' See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow, Wohnhausbau*, (2008), 16



Der Wohnhausbau: p. 19 and plate 1

The drawings that appear in *Der Wohnhausbau* are used in three different ways. First, there are the smaller drawings that are used as illustrations in the text. Although the text does not literally refer to these, their position on the page indicates their supportive nature. Then, spread throughout the text, are 12 full-page illustrations. These images seem more independent, although they definitely have a relation with specific parts of the text, such as the depiction of a window (p. 8), a kitchen (p. 21 and 22) or a bedroom (p. 25) that align with subchapters in the text. And, finally, there are the separate numbered plates with mostly one and sometimes two images per plate. Most of these 45 images in the portfolio are black-and-white drawings, only five of them are photographs of a recently finished housing project in Trier, Tessenow's first major commission. When comparing these photographs with the perspective drawings in *Der Wohnhausbau*, it is immediately clear that this handful of photographs forms an exception: there is a strong contrast between the frozen representations of the Trier project in the photographs, predominantly focussing on the newly finished building, and the perspective drawings with their abundant depictions of both use and nature. While in his next book, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, photographs will seriously affect the drawings, here they merely contrast with the other images. In a similar way, the three coloured plates that appear in the book are also an exception.<sup>200</sup> Using only ochre and red as the two supporting colours, Tessenow simply highlights specific elements such as walls or roofs in these drawings. In later editions these coloured plates will disappear, thus demonstrating the overall negligible use of colour in his perspectives.

While many of the perspective drawings in *Der Wohnhausbau* were newly made, a number had already appeared in *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* in previous years.<sup>201</sup> Some were actually redrawn with

<sup>200</sup> These are: 'Zwei zusammengebaute Arbeiter- Einfamilienhäuser' (yellow and red); Schaffnerwohnungen Straßensbild' (yellow and red); and 'Toiletten Zimmer (yellow and beige)

<sup>201</sup> *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* 'Unsere Bilder' (1905/1; 1905/4; 1905/14; 1906/4; 1907/10) and 'Gewünschte Skizzen' (1905/9)

slight adjustments, such as *Treppenhaus*, which appeared in *Der Wohnhausbau* in a more modern version without the Doric capitals of the timber columns and the glazing bars in the door windows; or *Einsiedelei*, which was first published in *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* in a more sketchy way.<sup>202</sup> Other than in *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, the perspectives now act more as independent images, detached as they are from accompanying plan drawings and the descriptions in the text. This is a literal detachment, since the perspectives are placed on a different page than the plan drawings, but also a metaphorical one, since the perspectives in *Der Wohnhausbau* present notions and ideas to the viewer that are not discussed at all in the rather pragmatic introductory text.

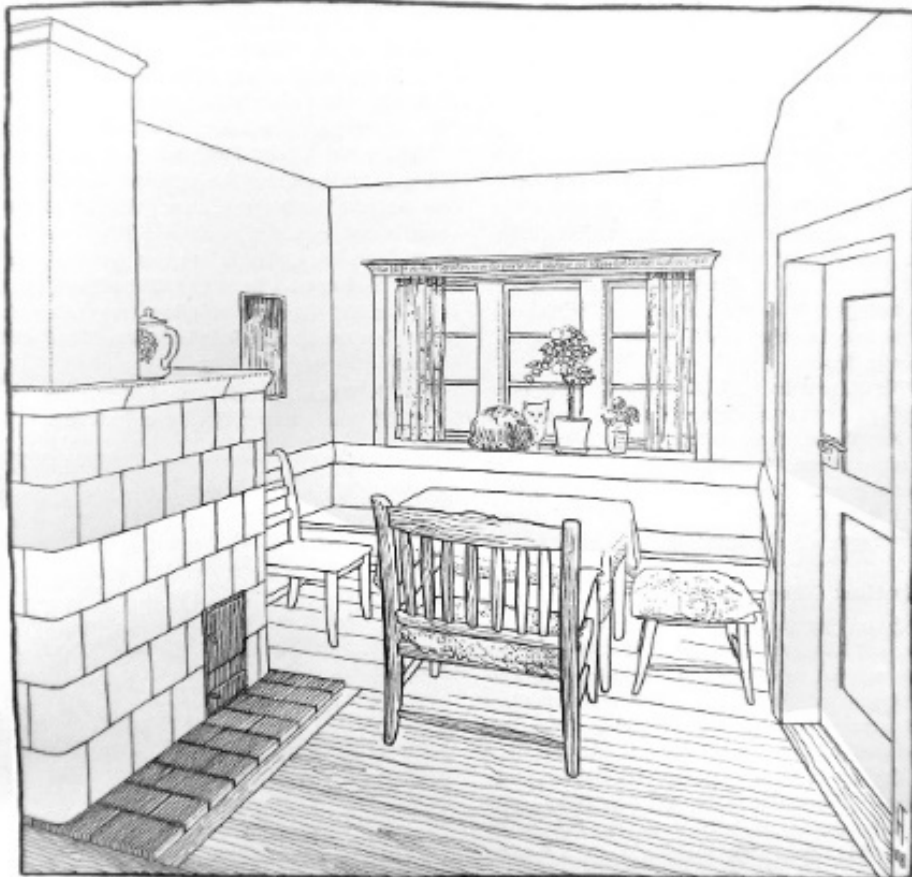
Compared with those in *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, the perspectives in *Der Wohnhausbau* also show a different drawing style, with less reference to the line density of nineteenth-century etchings and less preoccupation with the depiction of materials, ornaments and shadows. In the cases that materials and shadows are drawn in detail, the denser bits in the drawing are often supplemented with more empty and abstract parts so that the attention of the viewer is focussed on specific parts. A clear example of this is visible in the plate 17 *Eingebaute Arbeiterwohnung (Wohnzimmer)* (Workers' terraced house (living room)). Some elements in this interior are drawn out in detail, such as the stove, and more in particular its small door and the stone tiles on which it stands, and also the back of a chair. Only the outline of other chairs and the built-in bench are drawn. Soft materials, such as the cushion on the stool, the tablecloth and the lace curtains are depicted in detail, as is the cat, the potted plant and the ornamented coffeepot on the stove. Then again the door, walls, ceiling and most of the floor are drawn in a much more abstract way with a single outline. At first sight, the more detailed material expression seems to be used predominantly in the front of the drawing, but this is not entirely true: the objects on the windowsill also receive more detailed expression.

In the perspectives published in *Der Wohnhausbau*, shadows are drawn in various ways. There are drawings in which the depiction of shadow still resembles the old fashioned hatching used in *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, such as plate 33 *Treppenhaus zu einem Einfamilienhaus für Bad Brösen* or plate 25 *Entwurf zu einem bürgerlichen Wohnhause an einem Bergabhang*. In these drawings a multitude of densely drawn dashes is used to indicate shadow. However, especially in the drawings of interiors, shadow is also depicted in a more abstract way with both crosshatching and vertical line hatching that resembles the way shadows were drawn by Richard Berndt in *Zimmermannsarbeiten*.<sup>203</sup> In some drawings, such as plate 16 *Schaffnerwohnungen – Elektrizitätswerk – Trier. Wohnzimmer* or plate 24 *Wohnzimmer (Haus no. 7)*, shadows have disappeared completely, thus drawing the viewer's attention to the room itself, to the material expression of certain building elements or pieces of furniture and to the sparse use of ornaments. The absence of shadow thus introduces the clarity of an all-embracing light and, connected with this, a strong sense of abstraction.

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<sup>202</sup> Compared are *Treppenhaus für einen Einfamilienhaus für Bad Brösen* (Tafel 33 in Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau* (1919)) with *Treppenhaus* (Blatt 22 in Tessenow, *Zimmermannsarbeiten* (1907)); and *Einsiedelei* (Tafel 19 in Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau* 1919) with the perspective drawing in Tessenow, *Skizzen zu einem ländlichen Zweifamilienhause in Bautechnische Zeitschrift*, 1906, Beilage bei Nr. 1.

<sup>203</sup> For the use of crosshatching see: *Eingebaute Kleinbürgerwohnung (Schlafzimmer)* on p. 25; *Eingebaute Kleinbürgerwohnung (Schlafzimmer)* on p. 28; *Eingebaute Arbeiterwohnung (Rückseite, Gartenseite)* on p. 29. For the use of vertical line hatching see: illustration *Speiseschrank* on p. 18; *Koch- und Spülplatz Schaffnerwohnungen Trier* on p. 19; *Schaffnerwohnungen Trier (Flur einer Obergeschoßwohnung, Loggia a.d. Gartenseite)* on plate 15



*Eingebaute Arbeiterwohnung (Wohnzimmer)*

(Grundriß Seite 30 links)

Klöpper, Wohnbau

8

Regarding the depiction of houses in *Der Wohnhausbau*, nature plays a prominent role. In the case of the solitary houses shown on plate 19 *Einsiedelei* or plate 20 *Skizze zu einem Wohnhaus in der Eifel*, the carefully drawn house is accompanied by an equally carefully drawn solitary tree.<sup>204</sup> Especially in the drawings that relate to the *Kleinwohnung*, Tessenow makes an effort to draw out the natural elements in detail: trees, plants, vegetables, cats, hens, doves and, occasionally, some human beings.<sup>205</sup> This domesticated form of nature is visible in the interior of the living room with plants in the windowsill, but most evidently appears in the drawings of back gardens where Tessenow shows the importance of this space as a place to grow vegetables, to keep small livestock and to repose. By drawing out in detail the domestication of nature, the back garden thus represents most clearly Tessenow's ideas of a reformist way of living that he envisioned for the inhabitants of the *Kleinwohnung*. The interior of the house, on the other hand, forms a stage for visualizing the importance of *Zweck* (use) by drawing in detail the various pieces of furniture and the mutual spatial relations between these pieces and the relation between furniture and the interior space in which it is placed. Some of the furniture appearing in the drawings looks modern, with relatively thin legs and outspoken forms; others pieces refer back to well-known furniture, such as the rush-seated chairs in the interior of the *Schaffnerwohnungen* in Trier.<sup>206</sup> Especially in the drawings of kitchens and their built-in furniture, the smaller objects and utensils are drawn meticulously.<sup>207</sup>

*Der Wohnhausbau* was well received and was reviewed at least ten times right after its publication, both in professional journals and cultural magazines.<sup>208</sup> Established architects such as Hermann Muthesius, writer of *Das englische Haus* and *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst*, review the book quite positively<sup>209</sup> and architect and critic Paul Klopfer, in a review in the magazine *Kunstwart* in 1910<sup>210</sup> states: 'Everything is viewed, observed, and deeply felt from the perspective of pure *Sachlichkeit* (matter-of-fact-ness).'<sup>211</sup> Regarding Tessenow's drawings, Klopfer also notes something 'old-fashioned' that contrasts with the modern assignments that are addressed: 'A calm contemplativeness to those pictures that remind us of the age of grandfather – and the exceedingly lovely, fine manner of representation in feather style without all the fuss, without the "manners", probably contributes essentially to this heartening impression.'<sup>212</sup> For Klopfer, the drawings reinforce Tessenow's text:

So that's the result, all this beauty, if you think, plan and build as sensibly as Tessenow writes!  
The coldest sobriety, the driest consideration, which speaks the first voice on every part of the house, on windows, doors, floors, walls, ceilings, stoves, furniture . . . results in a sheer

<sup>204</sup> See Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau* (1919)

<sup>205</sup> See: Eingebaute Arbeiterwohnung (Rückseite, Gartenseite) on p. 29 or Eingebaute Kleinbürgerwohnung (Hof) on p. 28 or plate 2 Arbeiter Einfamilienhaus

<sup>206</sup> See Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909): Schaffnerwohnungen – Elektrizitätswerk – Trier. Wohnzimmer plate 16

<sup>207</sup> See Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909), 19, 20, 21

<sup>208</sup> Reviews appeared in the architecture journals *Deutsche Bauhütte*, *Süddeutsche Bauhütte*, *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, *Der Architekt*, *Das Werk* and *Gartenstadt* and in more general cultural magazines, such as *Der Kunstwart*, *März* and *Die Rheinlande*. See also: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 66, footnote 18

<sup>209</sup> See: *Neudeutsche Bauzeitung* VI, (1910), Nr. 7, 87 (86-88)

<sup>210</sup> Paul Klopfer, 'Der Wohnungsbau', in: *Kunstwart* (1910), Vol 10, 273-275

<sup>211</sup> 'alles ist betrachtet, beobachtet, und innig empfunden aus dem Gesichtswinkel reiner Sachlichkeit heraus' Klopfer (1910), 273-275 (my translation)

<sup>212</sup> 'eine ruhigen Beschaulichkeit zu jenen Bildern, die an die Großväterzeit gemahnen – und die überaus liebliche, feine Darstellungsweise in Federmanier ohne jedes Drum und Dran, ohne jene "Manier", trägt wohl zu diesem wärmelnden Eindruck wesentlich bei.' Klopfer (1910), 273-275

immeasurable number of images – interior- and exterior-views – each of which is a little folk song.<sup>213</sup>

Well-known Swiss author Hermann Hesse praises the book in his review in the cultural magazine *März*, again showing the importance of the drawings in transmitting Tessenow's ideas, since only the drawings trigger Hesse's curiosity to read the text and familiarize himself with Tessenow's views on *Wohnhausbau*.<sup>214</sup> With excerpts of the book appearing in various journals and with the positive reviews in journals and magazines, Tessenow's new status as an upcoming young and promising architect was now confirmed, opening up new possibilities in his career.<sup>215</sup>

In the successive reprints and new editions of *Der Wohnhausbau*, Tessenow both exchanged old drawings for new ones and changed their order.<sup>216</sup> While the outmoded portfolio format disappears in the reprints, the separate drawing section remains in place, as well as the single-page drawings used in the text section, indicating the continuous importance and independent character of the perspective drawings. In the depiction of the buildings, spaces and objects, but also in the representation of materials, natural elements and shadow, a desire to draw out the objects and building elements in a meticulously precise way is mixed with a growing sense of abstraction. There is, however, another meaning attached to these detailed depictions of both houses, back gardens and interior spaces and their furniture. Tessenow's perspective drawings make clear that he considers the design of the *Kleinwohnung* not simply as a functional or typological assignment focussed on the efficient layout of rooms. His perspective drawings of the *Kleinwohnung* pertain to a broader interpretation of dwelling that connects the situation of the *Kleinwohnung* in the *Kleinstadt* to the purpose and use of its various spaces. The perspective drawings in *Der Wohnhausbau* are able to represent *Zweck* (use or purpose). This *Zweck* stretches out from the inside of a kitchen cupboard to the flower beds in the garden and also plays an important role in Tessenow's argumentation in the text that precedes the drawings. Unlike the plan drawings, which mainly show the arrangement of separate functions in the dwelling, the perspective drawings are able to suggest the actual use and its broader relation to dwelling, with all of its wider social and cultural connotations. More than anything else, Tessenow attempts to capture in his perspective drawings this essence of dwelling.

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<sup>213</sup> 'Also das wird daraus, all dies Schöne, wenn man so vernünftig denkt, plant und baut wie Tessenow geschrieben hat! Die kälteste Nüchternheit, die trockenste Erwägung, die bei jedem Teil des Hauses, bei Fenstern, Türen, Fußböden, Wänden, Decken, Öfen, Möbeln (...) die erste Stimme spricht, hat zur Folge eine schier unermeßliche Anzahl von Schaubildern – Innen- und Außenansichten - deren jede ein kleines Volkslied ist' Klopfer (1910), 273-275 (my translation)

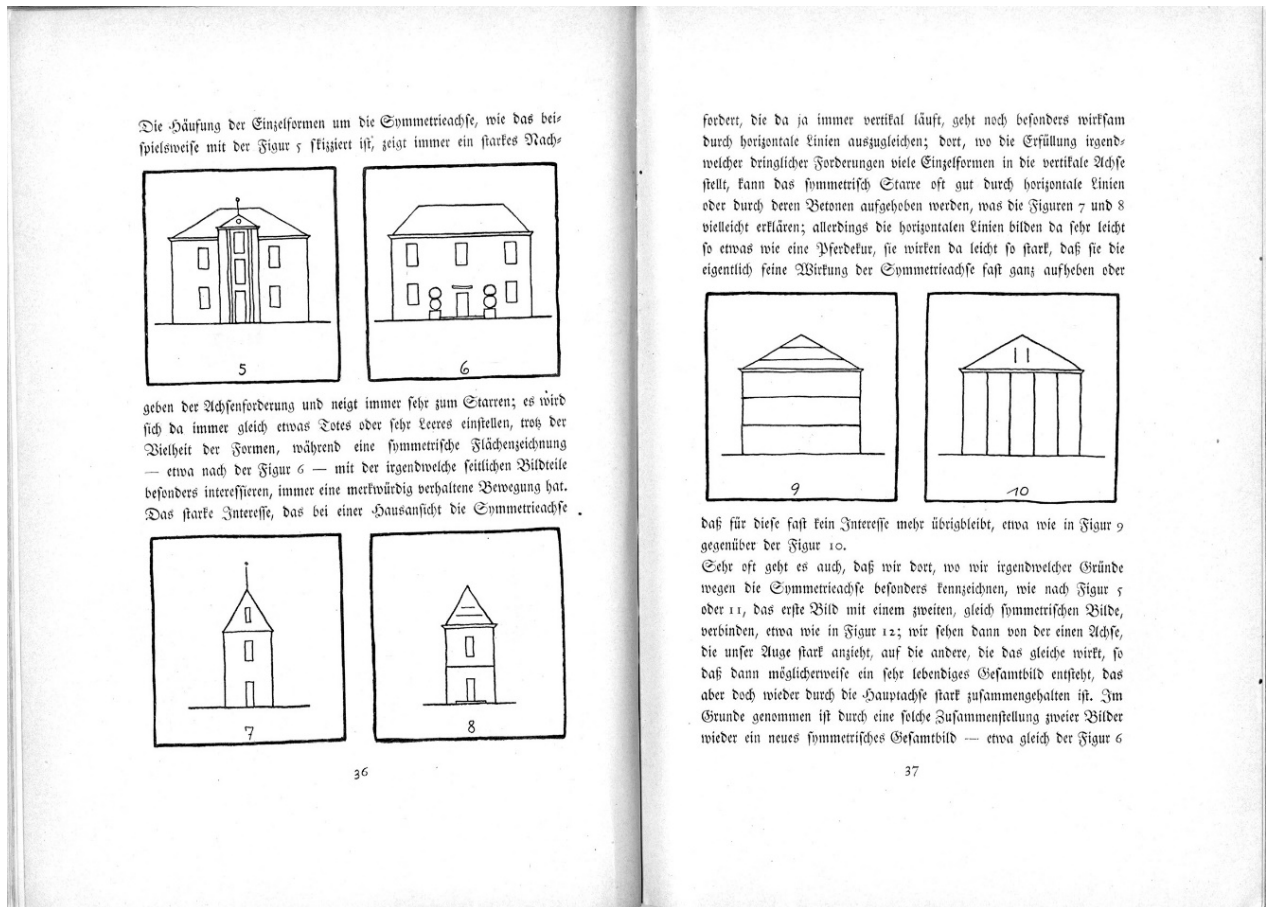
<sup>214</sup> Hermann Hesse, 'Wohnhausneubau' in: *Märztz*, III (1909), nr. 22, 309-310. Quoted in De Michelis (1991), 51

<sup>215</sup> Excerpts from *Der Wohnhausbau* appear, a.o., in *Gartenstadt IV* (1910) Nr. 1, 6-9.

<sup>216</sup> In the second printing of *Der Wohnhausbau* in 1914, the loose plates of the portfolio were bound as part of the book, while ten perspectives were removed; in the third 1927 edition, almost 40 images were removed, while nine perspectives and several orthogonal plan drawings and three photographs of furniture arrangements were added.



## Hausbau und dergleichen: Depicting restraint



Hausbau und dergleichen, 1916, p. 36-37

During the years of the First World War, Tessenow published what would become his most famous book: *Hausbau und dergleichen*. Written in Vienna where Tessenow had been appointed professor at the Wiener Kunstgewerbeschule in 1913, the book followed most likely from a series of lectures given in 1915 and appeared as a book one year later in 1916.<sup>217</sup> For Tessenow the years between 1909 and 1913 were quite productive, since he had not only built an impressive number of projects in Hellerau, including the Dalcroze Institute, but also various buildings and houses elsewhere in Germany. As a contrast to this productive period in realizing buildings, the years between 1913 and 1916 were characterized by a (literal) distance to German practice and by an economic stagnation caused by the First World War. Tessenow used this distance and stagnation to rethink his profession in a fundamental way. His writings in *Hausbau und dergleichen*, although departing from the same premises as his preceding book *Der Wohnhausbau*, are much more reflective and show a strong focus on both the ethics and aesthetics of design. The text can be subdivided into four parts, with the first three chapters building up the opening part that contains a more general reflection on the basic

<sup>217</sup> Heinrich Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen* (Berlin, Bruno Cassirer Verlag, 1916). See Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen*, (2011), 5-6 and De Michelis, 100-110

conditions of architecture in society.<sup>218</sup> The subsequent parts contain chapters that reflect on fundamental ideas immediately related, in Tessenow's eyes, to matters of design. The second part of the text thus concentrates on formal honesty and *Sachlichkeit*, the third part on the representation of uniformity, while the fourth and final part addresses the visual experience of formal purity.<sup>219</sup> In the last part of the text, Tessenow makes an effort to describe as concretely as possible a number of design strategies to translate *Sachlichkeit* to specific forms and formal solutions, using small diagrammatic illustrations in simple outline. The subsequent separate 84-page image section of *Hausbau und dergleichen* contains perspective drawings, photographs of executed projects and a few working drawings of entrances and a balcony.

Compared with *Der Wohnhausbau*, the texts in *Hausbau und dergleichen* focus more on matters of design and, in particular, on the perception of designed spaces and objects. The perspective drawings in the image section of the book contribute to the main ideas of the text. Tessenow also stresses their mutual connection: 'The following textual considerations are meant to answer a range of questions that we, in our professional work, continue to prioritize or find extremely important. Both the text and my own professional work presented subsequently, might reinforce a mutual understanding.'<sup>220</sup> The text in *Hausbau und dergleichen* seems to distance itself both from any pretensions of architecture as an academic or artistic field, and from the immediate practicalities of house building as described in *Der Wohnhausbau*. Instead, it offers a reflection on both the necessary conditions of the profession and the visual representation of the works created by the architect in his response to these conditions. As such, the images in the second part of the book are closely tied to the reflections in the text, and both reinforce Tessenow's premise of the user's or visitor's visual perception as the key notion in architectural design.

In the same way that the texts of *Hausbau und dergleichen* and *Der Wohnhausbau* each have quite a particular character, the image sections of both books also show a difference, although perhaps less outspoken. In 1916 when *Hausbau und dergleichen* was published, Tessenow had just finished an intense period of building in Hellerau and other places in Germany and this focus on architectural practice left its traces in the images of the book, marking it as a turning point in Tessenow's use of the perspective drawing.

The image section of *Hausbau und dergleichen* opens with three spreads in which the perspective drawing has completely disappeared, showing just photographs of housing projects in Hellerau flanked by hand-drawn plans. The use of spreads in the image section marks an important difference

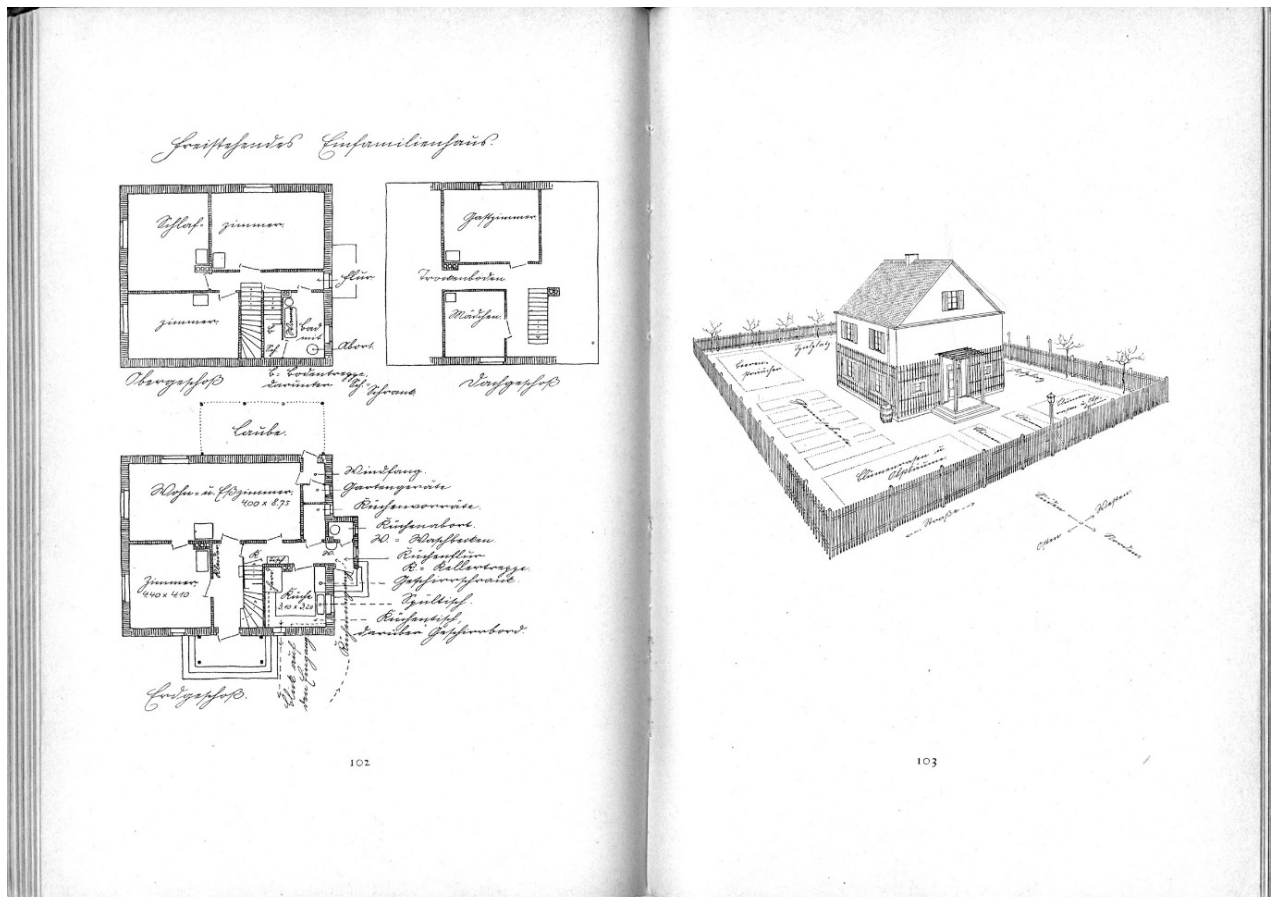
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<sup>218</sup> These chapters are 'Einleitung' (Introduction) p. 1-7; 'Gewerbliche Arbeit und das Bürgerliche' (Industrial work and the middle-class quality) p. 8-12 and 'Die kleine Werkstatt und die Fabrik' (The small workshop and the factory) p. 12-18. This last chapter disappears from the later editions. See: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916

<sup>219</sup> The second part contains the two chapters 'Die technische Form' (Technical Form) p. 19-24 and 'Die Sachlichkeit oder die Wahrheit in der gewerblichen Arbeit' (*Sachlichkeit* or the truth in industrial work) p. 24-26. The third part contains the chapters 'Die Ordnung' (Order) p. 26-32 and 'Die Regelmäßigkeit und besonders die Symmetrie' (Regularity and especially symmetry) p. 32-38. The final part contains the chapters 'Die Sauberkeit oder die Reinheit der gewerblichen Arbeiten' (Cleanliness or purity in industrial works) p. 39-46; *Empfindsames über das Teilen und Verbinden* (Sensitivity regarding issues on separating and connecting) p. 47-56 and not included in the table of content; and 'Das Ornament' (Ornament) p. 56-61. See: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916

<sup>220</sup> 'Mit den folgenden textlichen Ausführungen ist nun gesucht, eine Reihe Fragen zu beantworten, die uns im gewerblichen Arbeiten immer wieder zuerst oder besonders wichtig sind. Dabei mögen sich dann der Text und meine nachfolgend wiedergegebenen eigenen gewerblichen Arbeiten gegenseitig noch mehr erklären.' See: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, 7. Reprinted in Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow, Hausbau und dergleichen*, (2011), 20 (my translation).

with both the first and also the second edition of *Der Wohnhausbau*.<sup>221</sup> In *Hausbau und dergleichen* drawings and photographs are printed on both sides of the page, allowing Tessenow to place floorplans or detail drawings next to a perspective or photograph, thereby creating an immediate interaction between the two pages. Compared with the first edition of *Der Wohnhausbau* of 1909, in which drawings were presented on separate plates, the images in *Hausbau* are paired to another page that often contains related drawings and images, reinforcing the idea of the perspective drawing as part of a project presented on a spread.



*Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, p. 102-103

Similar to the images in *Der Wohnhausbau*, all projects in *Hausbau und dergleichen* are more or less arranged according to scale and stature, from the *Kleinwohnung* to the detached and semi-detached townhouses, to the Dalcroze Institute, and ending with proposals for manor houses with a few garden arbours as intermezzi. If we compare the drawings in the image section of *Hausbau und dergleichen* with those presented in *Der Wohnhausbau*, the differences are subtle but telling. Materials are still recognizable, but now drawn with even fewer lines and dots, so that the expression of materials and textures reaches another level of abstraction. Line hatchings, used to indicate rooftiles, are now subtly interrupted, while bricks are reduced to patterns of fine dots and dashes, often merging with the plants and trees, and drawn in a comparable way. The interiors show a similar use of lines and dots, indicating specific materials and textures such as cushions and curtains.

<sup>221</sup> The second edition of *Der Wohnhausbau* is published in 1914

In *Hausbau und dergleichen*, shadows have now almost disappeared from the perspectives. Only a few drawings still show shadows, such as *Landliches Einfamilienhaus für das Ruhrtal*, with its subtle fine-lined scribbles indicating the shadowed walls or, in a completely different way, the staircase view of the *Einfamilien-Doppelhaus* with a consequent vertical hatching that looks similar to the shading in some drawings in *Der Wohnhausbau*.<sup>222</sup> The lack of shadow in the exterior views of many of the buildings is now often combined with a frontal view in central single-point perspective, reducing the appearance of the house to an elevation, with only some trees placed in front.<sup>223</sup> But also when oblique perspectives are used to show the *Kleinwohnung*, there now seems to be a stronger focus on the representation of the house and its entrance towards the street.

Compared with *Der Wohnhausbau*, nature is drawn in a less expressive way in *Hausbau und dergleichen*. This gives an impression of a somewhat hesitant nature, with the foliage of trees drawn in thin dashes and with vegetable- and flowerbeds only indicated through dotted lines, as if the gardens await to be planted.<sup>224</sup> No longer do we encounter the lush back gardens with vegetables, hens and doves that characterized so many drawings in *Der Wohnhausbau*.<sup>225</sup> The only image that comes close is actually the photograph that opens the image section, showing the deep front gardens of the Hellerau row houses, with vegetables, young trees and plants and a woman stepping out of an open door.<sup>226</sup> It seems as if the many photographs of recently finished houses, with their gardens still bare, have had a strong effect on the perspective drawings. In the case of the perspective drawing of Haus Lehmann, this effect is quite literal, since the perspective is drawn from a photograph of the house, erasing the dormer on the right side of the roof. Interestingly, no trees or plants were added to the image.<sup>227</sup>

The restraint evoked by these perspectives also appears in some of the drawings of interior spaces, where only dotted lines indicate the delineations of the room. On the other hand, the furniture pieces and various loose objects are increasingly drawn in full black outline, with thinner and interrupted dots and dashes to indicate textile materials. In some interior perspectives, the objects and building elements are rigorously reduced to their main form and drawn in thick outline, giving these drawings an almost cartoonish appearance. This is most evident in the no less than 13 perspectives drawn for the *Einfamilien Doppelhaus*<sup>228</sup> where both the house, its entrance, the various rooms and pieces of furniture are drawn out in detail. Most of these perspective drawings remain quite bare and with the delineations of the room missing, the furniture at times appearing floating and detached.

In many drawings there no longer seems to be a desire to visualize how inhabitation and use bring life to the building and, as a consequence, to the drawing, and this also affected Tessenow's architecture. Strong expressions with romantic connotations, still visible in some of the *Der*

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<sup>222</sup> *Landliches Einfamilienhaus für das Ruhrtal* on p. 131; *Einfamilien-Doppelhaus* on p. 111

<sup>223</sup> See the *Gutsherrenhäuser* in: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, (1916), 132, 135, 138, 140 and 142

<sup>224</sup> See: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, (1916), 85 and 103.

<sup>225</sup> See: Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909), 28, 29, plate 2, plate 38

<sup>226</sup> Am Schänkenberg 4-26. See: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916), p. 63

<sup>227</sup> See: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916), 99. Also De Michelis points at the manipulations in the drawing, see: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 220 See also: Scheffler, *Die Architektur der Großstadt* (1913), 166-167

<sup>228</sup> See: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916), 106-119

*Wohnhausbau* drawings, such as in *Einsiedelei* or the dramatic setting of *Entwurf zu einem bürgerlichen Wohnhause an einem Bergabhang*, have disappeared.<sup>229</sup> These drawings have made room for the stillness and restraint of Haus Otto, Haus Lehmann and the *Zwei verbundene Einfamilienhäuser* in Hellerau.<sup>230</sup> Concerning row housing, a much simpler and straightforward approach to the design of the single house within the row has replaced the elaborated row housing facades with bay windows and setbacks.<sup>231</sup> The perspectives often show how singular building elements are emphasized within a simple, straightforward building volume. And when interiors are drawn, not so much the room, but the pieces of furniture that it contains are emphasized. If traces of use are drawn, the expression is often subdued, which reinforces, curiously enough, the engaging effect on the viewer.

The drawings in *Hausbau und dergleichen* should not be opposed to the drawings that Tessenow published in *Der Wohnhausbau*. In both cases the drawings explore how the architecture of the *Kleinwohnung* should respond to *wohnen*, understood in both its pragmatic meaning of following the ordinary rituals of living and also its broadest cultural sense of inhabiting a place. Tessenow wants to create a background for this *wohnen* and his perspective drawings offer him a theoretical tool to explore this in depth.

*Hausbau und dergleichen* became Tessenow's most successful publication.<sup>232</sup> In the many reviews it received, the perspective drawings were discussed, albeit less detailed than the text. The literary critic Werner Mahrholz praises the book and especially the relevant ideas that Tessenow unfolds in his text.<sup>233</sup> When discussing the images, Mahrholz doesn't really make a distinction between photographs and drawings and regards them as reproductions of ideas soon to become concrete.

The book is accompanied by 107 photographs of completed buildings and reproductions of drawings of planned buildings, in which we see the basic requirements fulfilled: the rare case of ideas taking concrete shape in our time can be seen in these photographs and drawings.<sup>234</sup>

Mahrholz recognizes the artistic value of the drawings itself, but doesn't explicitly link this value to those addressed in Tessenow's text and buildings, when he writes: 'The drawings [are] also very

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<sup>229</sup> See: Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909), plate 19 and 25

<sup>230</sup> The single family house for Adolf Otto is situated in Gartenstadt Falkenberg, Berlin-Grünau; Haus Lehmann is situated Auf dem Sand 12, Hellerau and the *Zwei verbundene Einfamilienhäuser* can be found at Heideweg 4 and 6, Hellerau. In *Hausbau und dergleichen*, only a single house is presented in plan and photograph. See: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916), 103-105, 99, 95

<sup>231</sup> Compare f.i. p. 7 and plate 32 in *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909) with p. 75 and p. 80 in *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916)

<sup>232</sup> Besides the here discussed reviews in *Deutsche Wille* and *Kunst und Künstler*, Marco de Michelis also mentions: F. R. Vogel, 'Hausbau und dergleichen' in *Deutsche Bauhütte*, XXI (1917); 35-36, p. 188; Albrecht Haupt 'HT' in: *Neudeutsche Bauzeitung* XIII (1917), Nr. 11-12, p. 41-42; Werner Mahrholz 'HT, Bemerkungen über den Baustil der Sachlichkeit' in: *Die Rheinlande*, XVII (1917), Nr. 7-8, p. 177-180; Wilhelm Mackowsky 'HT, der Meister des Hausbaues' in: *Der Prafanbau*, 1919, Nr. 9-10, p. 77-82; Friedrich Paulsen, *Die Bauwelt* 1917, Nr. 22, p. 16; See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 107, f 36

<sup>233</sup> Werner Mahrholz, 'Von dem, was der neuen Baukunst am meisten nottut' in: *Deutscher Wille – Der Kunstwart*, XXX (1917), Nr. 9, 113-119

<sup>234</sup> 'Dem Buche sind 107 Photographien von ausgeführten Bauten und Reproduktionen der Zeichnungen geplanter Bauten beigegeben, in denen man das Grundsätzliche der Forderungen erfüllt sieht: der seltene Fall, daß in unserer Zeit Ideen konkrete Gestalt annehmen, ist in diesen Photographien und Zeichnungen gegeben.' See: Mahrholz, (1917) 118-119 (my translation)

graceful and charming simply as drawings of delicate, airy strokes . . . and [have] their own value as little works of art.’<sup>235</sup>

In 1917, during the First World War, architect Otto Bartning starts his review of *Hausbau und dergleichen* with a long reflection on how the harsh conditions of the war might have a purifying effect on architecture and uses Tessenow’s publication as an example of this. Interestingly, Bartning then discusses the drawings:

He creates each line with his own pencil and elevates his love for his own pencil to the independent drawing value of the individual sheet. And just as I wish us builders the stillness of his drawing room, I would now like to wish him the tangibility of the wall, the repeated experience of the building structure, in short, the sensuality, the voluptuousness of actual creating, so that a warm touch of this sensuality makes his drawn strokes not only eurhythmic lines, but also a symbol of reality, of tangibility.<sup>236</sup>

Although Bartning fully recognizes the value of Tessenow’s drawings, he also regards them as foreshadowing concrete realizations, in which some of their sensuality will be transferred. Before he moves on to the text of the book, to which he only dedicates three short sentences, he points the attention of the reader to one particular drawing, thus making clear the importance of the perspective drawing in transmitting Tessenow’s ideas:

One of the drawings, page 105, really shows that a gable with a front door and three windows, without any additional features, can make a full-fledged composition only through its well-balanced elements. Hardly pleasing, rather poor than rich, but perfectly vivid, perfectly resounding, perfectly mature.<sup>237</sup>

When these reviews of *Hausbau und dergleichen* are compared with those of *Der Wohnhausbau*, a subtle change can be noted. No longer mentioned are the references to a tradition, lingering on in the drawings of *Der Wohnhausbau*; instead the tangible elementary nature of the projects is stressed by the reviewers. The perspective drawings are still praised for their grace, but it is a different kind of grace, since this grace is dominated by a strong restraint: ‘Eher arm als reich,’ as Bartning put it.

There is one article that sits in between a review of *Hausbau und dergleichen* and a reflection on Tessenow’s drawings. The leading art and architecture critic Karl Scheffler not only published two chapters from *Hausbau und dergleichen* in the 1917 edition of the art magazine *Kunst und Künstler*, of which he was editor in chief, but also added to these an article that specifically addressed Tessenow’s drawings. In this article, he places these in a broader cultural tradition that not only runs from Karl Friedrich Schinkel to Josef Olbrich, but also includes artists such as Vincent van Gogh and Aubrey Beardsley. Scheffler sees in Tessenow an architect who is in full control of his drawing:

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<sup>235</sup> ‘die Zeichnungen (sind) auch rein als Zeichnungen von duftigem zarten Strich sehr anmutig und reizvoll (..) und (haben) ihren Eigenwert als kleine Kunstblätter’ See: Mahrholz, (1917) 119 (my translation).

<sup>236</sup> ‘Er bildet jede Linie mit dem eigenen Stift und steigert diese Liebe zum eigenen Stift bis zum selbständigen Zeichenwert des einzelnen Blattes. Und wie ich uns Bauenden die Stille seiner Zeichenstube wünsche, so möchte ich ihm nun noch die Greifbarkeit der Mauer, das häufigere Erlebnis des Rohbaues, kurz die Sinnlichkeit, die Wollust des wirklichen Bildens wünschen, damit ein warmer Hauch dieser Sinnlichkeit die gezeichneten Striche nicht nur zur eurhythmischen Linie, sondern zum Symbol einer Wirklichkeit, einer Greifbarkeit mache.’ Otto Bartning ‘Heinrich Tessenow: Hausbau und dergleichen’ in: *Kunst und Künstler*, XV (1917), Nr. 1, p. 42-43 (my translation).

<sup>237</sup> ‘Eine der Zeichnungen, Seite 105, zeigt wirklich, dass ein Giebel mit einer Hausthür und drei Fenstern, ohne alle Zuthat, nur durch seine wohlerwogenen Elemente, ein vollwertiges Stück sein kann. Kaum wohlgefällig, eher arm als reich, aber vollkommen lebendig, vollkommen klingend, vollkommen reif.’ See: Bartning (1917), 43 (my translation).

I am not able to name a single architect who is able draw his designs and plans so plainly, and at the same time so artistically. From this one should not conclude that Tessenow is exceptionally gifted when it comes to drawing; he simply draws so much better, more clearly, more sensitively, more artistically than others, because he builds more clearly and sensitively. Both the art of building and the art of expressing architectural ideas through drawings belong together and have a reciprocal effect on each other.<sup>238</sup>

And Scheffler goes on: 'His drawings are sensitive, verging on the idyllic, but are never sentimental; they are full of atmosphere, but are also so matter-of-fact that one could build from them.'<sup>239</sup> In the following sentences he will continue to use other opposing terms to characterize the drawings, stating they are:

. . . highly personal and yet the rules of representation are fully derived from the artefact . . . undoubtedly works of an architect but also very picturesque . . . the drawings are full of tenderness, but never weak, they are curt, but exhaustive withal; they are spatially conceived, yet they never strive for naturalistic illusions. With thrifty black-and-white suggestions, air, light and colour are indicated.<sup>240</sup>

Tessenow was no stranger to Scheffler, who was a regular contributor to *Deutsche Bauhütte* even before Tessenow published his first drawing in the journal.<sup>241</sup> In 1910, Scheffler had written an article on the new Dalcroze Institute in Hellerau,<sup>242</sup> followed in 1913 by a longer piece in *Kunst und Künstler*<sup>243</sup> that was also incorporated, in more or less the same words, as a chapter in his 1913 book *Die Architektur der Großstadt*.<sup>244</sup> Interestingly, neither the chapter in *Die Architektur der Großstadt*, nor the preceding article in *Kunst und Künstler* is illustrated with perspective drawings, only photographs and plan drawings are shown. Considering Scheffler's knowledge of contemporary art and, more specifically, artistic drawing,<sup>245</sup> it is therefore not surprising that four years later, in 1917, he does address Tessenow's drawings in particular. Scheffler's evaluation of Tessenow's drawings is especially valuable as a starting point for my dissertation, since he not only approaches these drawings as artistic creations but also places them in a longer tradition of architectural drawings as

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<sup>238</sup> 'Ich wüsste keinen Baumeister von Ruf zu nennen, der heute imstande wäre seine Entwürfe und Pläne so sachlich und zugleich so persönlich künstlerisch zu zeichnen wie Tessenow. Daraus ist nicht der Schluss zu ziehen, Tessenow wäre für die zeichnerische Darstellung ausnahmsweis begabt; er zeichnet vielmehr besser, klarer, empfindungsvoller, künstlerischer als andere, weil er klarer und empfindungsvoller baut. Beides, die Kunst des Bauens und die Kunst architektonische Vorstellungen zeichnerisch auszudrücken, gehört zusammen und steht in Wechselwirkung' See: Adler, *Tessenow in Hellerau* (2004), 13-14 (translation by Gerald Adler).

<sup>239</sup> "Seine Zeichnungen sind empfindungsvoll bis zum Idyllischen, aber nie sentimental, sie sind stimmungsvoll, aber auch so sachlich, dass man danach bauen könnte." See: Scheffler, 1917, p. 25. Translation by Gerald Adler in Adler (2004), 14

<sup>240</sup> 'aufs äusserste persönlich und doch ist das Gesetz der Darstellung ganz vom Objekt abgeleitet (...) durchaus Arbeiten eines Architekten, aber auch sehr malerisch (...) Die Zeichnungen sind voller Zartheiten, aber nie schwach, sie sind knapp, aber dabei erschöpfend, sie sind ganz räumlich gedacht, doch erstreben sie niemals eine naturalistische Illusion. Mit sparsamen Schwarzweissandeutungen sind Luft, Licht und Farbe gegeben.' See: Scheffler, 1917, p. 25. Translation by Gerald Adler in Adler (2004), 14

<sup>241</sup> In 1901, Scheffler delivered eight contributions to the journal. See: *Deutsche Bauhütte*, 1901, index

<sup>242</sup> Scheffler, 'Jaques Dalcroze' in: *Der Tag* (25-11-1910) and 'Das Dalcroze-Haus in Hellerau' in: *Vossische Zeitung* (6.4.1912)

<sup>243</sup> Scheffler, 'Heinrich Tessenow' in: *Kunst und Künstler* (1912/1913) p. 41-53 Quoted in Adler (2004), 269

<sup>244</sup> Karl Scheffler, *Architektur der Großstadt*, (1913), 164-173. Next to Tessenow, Scheffler also devotes chapters to Alfred Messel, Ludwig Hoffmann, Peter Behrens, Hermann Muthesius, Hermann Obrist and August Endell.

<sup>245</sup> See among others: Scheffler, 'Schwarz-Weiß' in: *Die Zukunft* 42, 1903, 98-106; 'Berliner Sezession' in: *Die Zukunft* 46, 1904, 55-63; 'Bemerkungen zu Schadows Zeichnungen' in: *Kunst und Künstler*, 1908-1909, p. 348-354; 'Goethes Zeichnungen' in: *Kunst und Künstler*, 1909-1910, p. 69-72; 'Notizen über deutsche Zeichenkunst. 25. Ausstellung der Berliner Sezession' in: *Kunst und Künstler*, 1912-1913, p. 187-197; 'Corints Zeichnungen' in: *Kunst und Künstler*, 1916-1917, p. 367-376

independent works that immediately relate to building as such. However, while his sets of opposing terms might be helpful in describing Tessenow's drawings as works of art, they have their limitations when the drawings are considered as works of architecture. It may be useful, therefore, to find a way to translate the terms used by Scheffler into broader notions that will allow a more architectural approach to Tessenow's drawings. In the next chapters I will introduce three epistemic notions that will help to approach Tessenow's perspective drawings as theoretical explorations. For the first of these notions I will use the word *Empfindung*<sup>246</sup> (feeling), which relates to various terms used in Scheffler's article, such as 'sensitive', 'full of atmosphere', 'picturesque' and 'full of tenderness', 'Sie wirken wie Organismen . . . weil die Empfindung einer Präzisionswage gleicht.'<sup>247</sup> The second notion is described by me as *Abstraktion* (abstraction), which immediately connects to Scheffler's remarks on assumed *Klarheit* or *Lauterkeit der Form* that he sees in the drawings and the fact that 'they never strive for naturalistic illusions'. Finally, the notion *Gewöhnlichkeit* (ordinariness) is added by me to build upon what Scheffler in a somewhat provocative way describes as: 'There is no artistry here, because all the artistic rests on confidently skillful craft, on practice and experience.'<sup>248</sup>

*Gewöhnlichkeit* thus forms a notion that seems to place ordinariness or commonality in opposition to artistry. The three notions, *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit* will be used in each of the next three chapters to gain insight in the theoretical significance of Tessenow's perspective drawings. Besides these notions, three thematic categories will also be introduced to help rearranging a broad selection of Tessenow's perspectives. These three categories, which correspond with the next three chapters, but are also closely related to the *Kleinwohnung* and follow from writings by both Tessenow and his contemporaries, are *Haus*, *Raum* and *Sache* (house, space and object).

In Chapter 3, the category *Haus* will contain 24 perspective drawings that will be analysed, focussing on the changing representation of the house as it transforms from a freestanding single-family house in the countryside to the row house in the *Kleinstadt*. The category *Raum*, addressed in Chapter 4, will consider Tessenow's position in relation to this important architectural category by looking at 23 perspectives that pertain to spatial conditions in and around the house. Finally, in Chapter 5, the category *Sache* will be addressed, considering 23 drawings that show both the physical objects and the building elements that not only make up the house and its interior, but also contribute substantially to its representation.

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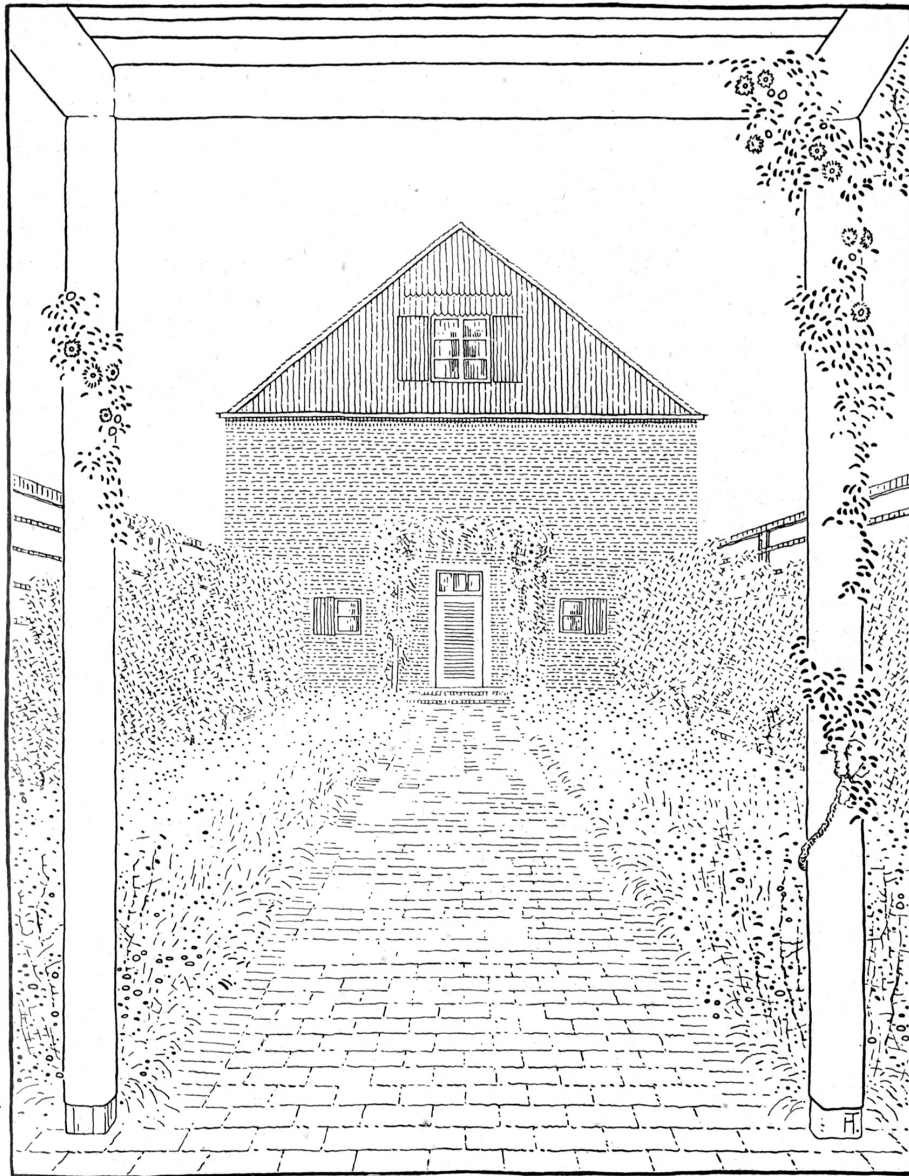
<sup>246</sup> For a definition of *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit* see the next three chapters.

<sup>247</sup> Scheffler, Heinrich Tessenows Zeichnungen (1917), 25

<sup>248</sup> 'Hier ist keine Artistik, den alle Künstlerische ruht auf einem sicher gekonnten Handwerk, auf Praxis und Erfahrung'. Scheffler, Heinrich Tessenows Zeichnungen (1917), 27







# 3

*Haus, from Gartenhaus to Kleinwohnung*



*Göthes Gartenhaus bei Weimar, c. 1904*<sup>249</sup>

*The drawing shows a winter view of a path in Weimar's Park an der Ilm. On the right, an open field with an isolated group of trees is visible while on the left, behind a hedge, we see a garden with trees and shrubs. In the middle of this garden one notices a house gable, with a pitched roof and a small shed dormer. Below the roof, the gridded wall contains at least one window in the upper right corner; the window in the other corner is hidden behind the branches of a tree.*

*The viewpoint in this drawing emphasizes the seclusion of what seems to be a private garden and thus contrasts house and garden with the open landscape of the park. The characteristic graphic blackness of stems and branches of the trees in their winter appearance is reinforced by setting them against the dominant white of the path and the sky.*

*Stems and branches also obscure the clear outlines of the house, thus emphasizing the triangular roof, drawn with dense crosshatching, as a strong geometric figure.*

With the drawing of the *Gartenhaus* 'Am Stern', in which the famous German poet and scholar Wolfgang von Goethe had lived for a while at the end of the eighteenth century, Tessenow payed homage to a relatively small house in the central park of the German city of Weimar.<sup>250</sup> After Goethe's death in 1832, this modest late-sixteenth-century house of which no architect is known, gradually became part of a literary cult that continued into the twentieth century. In 1908, for

<sup>249</sup> The original drawing belongs to the Heinrich Tessenow Archiv of the Kunstbibliothek of the Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, archived as 1988.31 AOZ Z. Source: most likely used in a publication on Goethe by Wilhelm Bode; reprinted in De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow*, 1991, 60

<sup>250</sup> See for the *Gartenhaus*: Güse, Ernst-Gerhard & Margarete Oppel (eds.), *Goethes Gartenhaus* (Weimar: Klassik Stiftung Weimar, 2008)

instance, writer Wilhelm Bode published *Goethes Leben im Garten am Stern*, in which the house and its garden feature as a background to describe a detailed biography of Goethe's life in Weimar.<sup>251</sup> In the same year, Berlin-based architect Paul Mebes included a photograph of this house in *Um 1800*.<sup>252</sup> In this well received and popular book, Mebes brought together a huge number of photographs of palaces, villas, houses, garden pavilions, interiors and furniture, all representing the *bürgerliche* Biedermeier and Empire style from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. With this extensive image collection, Mebes wanted to draw attention to a German *Baukultur* (building culture) that he considered overshadowed by late-nineteenth-century historicism and eclecticism. Among the broad range of pictures that Mebes collected, the *Gartenhaus* stands out for its simplicity.<sup>253</sup> In the early years of the twentieth century, this modest building gradually developed from a simple and plain *bürgerlich* (middle class) example of a German *Biedermeier* house into the exemplary *Ur-Haus* that transcended German regional and vernacular styles.<sup>254</sup> Within this *Gartenhaus* revival, Tessenow appears to be one of the first architects to have captured this house in a perspective drawing.

The main characteristic of Goethe's *Gartenhaus*, namely its charming yet dignified simplicity, reappears in many of the drawings that Tessenow created in the first decades of the twentieth century. Using perspective drawings, Tessenow explored the appearance and representation of houses or dwellings. In the German language the word *Haus* cannot literally be translated as 'house'. According to a German thesaurus from 1904, *Haus* forms a subcategory of the more general category of *Wohnung* (dwelling) referring to a range of buildings that sit between a hut and a palace.<sup>255</sup> While *Haus* predominantly pertains to *Wohnhaus*, its meaning in German not only extends to specific public buildings such as theatres and hotels, but also includes the social group that occupies the house, such as the family and its household. In this dissertation, I have deliberately chosen to use the German word *Haus* to describe the category of Tessenow's perspectives that depict the variety of structures that range from the detached house to the housing slab. The representation of the *Kleinwohnung*, or small house for the working and lower middle classes, without doubt forms one of the central themes in Tessenow's oeuvre. And his perspective drawings together form a drawn investigation in which Tessenow tries to find the essence of *Haus*, in order to extend this essence not only to *Baukunst* (architecture) but to the broader field of *Baukultur* (building culture). According to not only Tessenow, but a substantial number of his colleagues, this culture had been in decline since the nineteenth century. By lamenting the loss of this building culture, these architects followed artist, writer and architect Paul Schultze-Naumburg, who had explicitly proposed to reconnect to 'basic forms of human artistic design, which were common to many successive epochs, and whose changes, in any case, occurred very slowly'.<sup>256</sup> While Schultze-Naumburg took the dwelling as a point of

<sup>251</sup> Wilhelm Bode, *Goethes Leben Im Garten Am Stern* (Berlin: E.S. Mittler & Sohn, 1910). In this publication there are also two drawings by Tessenow, although not the drawing of the *Gartenhaus*

<sup>252</sup> Paul Mebes, *Um 1800: Architektur und Handwerk im letzten Jahrhundert ihrer traditionellen Entwicklung*. (München: F. Bruckmann, 1908), 115

<sup>253</sup> Hermann Bahr writes on the Biedermeier-Haus: 'Das Haus der Biedermeier-zeit ist wahr, es hat die Form, die seinem Inhalt zukommt, es ist das "Haus an sich" der bürgerlichen Bedürfnisse'. Hermann Bahr, *Secession* (Vienna: Wiener Verl, 1900), 40

<sup>254</sup> See for the reception of Goethe's *Gartenhaus* among German architects in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Wolfgang Voigt, 'Vom Ur-Haus zum Typ. Paul Schmitthenners 'deutsches Wohnhaus' und seine Vorbilder'. In: *Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900 bis 1950; Reform und Tradition*, edited by Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani and Romana Schneider, 245-265. Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1992).

<sup>255</sup> See: Johann August Eberhard and Otto Lyon (eds). *Synonymisches Handwörterbuch Der Deutschen Sprache*. 16. Aufl. (Leipzig: T. Grieben's Verl, 1904), 598 and Digitales Wörterbuch der deutsche Sprache, <https://www.dwds.de/wb/Haus>, visited 23 March 2020.

<sup>256</sup> 'Grundformen menschlich-künstlerischer Gestaltung, die zahlreiche Epochen hintereinander gemeinsam waren und deren Veränderungen jedenfalls nur ganz langsam vor sich gingen' See: Schultze-Naumburg, *Kulturarbeiten, Bd. 3 (Dörfer*

departure to explore a much wider visual culture, as we will discuss in the paragraph on *Empfindung* in this chapter, Tessenow mainly concentrated on the representation of the house as such. However, for him the house not only represented the container in which dwelling takes place in its most basic form, it also formed the link between the individual and the world. In the notebook 'Unsere Wohnung', published posthumously, Tessenow points at the uncountable ties that exist between, on the one hand, the dwelling, its constituent parts and everything it contains and, on the other, the rest of the world.<sup>257</sup> These ties exist through the variety of materials, forms, colours and the peoples that have produced these. In that sense, he considers the dwelling a microcosm of the world:

There is hardly any material in the world that is not also in our dwelling; and there is hardly any form – such as a straight line, curved line, flat surface, hollow and raised surface, etc. – that we would not have in our dwelling; we will find in there about all colours and their rich shades. . . . the human dwelling as such, and indeed almost every dwelling of almost every human being, has this infinite richness of connections with the whole world. . . . The house holds the widest variety of large and small and smallest things next to and against each other, just as the world itself contains these things . . . [it] is – all and all – the whole world in miniature.<sup>258</sup>

According to Tessenow, the dwelling represents not simply a shelter, a place to withdraw from the world, but also a place where the world makes a connection to the inhabitant. It thus transcends the building and represents our relationship with the world. And although Tessenow continued to stress the fact that we should begin to address the most basic and practical issues of the house, it is in these sentences that the philosophical significance of the thematic category of *Haus* becomes more clear. For Tessenow a *Haus* is not just a house, as a physical entity. It also has a broader cultural meaning that connects to both the life of its inhabitants, reflected in its interior and in the spaces around the house, and to the uncountable ties between the house and the wider world.

In his perspective drawings, more than in regular plan drawings, Tessenow is able to investigate the representation of the *Kleinwohnung*, something that he considered of great importance. In order to gain insight into this investigation and its implications for Tessenow's architectural thinking, I will attempt here to reconstruct, in an informed but speculative way, this investigation by intersecting the thematic category of *Haus* with the previously introduced epistemic notions *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit*. In what follows the full meaning of these three notions will thus gradually unfold, both by confronting each of the notions separately with the category of *Haus*, and by applying them as lenses to look at the various perspectives collected in this category.

### ***Haus and Empfindung***

In German, the word *Empfindung* has a complex meaning: it refers both to feeling, to perception (as sensation or bodily experience), to impression (as idea or thought) and to sentiment (as an emotional

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*und Kolonien*), 1904, 15. Quoted in Arne Ehmann, "Wohnarchitektur des mitteleuropäischen Traditionalismus um 1910 in ausgewählten Beispielen; Betrachtungen zur Ästhetik, Typologie und Baugeschichte traditionalistischen Bauens." (PhD diss., Universität Hamburg, 2006), 24 (my translation). See also: Borrmann, *Paul Schultze-Naumburg* (1989), 25.

<sup>257</sup> from: *Nachlaßheft XXI*, (KB/TA), quoted in Otto Kindt (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow: Geschriebenes: Gedanken Eines Baumeisters*. (Braunschweig: Vieweg & Sohn, 1982), 14

<sup>258</sup> 'Es gibt in der Welt kaum ein Material, das nicht auch in unsere Wohnung wäre; und es gibt kaum eine Form – etwa gerade Linie, krumme Linie, ebene Fläche, hohle und erhabene Fläche usw. –, die wir nicht auch in unserer Wohnung hätten; wir werden in ihr so ungefähr sämtliche Farben mit reichen Nuancen finden können. (..) die menschliche Wohnung, und zwar fast jede Wohnung fast jedes Menschen, hat diesen unendlichen Reichtum an Verbindungen mit aller Welt.(..) Die Wohnung hat die verschiedenartigsten großen und kleinen und kleinsten Dinge nebeneinander und gegeneinander, ganz so, wie überhaupt die Welt die Dinge hat (..) (sie) ist – hin und her – die ganze Welt im Kleinen' See: Heinrich Tessenow 'Unsere Wohnung' in Kindt, *Heinrich Tessenow, Geschriebenes* (1982), 14-15 (my translation).

state).<sup>259</sup> *Empfindung* appears a number of times in Tessenow's writings and seems to hold an important place in his views on architecture and, more in particular, in his views on the house. *Empfindung* is closely tied to the perception of the house in two ways. The immediate appearance plays a role here, visible in both the building volume and the composition and proportions of its elevations. But the setting of the house is also relevant in this respect, such as how it responds to the street, the courtyard or the garden. Perception is in this case not so much the perception of the designer but that of the inhabitant or visitor. However, for Tessenow *Empfindung* goes beyond the literal perception of the house. With his awareness of this notion, he is able to express in his perspectives the richness of dwelling in a broader sense. In a book review that he wrote in 1908 of the first volumes of Paul Schultze-Naumburg's *Kulturarbeiten*, he implicitly stressed the importance of *Empfindung*, especially for architects:

[The] architect primarily [sees] the house and perhaps only incidentally also the tree that stands in front of the house. But Schultze-Naumburg sees not only the tree but also the sky above it and the flowers in the garden; . . . for him the skylight is not only a source of light for the chamber behind it, but for him this window is also friendly or grumpy; he sees the curtains behind the living room window and the cat on the bench next to the front door. And here, in my opinion, lies the most important meaning of Schultze-Naumburg's books, namely that they teach us to see the house merely as a part of our dwelling, that they teach us to create with the house a friendly stage for life, and not so much to regard the purpose of building in constructing walls and roofs according to beautiful drawings.<sup>260</sup>

With this quote in mind, it is not difficult to understand why in both publications that Tessenow devotes to *Haus*, namely *Der Wohnhausbau* and *Hausbau und dergleichen*, the organization of the house, visible in the layout of floorplan and section, is not discussed at all. Instead, Tessenow addresses in *Der Wohnhausbau* the house quite literally from the user's or visitor's viewpoint. In the text that precedes the perspective drawings, the discussion of design issues related to the various parts of the house begins with the front garden, to be followed by the window, its shutters, the front door, the floor and so on. The sequential order applied by Tessenow in the discussion of these different spaces and building elements does not so much adopt the usual hierarchies, related to use or scale, but literally follows the successive impressions (*Empfindungen*) of the visitor, when approaching the house from the street. Compared to *Der Wohnhausbau*, the more mature publication *Hausbau und dergleichen* moves beyond these immediate impressions and mere practicalities of dwelling and building, and addresses in some of its chapters a number of design issues in detail. But also here, it is not the synthetic design of the house that is discussed but mainly the visual *Empfindung* of the building volume and its elevations.<sup>261</sup> As an example, it may be useful to

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<sup>259</sup> In the German language around 1900, there was a subtle difference between *empfinden* and *fühlen*. *Empfinden* related basically to the sensory impressions of the eye, the ear and such; while *fühlen* expressed a tangible and more physical impression, such as by touch, and consequently had a more bodily connotation. Compared to *Fühlung* (feeling), *Empfindung* was regarded as both more spiritual and also more temporary. See: Eberhard and Lyon (eds.), *Synonymisches Handwörterbuch* (1904), 371-372

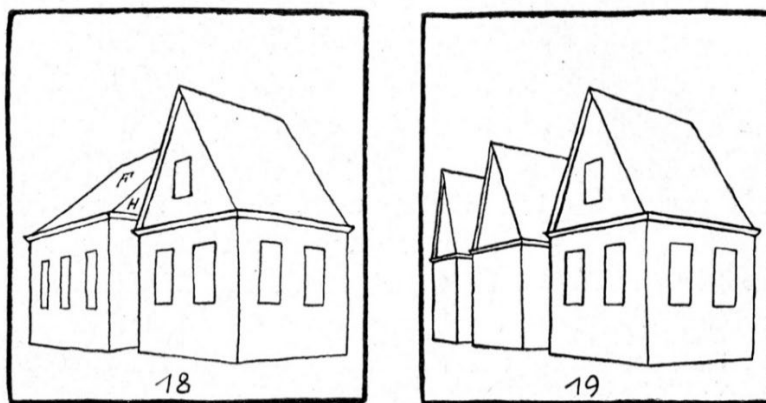
<sup>260</sup> '(der) Architekt (sieht) weit in erster Linie das Haus und vielleicht nur noch so nebenbei auch den Baum, der vor dem Hause steht. Schultze-Naumburg sieht aber nicht nur den Baum sondern auch den Himmel darüber und die Blumen im Garten; (...) für ihn ist das Dachfenster nicht nur eine Lichtquelle für die Kammer dahinter, sondern für ist dies Fenster auch noch freundlich oder mürrisch; er sieht die Gardinen hinter dem Wohnzimmerfenster und die Katze auf der Bank vor der Haustür. Und darin liegt meines Erachtens die grösste Bedeutung der Schultze-Naumburgschen Bücher, daß sie uns lehren, das Haus nur als einen Teil unserer Wohnung zu sehen, daß sie uns lehren, mit dem Haus eine freundliche Stätte unseres Lebens zu bauen und die Aufgabe des Bauens weniger darin zu sehen, nach schönen Zeichnungen Wände und Dächer zu konstruieren.' From: Tessenow 'Kulturarbeiten (P. Schultze-Naumburg)', 198-199. Republished in: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Das Land in der Mitte*, 2017, 73-74 (my translation)

<sup>261</sup> See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen*, (2011), 47-63 and 66-75

look a bit closer at what Tessenow has written on the composition of elevations in *Hausbau und dergleichen*. Tessenow makes clear that he resists a simple 'designing from the inside out':

For example, it is a prevalent doctrine that 'one must build a house from the inside out', meaning that one must measure and arrange and accordingly shape the individual rooms and other parts of the house to their specific uses, without any real concern for the exterior view of the house, and the more this exterior view reveals the interior of the house, the better it is; but such doctrines have very serious limitations; otherwise we might as well say that our behaviour is the better, the more we share our joys and sorrows with every passing stranger in the street or anywhere else.<sup>262</sup>

In the early years of Tessenow's career as a practicing architect, *Empfindung* became more and more related, or better, subjected to an all embracing idea of *Reinheit* (purity). In one of the chapters of *Hausbau und dergleichen*, Tessenow discusses the *Reinheit unseres Denken und Empfinden*<sup>263</sup> (purity of thinking and feeling) and the related formal cleanliness of the artefacts that surround us. He illustrates this chapter with examples of furniture, windows and houses, drawn as diagrammatic perspective sketches. In the case of the houses, he focusses on their pitched roofs, where he seeks to avoid so-called 'impure' residual forms that, unconsciously, tend to draw the attention of the viewer.



Hausbau und dergleichen, 1916, p. 45

'The purer and the more determined (is) always also more *empfindlicher* [sensitive] . . . this is especially true for roof shapes, which in their main outline tend to be rather simple or uncomplicated. Take, for example, the two houses in fig. 18: although they are related in their basic forms, they create in their overlap forms, such as the smaller figures F and H and also the overall outline, that are very impure or undesirable. Freestanding roofs are a particularly problematic category anyway; they require an extraordinarily careful design and positioning to ensure that the possible overlaps are to some extent self-evident or convincing.'<sup>264</sup>

<sup>262</sup> 'zum Beispiel, es ist die Lehre sehr verbreitet, "man müsse ein Haus von innen nach außen bauen", womit gemeint ist, man müsse die einzelnen Räume und sonstigen Hausteile ihren besonderen Zwecken entsprechend abmessen und anordnen und sonst ausbilden, ohne eigentliche Sorge um die äußere Hausansicht; diese sei um so besser je mehr sie das Hausinnere zu erkennen gebe; aber derartige Lehren haben sehr grobe Haken; anderfalls müßten wir auch sagen dürfen, daß unser Betragen um so besser sei, je mehr wir auf der Straße oder sonst irgendwo jedem Fremden und Unbeteiligten unsere Freuden und Leiden vorerzählten' See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 36-37 (my translation).

<sup>263</sup> Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 56.

<sup>264</sup> 'das Reinere und Bestimmtere (ist) immer auch empfindlicher (..) das hat noch besondere Geltung für die Dachformen, die ja ihren Hauptlinien nach mehr oder weniger immer einfach oder doch leicht übersichtlich sind. Zum Beispiel die beiden Häuser in der Figur 18: trotzdem sie ihren Grundformen nach durchaus verwandt sind, bilden in der Überschneidung mit

These diagrammatic perspective drawings in *Hausbau und dergleichen* make clear that for Tessenow the notion of *Empfindung* is not simply a preference for the use of perspective drawings as illustrations that come closest to the human perception. He uses perspective drawings to explore the links between visual perception and an all embracing idea of *Reinheit* (purity). In order to get a better understanding of what Tessenow means with this purity, and how this purity pervades his drawings of houses, it is helpful to replace the word purity, and all its related associations, with a word that Tessenow himself hardly ever used, namely *Abstraktion* (abstraction).

### **Haus and Abstraktion**

The etymological roots of the word ‘abstraction’ can be found in the Latin words *ab* (off) and *trahere* (pull or draw) suggesting that the meaning of this word comes close to ‘to pull off, to separate’ the concrete, the complex and variegated from the essential and the relevant.<sup>265</sup> In the visual arts, abstraction points at either a reduction to what is essential or at a rejection of figural depiction as such. In the architecture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, abstraction gained a somewhat different meaning, especially in German-speaking countries.<sup>266</sup> Besides offering a simplification or reduction, in which the superfluous makes way for the bare, abstraction in the field of architecture also showed a strong rejection of material expression and a resulting revaluation of form as a non-material category. In Tessenow’s work, abstraction is given a particular interpretation for which I will use the German term *Abstraktion*. Both this chapter and the following ones will make clear what this *Abstraktion* entails. Interestingly, Tessenow gives a proper description of his position vis-à-vis this notion in *Hausbau und dergleichen* without ever using the word *Abstraktion* or *abstrakt*:

Today, the best or most important works will by necessity contain something decidedly elementary, that is, elementary in its masculine, not in its childlike sense; for example, we will create, in the best case and to a certain extent, a rather box-like house . . . We want it to be neither straight nor crooked, neither clever nor stupid, neither coarse nor fine; for us, it should be all these at the same time; but in this way we can only have the bare essentials or the really important things . . . we will always say to ourselves: if needed, then little of it, but thoroughly under all circumstances.<sup>267</sup>

Clearly, this quote illustrates that for Tessenow the notion of *Abstraktion* is closely related to what we have described as ‘restraint’ before. This restraint concerns the outer appearance of the house as a predominantly *empfindliche* matter in a general sense, but also hints at the important role of

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den Nebenfiguren F und H und auch mit der Gesamtumrißlinie sehr unreine oder ungewollte Formen. Die freistehenden Dächer sind hier überhaupt ein besonders schwieriges Kapitel; sie fordern ganz außerordentlich sorgfältige Ausbildung oder Anordnung, wenn die möglichen Überschneidungen einigermaßen selbstverständliche oder überzeugende Formen geben sollen’. See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 61-62 (my translation).

<sup>265</sup> Paul-Alan Jones, *The Theory of Architecture. Concepts, Themes, & Practices*, (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 331-335

<sup>266</sup> See also: Nina Sonntag, *Einfühlung und Abstraktion. Ästhetisches Erleben in der Theaterarchitektur um 1900* (Berlin: jovis Verlag, 2015), 24-27

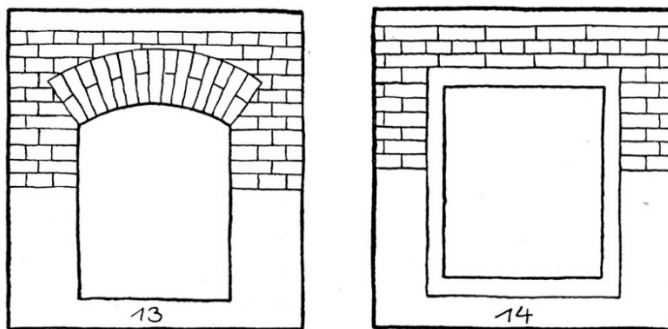
<sup>267</sup> ‘Die besten oder maßgebenden Arbeiten heute werden ganz notwendig etwas ausgesprochen Anfängliches haben, und zwar Anfängliches im männlichen, nicht im kindlichen Sinn, zum Beispiel werden wir ein Haus im besten Fall gewissermaßen vorsichtig kastenartig ausbilden; (..) Wir wollen es so ungefähr weder gerade noch krumm, weder klug noch dumm, wollen es weder grob noch fein, es soll uns alles zusammen sein; so können wir von allein aber nur das ganz knapp Wesentliche oder das ganz eigentlich Wichtige haben (..) wir werden uns immer wieder sagen: Wenn es sein muß, dann wenig, aber unter allen Umständen gründlich.’ See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 20 (my translation).



*Abstraktion* in the design of all the elements or parts that build up the house. In order to better understand Tessenow's specific interpretation of abstraction, it might be helpful to confront his interpretation with that of a contemporary colleague, architect Friedrich Ostendorf. In Ostendorf's *Sechs Bücher vom Bauen*, published a few years before Tessenow's *Hausbau und dergleichen*, he attempted to formulate a fundamental architectural design theory.<sup>268</sup> In essence, Ostendorf wanted to ground contemporary architecture in an established system of conventions, distilled from a building tradition that had existed until the beginning of the nineteenth century. While referring to the same *Baukultur* on which Schultze-Naumburg had based his *Kulturarbeiten*, Ostendorf did not reduce buildings to their visual appearance, but mainly addressed the composition of the main rooms and spaces inside the building volume, visible in the organization of floorplan and section. Ostendorf's theory can be summarized in a single premise that seems not far removed from Tessenow's statement on the *Einfach-Notwendige*: 'Designing means: finding the simplest form of appearance for a building programme.' But then he continues this sentence as follows: 'whereby "simple" evidently refers to the organism and not to the dress.'<sup>269</sup> For Ostendorf, simplicity in architectural design is immediately related to a synthetic approach that arranges the various requirements of the building brief in the most convincing and simple volumes.

Contrary to Ostendorf, Tessenow makes no distinction between organism and dress and applies abstraction not only to the main volumes but to the forms of all elements and parts that constitute the appearance of the house.

Tessenow relates all these forms to *Reinheit* (purity) and states that purity involves both our thinking and our perception. In order to arrive at this purity, he writes, we should strive for pure forms, not just in the building's main lines, but also in the forms of its constituent elements, including the smallest ones.



Hausbau und dergleichen, 1916, p. 41, 42

To illustrate this idea, Tessenow argues that for a window placed in a brick facade, an invisible lintel (and a continuous brick pattern) is preferable to a curved segmental brick lintel (and a discontinuous

<sup>268</sup> Only two of the intended six volumes appeared in Ostendorf's lifetime, together with a supplement. See: Ostendorf, *Band I: Einführung*, 1914; *Band II: Die äußere Erscheinung der einräumigen Bauten*, 1914; and *Haus und Garten*, 1914. The third volume appeared after his death in 1915 and was edited by Walter Sackur: *Band III: Die äußere Erscheinung der mehrraumige Bauten*, 1920. See also: Oechslin, 'Entwerfen heißt, die einfachste Erscheinungsform zu finden' (1992), 32 f.12

<sup>269</sup> 'Entwerfen heißt: die einfachste Erscheinungsform für ein Bauprogramm finden, wobei "einfach" natürlich mit bezug auf den Organismus und nicht etwa mit bezug auf das Kleid zu verstehen ist.' See: Ostendorf, *Band I: Einführung*, (1914), 3 (my translation).

brick pattern). This *pars pro toto* makes again clear how for Tessenow *Abstraktion* is predominantly a matter of perception: in the elaboration of the house elevation, Tessenow continuously looks for the 'purest', or most abstract, solution or, better, the solution that creates the purest appearance. In a brick wall, according to Tessenow, the curved segmental lintel may be more 'honest' in a tectonic sense, but the invisible lintel is less interruptive in the continuous brick pattern, interfering as little as possible with the shape of the bricks. This examples illustrates how, for Tessenow, abstraction mainly concerns the visual appearance, the *Empfindung* of forms, ranging from the scale of the house to the scale of the individual brick in a pattern of brickwork.

The abstraction in the buildings that Tessenow realized, such as his Hellerau housing<sup>270</sup> was not unanimously praised by his contemporaries. Art historian Erich Haenel writes on Tessenow's houses in Hellerau:

Tessenow has reached an utter degree of simplicity in his structures. But the puritanical character of these houses, situated 'Am Schänkenberg', does not quite meet the approval of the prospective tenants. They believe they smell a certain poor man's odour here and prefer Riemerschmid's more friendly terraced houses, that face the world with kind eyes, to Tessenow's bare creations.<sup>271</sup>

Haenel goes on to explain how the planting in the gardens and on the bare walls of his houses will soften the sober impression in the coming years and will grant the recognition that these houses deserve. But the *Armeleutegeruch* (poor man's odour) that he mentions does raise an issue. How can the restraint that Tessenow is looking for be reconciled with the representational qualities of the house that the user or inhabitant expects? Tessenow responded implicitly to the reproach of *Armeleutegeruch* in one of his posthumous notebooks:

Although a house may be very poor in form and may be a humble building, precisely because of its frugality of form; this does not change the fact that the highest architecture needs to be very poor in form in order to be of the highest nature. And that is why its most promising developments, no matter to what extent the cultural worlds are aware of it or not, always strive for the most simple or – perhaps more correctly – for the highest cultivation of the simplest forms of building.<sup>272</sup>

Here Tessenow takes the reproach of the potential inhabitants of his *Am Schänkenberg* houses and reverses it: the highest architecture will, by necessity, be formally restrained or 'poor in form' (*formenarm*) to become the highest art, so he writes. Where Tessenow in most cases distances himself from any pretentious assumptions on architecture and art and even avoids the word 'architecture' as much as possible, he deliberately speaks here of the 'highest' architecture and art to

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<sup>270</sup> See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 55-67 and Weiss, 'Der Wohnungsbau Heinrich Tessenows' (1976), 109-118

<sup>271</sup> 'Tessenow hat im Aufbau den äußersten Grad der Einfachheit erreicht. Aber der puritanische Charakter dieser Häuser, die "am Schänkenberg" liegen, findet nicht ganz den Beifall der Bewerber. Diese glauben hier eine gewissen Armeleutegeruch zu spüren und ziehen die sich freundlicher gebenden, aus guten Augen in die Welt blickenden Reihenhäuser Riemerschmids den kahlen Schöpfungen Tessenows vor.' See: Erich Haenel, 'Die Gartenstadt Hellerau', in: *Dekorative Kunst*, 14. Jg. (7.4.1911), p. 327. Quoted in Weiss (1976), 120 (my translation).

<sup>272</sup> 'Zwar ein Haus kann sehr formenarm und kann gerade seiner Formenarmut wegen ein niedrigstes Bauwerk sein; aber dies ändert nichts an der Tatsache, daß höchste Architektur notwendig sehr formenarm sein muß, um höchster Art sein zu können. Und darum tendieren auch ihre zukunfstreichsten Entwicklungen immer, ganz gleich, in wieweit dies den einzelnen Kulturwelten bewußt ist oder nicht, geradenwegs nach simpelsten oder – richtiger vielleicht – nach einer höchsten Kultivierung simpelster Bauformen hin.' See: Tessenow, 'Bauelemente und Bauformen' (Nachlaßheft XII, p. 55-57). Published in Kindt (ed.) *Heinrich Tessenow, Geschriebenes* (1982), 31 (my translation).

point at the inevitable domination of what we have described here as *Abstraktion* in all future architecture and art.<sup>273</sup> Tessenow makes a distinction between the ‘most simple building forms’ and the ‘highest cultivation of the most simple building forms’. The cultivation of formal poverty (*Formenarmut*) potentially moves the notion of *Abstraktion* into the direction of an artistic celebration that seems far removed from the aforementioned idea of the house as part of dwelling or a ‘friendly stage for life’. This tension between an artistic cultivation of forms and a subjection of the house to a more anonymous tradition of dwelling, is continuously explored by Tessenow in his perspective drawings. In these drawings, Tessenow’s *Abstraktion* shows a movement away from indicating materials and shadows by hatchings and tones, and tends towards a simplification in simple outline without an immediate indication of materials or shadows. It then becomes clear that for Tessenow, *Abstraktion* is most valuable once it overcomes any explicit artistic cultivation and opens up possibilities to shift the attention of the viewer to what he believes really matters: the ordinariness or *Gewöhnlichkeit* that is so closely tied to the dwelling.

### **Haus and *Gewöhnlichkeit***

In relation to the category of *Haus*, the notion of *Gewöhnlichkeit* (ordinariness) is an essential one for Tessenow. In a text titled ‘Unsere Wohnung’, Tessenow makes a distinction between ‘wohnlich’ (comfortable, homely, cosy) and ‘unwohnlich’ (uncomfortable, uprooted).<sup>274</sup> ‘Wohnlichkeit’ (the state of being comfortable, homely or cosy) forms the essence of human existence, but we tend not to notice it, as Tessenow makes clear:

‘Unwohnlichkeit’ is the best foundation for ‘unlimited possibilities’, while ‘Wohnlichkeit’ in all respects is something very limited; it is full of measuredness or full of moderation or full of rules. Instead of ‘mäßig’ (moderate) we might as well use the expression ‘gewöhnlich’; and in fact it leads from ‘Gewöhnlichen’ to ‘gewohn-lich’ in a straight line to ‘Wohnlichen’.<sup>275</sup>

In the German language, the close connection between *wohnen* (dwelling or living) and *gewöhnen* (getting used to) is hard to ignore. According to a German dictionary from 1905, *Gewohnheit* (habit) is everything a person has done so often that he or she does it mechanically and without a clear awareness, while the related word *Gewöhnlichen* (the usual) points at everything that we are *used to* doing or observing, or that happens regularly.<sup>276</sup> As an adjective, the word *gewöhnlich* has a somewhat negative connotation and points at the common, the insignificant, the unsightly, as opposed to the uncommon, the significant, the sightly. When Tessenow introduces, in the quote above, the word *Unwohnlichkeit* (a difficult word to translate: cheerlessness might come close) he connects this essentially negative term with *unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten* (unlimited possibilities), something that is associated, in a positive way, with freedom. Tessenow states that the opposite term *Wohnlichkeit*, usually regarded as very limiting, measured, controlled or moderate, sits at the end of a chain of expressions that builds up from *mäßig* (moderate) to *gewöhnlich* (common) in

<sup>273</sup> See for instance: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 21

<sup>274</sup> from: Nachlaßheft XXI, in KB/TA, quoted in: Kindt, *Heinrich Tessenow, Geschriebenes* (1982), 16

<sup>275</sup> ‘Die Unwohnlichkeit ist der beste Boden für die “unbegrenzten Möglichkeiten”, während die Wohnlichkeit in allen Hinsichten etwas sehr Begrenztes ist; sie ist voller Abgemessenheit oder voller Maß oder voller Gesetze. Statt “mäßig” können wir gut auch den Ausdruck “gewöhnlich” nehmen; und tatsächlich führt er vom “Gewöhnlichen” aus über in gerader Linie zum Wohnlichen.’ See: Kindt, *Heinrich Tessenow, Geschriebenes*, (1982), 16 (my translation).

<sup>276</sup> Eberhardt, *Synonymisches Handwörterbuch der deutsche Sprache* (1905), 520-521

order to link *Gewöhnlichen* (the usual) to *gewohn-lich* and finally to *wohlich*.<sup>277</sup> All these etymological elaborations make clear that *Gewöhnlichkeit* is part of a broader cultural position. This position might be best described with the words *kleinbürgerlich* or *bürgerlich*, a word that regularly appears in Tessenow's writings.<sup>278</sup> The *Gewöhnlichkeit* that Tessenow is looking for, forms an extension of a *bürgerliche* tradition that emphasizes order, diligence and restraint. It opposes the *Unwohnlichen* of the complex, the chaotic and the bohemian, so he writes. However, the roots of the *gewöhnliche* house not only lie in the *bürgerliche*, but also in the *bäuerliche* tradition. Similar to the *bürgerliche* house, the farmhouse (*Bauernhaus*) formed an important reference for Tessenow and many of his contemporaries. In ways similar to its *bürgerliche* counterpart, the vernacular farmhouse contained a link with an anonymous building culture. Around 1900 the farm house had gained an almost mythical reputation in German-speaking countries, being exhibited at World Exhibitions and also forming an important subject of scholarly investigation.<sup>279</sup> One of the scholars interested in this topic was the ethnologist Elard Hugo Meyer, who positioned the farmhouse in a wider culture that included traditional clothing, costumes, traditions, folk tales and stories.<sup>280</sup> Tessenow uses an exceptionally long quote from Meyer's book *Deutsche Volkskunde* (1898) in his article 'Das Bauernhof im hannoverschen Wendland' to introduce the type of village he had visited on one of his walking tours.<sup>281</sup> By illustrating his text with a large facade drawing of a farmhouse, Tessenow seems to demonstrate his interest in the appearance of the traditional farmhouse. But his interests go beyond the appearance of this type of house. Like many of his contemporaries, Tessenow regards the farmhouse as a 'modern' prototype for the *Kleinwohnung*, not only because of its 'honest' materialization, its *Zweckmäßigkeit* (expediency or functionality) and simplicity, but also because the vernacular *Bauernhaus* introduces a strong moral-ethical dimension into a domestic *bürgerliche* culture that, at the end of the nineteenth century, had lost, according to Tessenow and many of his colleagues, the connection with its German roots.<sup>282</sup>

*Arbeit* (labour) and *Gewerblichkeit* (craft industry) form central elements in this moral-ethical dimension and it is essentially through *Gewerblichkeit* that the farmhouse is linked to the *Kleinwohnung*. The farmhouse offers a model of how a contemporary worker or lower-middle-class house could operate in the context of the *Kleinstadt*.<sup>283</sup> For Tessenow, the *Gewöhnlichkeit* that he recognizes in both the *bürgerliche* and in the *bäuerliche* house forms an essential notion in the design of the modern *Kleinwohnung*. In the perspective drawings of his houses, there is a growing awareness of this notion: they appear more and more ordinary, timeless, or better perhaps, they

<sup>277</sup> The word 'gewöhn' has disappeared since the 18<sup>th</sup> century from the German language. See: *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, <https://www.dwds.de/wb/dwb/gewohn> (visited on 04-04-2020)

<sup>278</sup> Thomas Nipperdey regards the culture of the *Kleinbürgertum* essentially as *bürgerlich*. See: Nipperdey, 'Kommentar: "Bürgerlich" als Kultur' (1987), 146

<sup>279</sup> Elke Krasny, 'Binnenexotismus und Binnenkolonialismus: ›Das Bauernhaus Mit Seiner Einrichtung Und Seinem Geräthe‹ auf der Wiener Weltausstellung von 1873'. In: Anita Aigner (ed.), *Vernakulare Moderne: Grenzüberschreitungen in der Architektur um 1900. Das Bauernhaus und seine Aneignung*, (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2010) 45-46. See also: Payne, *From Ornament to Object* (2012), 108-110. Payne refers to: Thiersch, *Bauernhäuser und Volkstümliche Hausmalereien*, 1900; *Das Bauernhaus im deutschen Reiche*, 1906; *Das Bauernhaus in der Schweiz*, 1906; *Das Bauernhaus in Österreich-Ungarn*, 1906; and Haberlandt, 'Einführung' in: Thiersch, *Das Bauernhaus in Österreich-Ungarn*, 1906.

<sup>280</sup> See: Elard Hugo Meyer, *Deutsche Volkskunde* (Straßburg: Trübner, 1898)

<sup>281</sup> The article was published in *Leipziger Bauzeitung*, Jg. 1906, Nr. 11 (13-03-1906), 85-88; in *Der Bauzeichner*, 8. Jg., Nr. 8(21.02.1909), 77-79 and in *Trierisches Jahrbuch für ästhetische Kultur*, 1908. See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Das Land in der Mitte* (2017), 30-38

<sup>282</sup> See: Anita Aigner (ed.), *Vernakulare Moderne: Grenzüberschreitungen in der Architektur um 1900. Das Bauernhaus und seine Aneignung* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010), 32

<sup>283</sup> The role of the garden as a place for garden-labour and food production is one example of this, but the whole ethic surrounding labour pertains to the *Kleinwohnung*. See also: Martin Steinmann, 'Arbeit als Wissenschaft und Arbeit als Bild. Zur Tradition der "gewöhnlichen Architektur"'. In Claus Baldus a.o (eds.), *Das Abenteuer der Ideen: Architektur und Philosophie seit der industriellen Revolution* (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984), 195-206

refer to the specific anonymity of the simple buildings of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

In *Wohnhausbau*, Tessenow had already made a link between the characteristics of the *bürgerliche* house and the *Kleinwohnung* (small house) and carefully investigated its architectural implications. These characteristics, such as simpleness, unpretentiousness and the expression of a certain restraint, are addressed by Tessenow as follows:

And as long as we want to avoid counting on all sorts of miracles for the development of this history [of the building of *Kleinwohnungen*], it is not so difficult to spell out that the near future will have a lot to do with the rule of calloused hands, simple, uncomplicated thoughts and unembellished, succinct and also rather coarse forms; the general, i.e. especially the *bauliche* (building-like) language of forms, rooted in recent history, will probably be very much as if it was primarily formed by and for very simple working people.<sup>284</sup>

Tessenow thus connects the specific assignment of the *Kleinwohnung* with strong restraint and formal simplicity, transposing the issue of restraint from the *bürgerliche Wohnung* to the labour-related realism of the *Bauernhaus*. The unifying potentials of restraint are also addressed in Tessenow's third book *Hausbau und dergleichen*:

Today, more than ever, we need that which can communicate with, and gain the assent of, the man in the street. We have too little of it, and too much that is special. Today, our first obligation lies in the constant search for that which can unite us with a larger whole, or in the constant search to recognize and hold onto that which is simply essential or necessary to us.<sup>285</sup>

Tessenow uses his perspective drawings to explore the relation between *Haus* and *Gewöhnlichkeit*. For him, the focus on what is essential is thus seen as an expression of communal sense that goes beyond the assignment of the *Kleinwohnung*. Tessenow writes in *Wohnhausbau*:

Similar to the clearest decline of building culture in Europe since the end of the last century up to today, which was and still is accompanied by a generally emphasized appreciation of the peculiar, the striking, the 'overly clever', etc., all striking innovations or peculiarities are always *unbaumeisterlich* ('un-masterbuilder-like') and as far as we are directly concerned with *Baumeisterlichkeit* ('masterbuilding'), we can hardly pay enough attention to the most everyday, simplest questions; their reliable answers are the only stable foundation of all building culture.<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> 'Und soweit wir für die Entwicklung dieser Geschichte (*des Kleinwohnungsbaues JZ*) nicht mit allerlei Wundern rechnen wollen, ist wohl leicht herauszubuchstabieren, daß die nähere Zukunft sehr viel mit der Herrschaft schwieliger Hände, einfacher, unkomplizierter Gedanken und ungeschnörkelter, kurzbündiger und auch wohl grober Formen zu tun haben wird; oder die allgemeine, d.h. besonders auch die *bauliche* Formensprache, die in die neueren Geschichte wurzelt, wird wahrscheinlich sehr so sein, als sei es in erster Linie von sehr einfach arbeitlichen oder für sehr einfach arbeitliche Menschen gebildet.' See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Wohnhausbau* (2008), 24 (my translation).

<sup>285</sup> 'Wir gebrauchen heute mehr als jemals das, was sich unserer großen Allgemeinheit mitteilt, oder was diese bejaht; Davon haben wir zu wenig; wir haben zu viel Sonderbares; wir sind heute hervorragend genötigt, immer wieder nach dem zu suchen, das uns ganz Großen miteinander verbindet oder sind verhorragend genötigt, immer wieder zu suchen, das für uns ganz Wesentliche oder Einfach-Notwendige zu erkennen und festzuhalten'. See: Böll (ed.), *Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 24-25. Translation by Wilfried Wang in: Burdett and Wang, *9H On Rigor* (1989), 13

<sup>286</sup> 'So wie der deutlichste Verfall der baulichen Kultur in Europa seit Ausgang des vorigen Jahrhunderts bis heute her begleitet wurde und begleitet wird durch ein allgemein betonte Hochschätzung des Eigenartigen, des Auffallenden, des "Übergescheiten" usw., so sind alle auffälligen Neuerungen oder Eigenartigkeiten immer unbaumeisterlich, und soweit es uns unmittelbar um Baumeisterlichkeit zu tun ist, können wir die alltäglichsten, simpelsten Fragen kaum genug beachten;

Most of the houses depicted in these drawings are at a remove from the 'extraordinary', from the architectural significant and the special. Instead, his drawings explore the epistemic notion of *Gewöhnlichkeit* to the point that it becomes architecturally significant.

### **Perspective drawings of *Haus***

In the following pages a selection of perspective drawings by Tessenow are brought together that best represent the category of *Haus*. A subdivision of these drawings is made according to the following housing typologies, with an increase in the density and urbanity of their context:

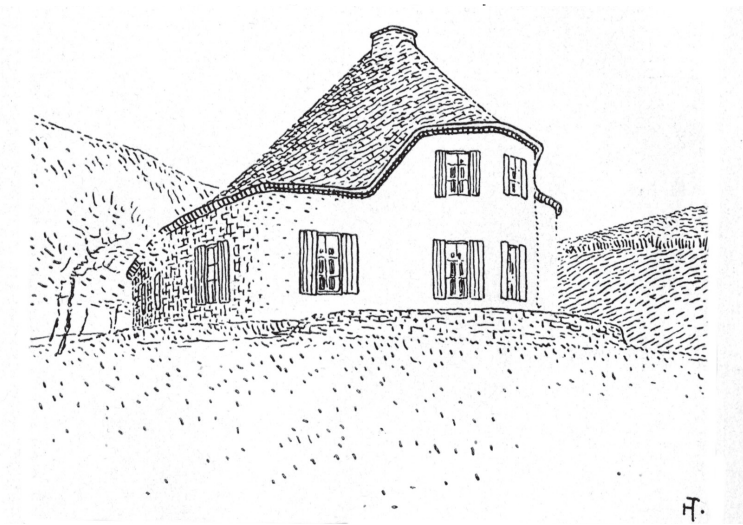
- Detached house as a single entity. A single house as a separate and isolated volume, placed in a spacious landscape.
- Detached or semi-detached house as an intertwined entity. While still isolated in a landscape setting, the building is now more complex, consisting out of two intertwined house-like volumes
- Detached or semi-detached house in an urban setting. When placed in a more urban setting, the house as a single volume responds in a variety of ways to its new condition
- Twin houses in an urban setting. Two identical semi-detached houses are pushed together, the one house volume mirroring the other.
- Multiple connected houses. A series of similar looking house-like volumes are placed next to each other in a row, with equal distances between the houses.
- Row houses in an urban setting. When the individual houses are brought together in a one linear volume, a housing row appears as a single volume
- Multi-family apartment buildings. As soon as the individual houses turn into stacked apartments, the housing row obtains more stories, with the entrances concentrated in regularly placed staircases.

Each typological variant is illustrated with three perspective drawings, offering three views in which a particular building typology is looked at through the consecutive lenses of *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit*. Although these notions often appear simultaneously in a drawing, it is nevertheless possible to select perspective drawings in which a single notion dominates the others.

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ihre zuverlässige Beantwortung ergibt das allein tragfähige Fundament aller Baukultur.' See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Wohnhausbau* (2008), 30 (my translation).

## Responding to the landscape: Detached houses in a nature setting



### **Direktorwohnhaus (Junggesellenwohnung), Waldkirchen, Erzgebirge, before 1916<sup>285</sup>**

Source: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, 93

*The slightly curved outline of the walls and the roof of this isolated house for a factory manager echoes the topography of the hilly site. The drawing reinforces the impression of the house merging with the landscape: the curves of the gutter seem to echo the contours of the surrounding hills. The irregular hatching of the roof has similarities with the hatching of the hill on the right while the dotted surface of the grass in the foreground returns in the curve of the facade.*

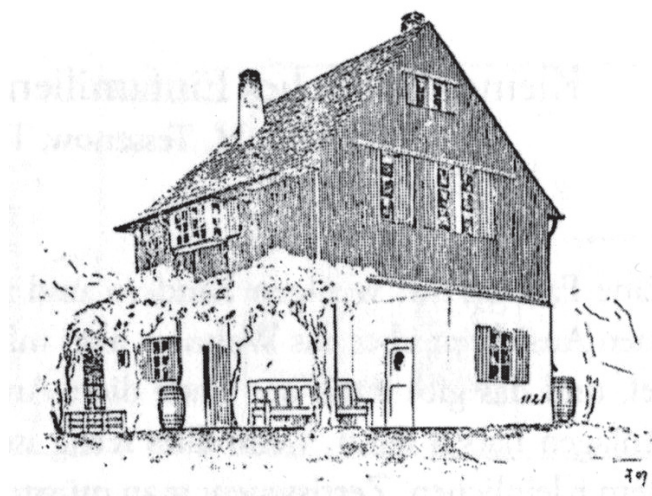


### **Haus auf der Höhe, 1904**

Source: *Bautechnische Zeitschrift XX* (1905) Nr. 3, Beilage

*Having a square base, with symmetrically placed shuttered windows, topped by a pyramidal roof with an Ochsenauge (eyebrow dormer), this house on a hill gives a somewhat severe first impression and reinforces the idea of autonomy.*

*The composition of the drawing strongly emphasizes the viewpoint of a visitor approaching the house. The trees on the far right and far left are drawn schematically, with an interrupted outline, while the trees and planting in the centre, merging with the facade of the house, are drawn in more detail, softening the formal rigour of the building.*



### **Kleinländliches Einfamilienwohnhaus, c. 1907**

Source: Tessenow, 'Kleines ländliches Einfamilien-Wohnhaus' in: *Der Bauzeichner*, VII (1908) Nr. 36, p. 397, 440, 401

*This project takes the elementary form of the house and subdivides it into a rendered base and a pitched roof with wooden sidings. The front door and a flanking bench are placed in a space that cuts out one corner of the base.*

*The various building elements, such as doors, windows, rainwater barrels, bench and chimney, are drawn as relatively independent elements.*

<sup>285</sup> Original drawing is supposed to be in the *Sammlung Keller*, Winterthur, See De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 234

When comparing the three perspective drawings of detached single-family houses, it is clear that the development in Tessenow's work cannot simply be described as moving chronologically from *Empfindung* to *Abstraktion* and arriving at *Gewöhnlichkeit*. The three notions are not complementary and appear simultaneously in each one of the three drawings. Still, with a stronger emphasis on each of the three notions, the houses shown here could be categorized as responding, subsequently, in an *empfindliche*, *abstrakte* and *gewöhnliche* way to their setting. In *Direktorwohnhaus* (b. 1916), it seems as if Tessenow tries to let the house, in a highly literal way, merge into the surroundings by mimicking the topography of the landscape.<sup>288</sup> Both the roof and the continuous line of the gutter, accentuated by its shadow, are the most prominent expressions of this mimicry.

In the case of *Haus auf der Höhe* (1904), the influence of Goethe's *Gartenhaus* is obvious in the proportions of the volume and the triangular form of the hip roof. With the clear geometrical volumes of base and roof, the house sets itself apart from the hill on which it stands. This contrast is then softened through various building elements and objects, such as the few steps that lead to an entrance area near the front door; a bench placed under a tree, and a low overgrown retaining wall that merges with the exterior wall of the house.

The first two houses thus respond to the landscape, either by evoking the surrounding hills through the contours of roof and floorplan or by deliberately contrasting with the surrounding landscape through the use of a formally strong independent volume.

Compared with both these houses, *Kleinländliches Einfamilienwohnhaus* (c. 1907) shows a certain indifference to the surrounding landscape. Although the volume of this house also displays a formal independency, an overall visual coordination of building elements such as windows and doors, clearly visible in the facades of the first two houses, seems to have been loosened, adding a stronger focus on the more vernacular character of this house.

Similar to the planting, such as the ivy growing near the entrance, ordinary objects around the house such as the rainwater barrels also add a layer of *Gewöhnlichkeit* to the house. While especially the second of the three houses relates more to the *bürgerliche Haus*, the third house shows a stronger similarity with the farmhouse and its emphasis on labour and production.<sup>289</sup> As a consequence, there is now a sense of realism reflected in the appearance of the building, suggesting an indifference not only to its setting in the landscape, but also to the more formal elaboration of its representation, which played a substantial role in the case of the first two houses.

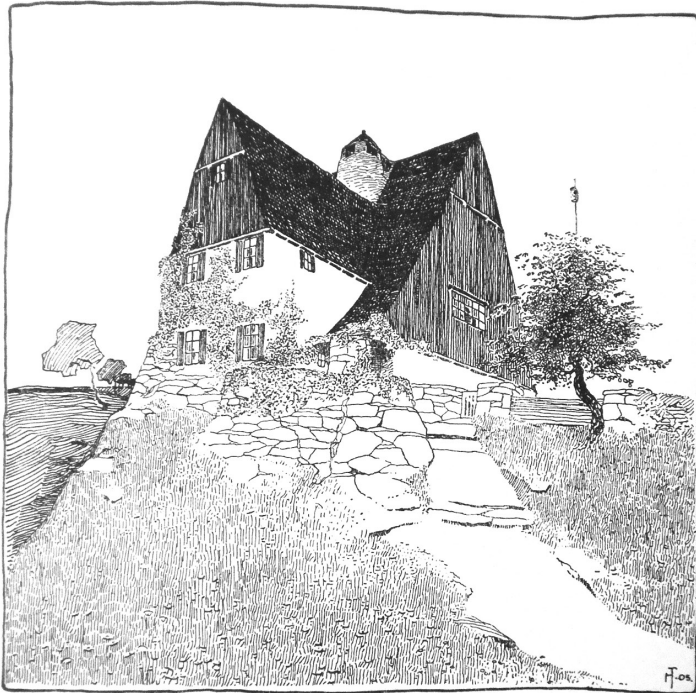
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<sup>288</sup> This house is part of a series of housing proposals that Tessenow designed for a factory owner and for factory workers in Waldkirchen, in the south of Germany, not far from the Austrian and Czech borders. See: Wang, 'Der Wohnungsbau Heinrich Tessenows' (1976), 123, 124-125, 207-209; and De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950* (1991), 233-234

<sup>289</sup> See: Steinmann, 'Arbeit als Wissenschaft und Arbeit als Bild' (1984), 195-206



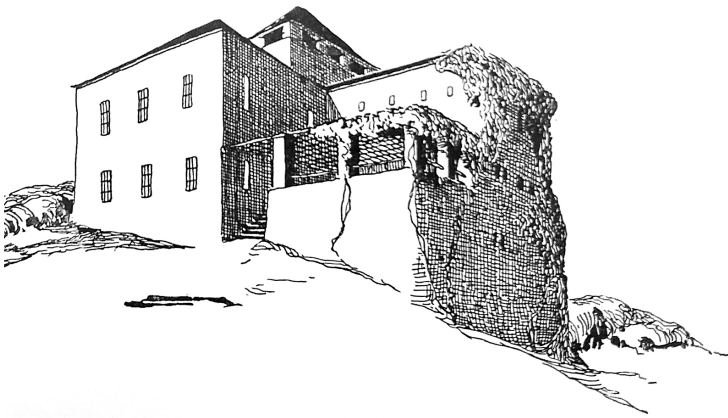
## Formal explorations of a typology: Intertwined houses in a rural setting



### Zweifamilienhaus 'Einsiedelei', 1905

Source: Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau*, 1909, Tafel 19

The drawing shows how two steeply pitched roofs intersect. The roof on the left side covers a white base below a gable of dark vertical planks. The perpendicularly placed roof shows a similar gable, but now substantially lowered, leaving room for a low, single-storey base. Where the two roofs meet, a robust chimney is visible. Materials and textures in the facades are drawn out in detail: roof tiles, gable planks, ashlar stones, ivy, grass and a solitary tree with a birdhouse are depicted with a variety of hatchings and scribbles, while the approach to the house is left blank. The background with trees and a sloping landscape is drawn more abstractly, with thicker lines and simple hatchings.



### Skizze zu einem Landhause, Saratoff, 1905

Source: 'Gewünschte Skizzen. 5. Villa in Südrußland' in: *Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXI* (1906), Nr. 7, 55 and Beilage

This house consists of two perpendicularly placed main volumes, with an elevated entrance terrace covered by a pergola between them. Positioned on a slope, both rectangular volumes appear relatively closed, with large wall surfaces and relatively small windows. At their intersection, a third volume rises above the other two.

By contrasting light and shadow, the drawing emphasizes the main volumes: their shadowy sides are crosshatched. The climbing plants on the right side merge with the shadowed wall and soften the contour. Because of the low viewpoint, the gently sloping roofs of the three blocks are hardly visible, thus emphasizing the abstract austerity of the house.



### Projekt zu einem Landhaus an der Ruhr, 1906

Source: Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau*, 1909, Tafel 37-39

The drawing shows the back of a villa situated in a flat open space, next to an existing farmhaus that is not visible in this drawing. Again, two houses seem to intersect here, with a seemingly improvised dormer connecting the two pitched roofs on the upper floor. At the point of intersection on the ground floor, there is a back entrance in a symmetrically positioned niche. The rural character of this house is also emphasized by drawing birds, hens and a rainwater barrel.

In these three drawings, Tessenow depicts houses with cross-gable roofs, suggesting that two perpendicularly placed house-like volumes intersect. These perspectives should not be regarded as independent studies of a specific housing type, rather as exercises in the development of the detached single-family house into a more complex type. The perpendicular intersection of two house-like volumes thus forms the first stage in this gradual transformation and the three drawings make clear how the notions *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit* subsequently play their role in this transformation.

Tessenow himself pointed out that the visual perception of a more complex building asks for a certain formal purity in order to 'read' the various volumes correctly.<sup>292</sup>

In *Einsiedelei* (1905), two house-like volumes literally seem to intersect, with a range of dramatic forms, visible in both the steep roofs and the chimney, and expressive materials such as the ashlar masonry and the vertical planks in the gables. Both the forms and materials reinforce the strong *empfindliche* qualities connected to this highly romantic version of the isolated German house.<sup>293</sup> At the same time, the perspective drawing dramatizes the scene through its viewpoint: the verticality of both roofs is emphasized and the ashlar masonry combined with climbing plants and ivy suggests that the base of the house grows out of the rocks, thus merging the house and its natural setting.

As a single country house, Saratoff *Landhaus* (1905) shares the layout of *Einsiedelei*: two perpendicular volumes with a covered entrance area and a third, vertically oriented volume placed at their intersection. The appearance of the two houses, however, is quite different: in the case of the Saratoff *Landhaus*, the contrast between house and landscape is emphasized: any merging of landscape and house is avoided in order to arrive at a composition of quite abstract volumes. Only the ivy, overgrowing both the pergola and one of the facades, softens the strict outlines of the volumes.

While the architecture in the *Einsiedelei* drawing strongly depends on expressive forms and materials, the resolute abstraction of forms and materials in the Saratoff-*Landhaus* reduces a similar typological model of intersecting houses to elementary box-like volumes without any material expression. The appearance of the house is reduced to dematerialized volumes and a similar abstraction is also reflected in the way the surrounding landscape is drawn: bare and empty. Abstraction tends to transform here into an independent artistic notion, something that Tessenow wants to resist by falling back on the *Gewöhnlichkeit* of the *Bauernhaus*.

*Landhaus an der Ruhr* (1906) shares the formal typological model of both *Einsiedelei* and the Saratoff *Landhaus*, consisting basically of two perpendicularly placed intersecting building volumes. In the drawing, it seems as if one of these volumes is elevated, creating a central covered outside space that mediates between the interior of the house and the garden. Tessenow reinforces the *gewöhnliche* appearance of this house by adding building elements such as the seemingly improvised dormer or the rainwater barrel, but also the hens and birds that contribute to the *bäuerliche* character of this house.

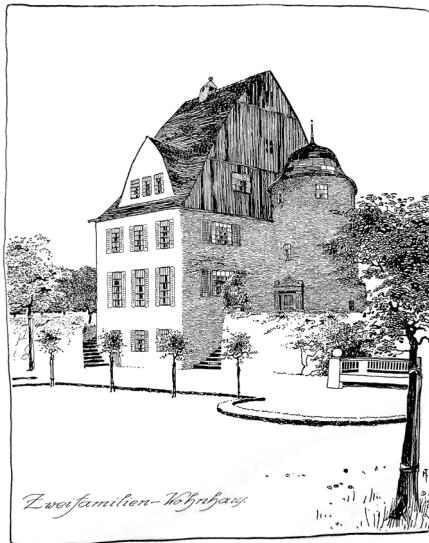
The three drawings make clear how Tessenow explores in his perspectives the appearance of the house when it is confronted with an increasing complexity in its volumetric composition

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<sup>292</sup> See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 55-65

<sup>293</sup> See: Paul Ehlig, *Das Deutsche Haus: Sechs Bücher Über Entwicklung, Bedingungen, Anlage, Aufbau, Einrichtung Und Innenraum* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1914). Ehlig's book, published in the same years as *Hausbau und dergleichen*, takes a much broader view and attempts to address the whole history of the German house.

## Responding the street: Detached houses in an urban setting



### Zweifamilien-Wohnhaus, 1904

Source: *Bautechnische Zeitschrift XIX (1904) Nr. 51, Beilage*

*This double-family house still contains both references to the solitary Bauernhaus such as the wooden gable, but also elements that tie it to a more urban bürgerliche Wohnkultur such as a symmetrical front facade and a cylindrical tower with an elaborated cupola next to the main volume of the house. The expression of the materials, such as the sidings and the roof tiles, the shadows and foliage seem to compete in this drawing, obscuring in the side elevation the presence of windows, shutters and the front door.*

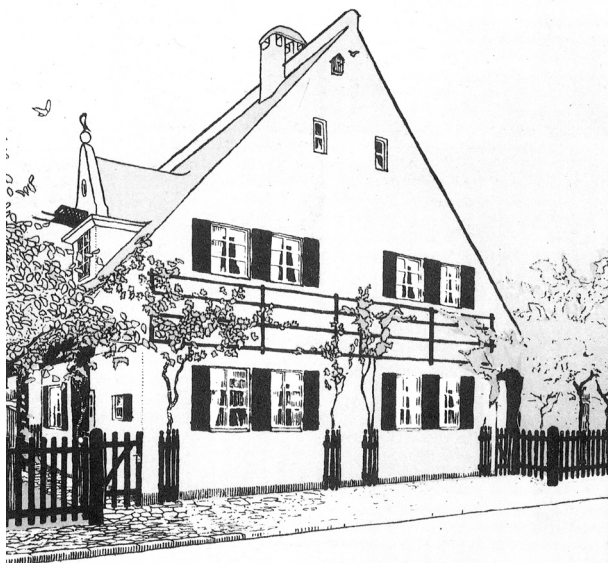


### Bürgerliches Wohnhaus, 1905

Source: *'Gewünschte Skizzen, 37. Bürgerliches Wohnhaus'* in: *Bautechnische Zeitschrift XX (1905) Nr. 37, p. 295*

*The cubical volume of this house is covered by an all-sided symmetric mansard roof, with four symmetrically placed large gabled dormers. A front garden is closed in by at least two retaining walls, of which the highest also conceals a more private back garden. The house has a complex approach from the street to the front door, consisting of steps, stairs, platforms and a pergola.*

*The drawing shows light and shadow in subtle tones: one side of the house, the retaining wall and some of the bushes are left blank, suggesting these are lit by the sun. On the shadowy side of the house, subtle hatchings indicate materials and textures. Trees, plants and grass are all drawn in detail, contrasting with the austere abstraction of the house.*



### Zwei zusammengebaute Arbeiter-Einfamilienhäuser, 1907

Source: *Tessenow, Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 1*

*What appears to be one house actually contains two mirrored pent-roofed semi-detached dwellings. The house presents itself, like so many of Tessenow's houses, with a purified facade to the street, not interrupted by the front door. The approach from the street to the front door is reduced to a setback of the fence, with two wickets placed on either side of the house. Wooden rectangular trellises, positioned between the windows, allow planting to grow on the front facade, thus creating some sort of flattened entrance pergola or front garden.*

*There is no expression of materials in the drawing; only the trees, the fence and the sidewalk are slightly elaborated.*

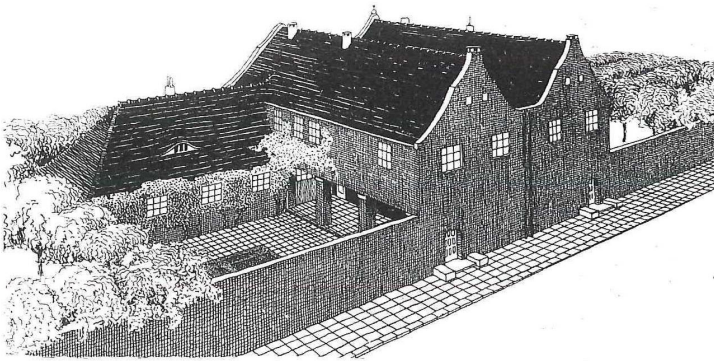
So far, the perspective drawings have depicted houses in a rural or scenic environment. It is clear that a more urban setting will introduce new themes, for instance the relation between street and house and, closely related, the approach to the house. When a private path winding up to the front door is no longer possible, the approach to the house will consist of a series of closely knitted spaces between sidewalk and front door, thus creating a visual distance in a more suburban context. In *Zweifamilien-Wohnhaus* (1904) a retaining wall and a set of stairs give access to the house, while a narrow flight of stairs on the left leads to the garden. The prototypical bench that figures in so many of Tessenow's drawings now appears on the sidewalk, as a truly public piece of furniture: its importance for the street is emphasized by the semi-circular sidewalk in front of it. In its appearance, the house contains *bäuerliche* elements reminiscent of the *Einsiedelei* house, such as the wooden gable or the robust tower-like volume. Its front facade, however, contains elements of the typical *bürgerliche* house, such as a strong symmetry and an orderly and hierarchical arrangement of the windows.

In *Bürgerliches Wohnhaus* (1905), the sloping approach to the house is further elaborated by Tessenow. Once again, he makes use of the height differences in the terrain and continues some of the motifs introduced in *Zweifamilien-Wohnhaus*, such as the integration of garden wall and house facade. *Bürgerliches Wohnhaus* differs from the previous example by showing a stronger formal approach in the elaboration of the building volume and the elevations. Compared with the variety of windows and window compositions in *Zweifamilien-Wohnhaus*, the windows of this house are bigger and more equal in size. These shutterless windows are positioned in all visible facades in a highly regular way, with the windows in the dormers clearly responding in proportions and size to the ones below. The pergola literally merges with the side facade (note the heavy columns that grow out of the wall) and can be read as an addition to the autonomous volume of the house, both escaping and putting in perspective the strict symmetry.

The *Zwei zusammengebaute Arbeiter-Einfamilienhäuser* (1907) show how building elements from the *bürgerliche* house are transformed when applied to the *Kleinwohnung*. For example, the wooden picket fence has now taken over the role of the stone wall of the *Zweifamilien-Wohnhaus* and the *Bürgerliches Wohnhaus* and its setback from the street widens the sidewalk in front of the facade as a subtle representational gesture.

In its appearance, the building shows a triangular front on a base, with a symmetrical composition of window openings and planting. Representation rests here mainly in building elements and other objects, such as windows, shutters and fence, while the house itself is reduced to a simple volume that acts as a background for the elements that mark, in a subtle way, the individual single-family dwelling within the building.

## Duplication and the joint: Twin houses in an urban setting

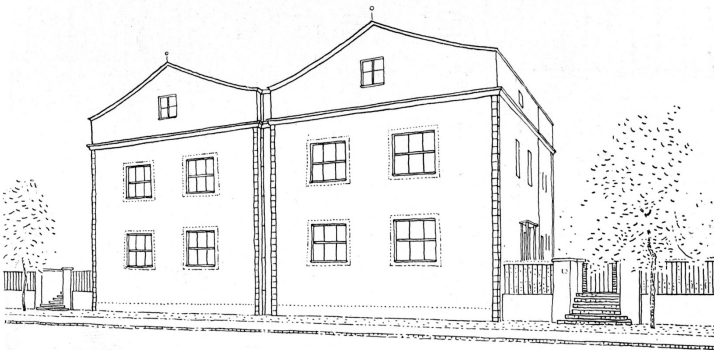


### **Zwei zusammengebaute Einfamilienhäuser, 1905**

Source: Haenel & Tscharmann, *Das Einzelwohnhaus der Neuzeit*, 1907, 63-65

This bird's-eye view shows two houses with slightly curved Dutch gables, mirrored across their dividing wall. On the street side, the facades merge with a high wall that encloses two separate gardens. Except for the entrance, the ground floor is completely closed off by a wall. Behind the wall, the L-shaped layout of each house creates a courtyard that extends into a forecourt, a covered space cut out of the volume of the house.

The drawing shows a remarkably detailed indication of materials and textures, with a wider line grid indicating the large tiles of the sidewalk; a denser grid for the smaller tiles of the courtyard and fine crosshatching for the brick walls of the houses and the garden walls. Finally, dark horizontal hatching is used for the roof tiles and irregular lines and dots for indicating trees and climbing plants.



### **Einfamilien Doppelhaus, b. 1916**

Source: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, 107

The floorplans of this house show a further development towards the rowhouse: all main rooms have their windows facing either the street or the garden at the back. The ground floor and garden are raised above street level. The three facades of each of the two identical houses have a lowered horizontal cornice that ends the quoin corners.

The houses are drawn in an abstract way with simple outlines, reducing the expression of the facades to the quoin corners. This abstract drawing style is continued in an extensive series of perspectives of interiors and furniture pieces of which some will be discussed in the chapter on Sache.



### **Zwillinghäuser für 4 Familien, c. 1906**

Source: 'Zwillinghäuser für 4 Familien' in: *Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXI*, (1906), Nr. 38, 300

In this project, each of the two houses contains two apartments. The ground-floor apartments are accessible via the back of the house while those on the first floor can be reached via a staircase, situated in the zone between the two houses. Similar to the *Einfamilien Doppelhaus*, the lower part of the front garden is transformed into a facade garden with trellises covered by ivy.

The drawing shows a wide variety of scribbles and hatchings, used to indicate the differences in materials (roof, wall, glass), natural elements (trees and ivy) and shadows.

The urban setting not only affects the relation between house and public realm, but also the relation between two neighbouring houses. In case of the *Zwillingshäuser* (twin houses) as presented in these three perspective drawings, Tessenow investigates the implications of not trying to integrate the houses into a single entity, as was done with the aforementioned *Zwei zusammengebaute Arbeiter-Einfamilienhäuser*, but literally duplicating the single house. In the case of these twin houses, the single house is now mirrored across the dividing wall. Tessenow uses the twin-house motif to investigate the appearance of the duplication as the first step in the multiplication of the individual house. In this investigation, carried out in his perspective drawings, his attention is focussed not only on the formal implications of mirroring, but especially on the joint between the two individual houses.

In *Zwei zusammengebaute Einfamilienhäuser* (1905) there is a tension between the mirrored individuality of each house and the unity that the two houses express. The gables accentuate their individuality, while the row of identical windows of the upper floor and the continuous wall also bind the two houses together. The joint between the two is accentuated by two independent rainwater pipes.

Although *Einfamilien Doppelhaus* (1916) has a very different typology, there is also a remarkable similarity in the elaboration of the joint. Similar to the rainwater pipes in the previous twin houses, the quoins of the *Einfamilien Doppelhaus* on both sides of their dividing wall indicate the joint. Instead of accentuating the mirroring line, the doubling of the rainwater-pipe or the quoins draws the attention of the viewer to what is actually mirrored, namely the individual house. Next to that, the thickness of the joint itself receives attention in both drawings, something that Tessenow wrote about explicitly in *Hausbau und dergleichen*.<sup>295</sup>

In *Zwillingshäuser für 4 Familien* the joint is no longer a mirroring line but transforms into a wider zone, where the access to the upper-floor apartments and more informal auxiliary spaces are situated. This leads to a subdivision between a formal, representational part of the house and an informal non-representational part that joins both houses. In the continuous investigation of the *Kleinwohnung's* response to its multiplication in a suburban setting, Tessenow's experiments with the character and expression of the joint between two houses forms an important step.

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<sup>295</sup> See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 48-54

## Expressing both individuality and collectivity: Multiple houses in an urban setting



Entwurf - zu - vier - Arbeiterwohnhäusern - als - Reihenhäuser.

### **Vier Arbeiterwohnhäuser als Reihenhäuser, 1905**

Source: Tessenow, 'Entwurf zu vier Arbeiterwohnhäusern als Reihenhäuser' in: Bautechnische Zeitschrift XX (1905) Nr. 43, p. 340

*In this project two perpendicularly placed gables, protruding from the main roof, are placed above two mirrored front doors, deliberately obscuring the position of the individual house in the row.*

*In the drawing style, the differences in material expression between the roof and the wall are clear, with various building elements such as doors, shutters and roof supports drawn with thin dashes.*



### **Doppelwohnhäuser für Fabrikarbeiter in Waldkirchen, 1913**

Source: Tietze, 'Heinrich Tessenow', in: Kunst und Kunsthandwerk XVI (1913), p. 585-598

*This project consists of individual houses, placed in a curved row of a sloping street. Each house contains two apartments on a shared basement. Between the houses are walls, with stairs leading to the entrance on the side and a back door to the gardens. The asymmetrical form of the front facade is countered by a symmetrical arrangement of the windows under the pitched roof.*

*This perspective shows a relatively abstract drawing style with only a rough hatching of the roofs and an undefined background: the rest of the perspective is drawn in clear and shadowless outlines.*



### **Einfamilienhäuser für Handwerker, b. 1916**

Source: Tessenow, Hausbau und dergleichen, 1916, 81

*Separate houses stand in a row, each with a front door in the middle of the facade, flanked by two symmetrically placed windows. Slightly set back from the front facade, a closed wooden fence connects the houses. The planks of the fence return in the gables of the houses.*

*The drawing is almost completely built up of hatchings: thin vertical lines for the wooden planks; short thin dashes to express the bricks; darker dots to indicate the roof tiles; and lighter dots, more sparsely distributed, to indicate both the green strip in front of the houses and the street. In front of all these different materials and textures, Tessenow draws two trees, with dark trunks and branches and foliage using mainly light sparse dots, creating an almost impressionistic effect.*

For Tessenow, the *Kleinwohnung* is not an isolated assignment, but inextricably bound up with its multiplication in the urban setting of the *Kleinstadt*. In the three perspective drawings that are presented here, Tessenow departs from the individuality of the single house and carefully explores the expression of its repetition. Each individual house, represented by the archetypical pitched roof, maintains a certain distance to the identical neighbouring house, while they collectively form a row that lines the street. The notions of *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit* are thus confronted with both the individual expression of the house and with the collective expression of a row of houses.

One of Tessenow's early investigations into the expression of the individual house in a housing row can be found in the drawing *Vier Arbeiterwohnhäuser als Reihenhäuser* (1905). Interestingly, the point of departure here is a housing row with a longitudinal roof ridge. Perpendicularly placed protruding gables with a similar height as the longitudinal roof appear at regular intervals, seemingly expressing the individual character of the individual house in the row. However, in this case the perception of individuality is more important than the literal expression of each individual house, since the perpendicularly placed protruding gables that suggest individual houses are in fact shared by two houses with a dividing wall in the middle. Although this project contains only four dwellings, the framing of the perspective hides the side ends of the building, thus suggesting a longer row.

The drawing *Doppelwohnhäuser für Fabrikarbeiter in Waldkirchen* (1913) explores the repetition of various individual houses that each contain two apartments. Here, the connecting walls between the houses are set back, hiding the individual gardens from the street. The stairs that run parallel to these walls are both an extension of each house, reinforcing the idea of 'stepping up' in the sloping street, and an introduction or approach to the front door. In this case it is evident that the expression of collectivity is reinforced by a clear response to the conditions of the sloping street.

The previous two drawings showed how the representation of the individual house within the collective form of its repetition in a row played with the perception of the viewer, either by using a pitched gable to represent an individual house when in fact it contained two entrances on both sides of a dividing wall, or by using individual house volumes that actually contain two apartments. In the last drawing of these three, *Einfamilienhäuser für Handwerker* (b. 1916), there are no longer any tricks or games. The drawing shows perhaps the most realistic or *gewöhnliche* version of connecting two *Kleinwohnungen* without trying to confuse the viewer about the representation of the individual house. The connecting wall is transformed into a fence with wooden planks that not only binds the individual *Kleinwohnungen* together, but also forms a background for the repetition of both the individual house and the individual tree between the houses.<sup>299</sup> While each house is basically identical, thus safeguarding the anonymity of its inhabitant, the repetition of the individual house contributes to a collective expression.

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<sup>299</sup> A similar motif is visible in the Kleinsiedlung 'Am Gruneberg', Pößneck (Thüringen), 1922 and Siedlung Rannersdorf, Schwechat (Vienna), 1924. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950* (1991), 263-264; 267



## Uniformity and individual distinction: Row housing in an urban context



### **Reihenhäuser für Kleinbürger und Arbeiter, 1903**

Source: 'Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder' in  
Bautechnische Zeitschrift XIX (1904) Nr. 20, p. 155

In this project eight houses are brought together in an L-shaped arrangement, giving the impression of one extended country house rather than a row of houses. In order to support this impression, Tessenow tries to avoid showing the length of the front facade and thus focusses on the front gardens. The long facade is thus shown in a strongly distorted side view, while the frontal view of the short facade is covered by two large trees on either side. The materials of the blinds and the roof tiles in the foreground are drawn in detail using various hatchings, as are the textures and surfaces of the street, the sidewalk and the front garden with its planting.



### **Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser, Hohensalza, 1911-1914**

Source: Tessenow, Hausbau und dergleichen, 1916, 74

The individual Haus motive is visible here as wall dormers, topped by pediments that protrude slightly from the front facade. Similar to the adjacent doorsteps, planters extend from the facade onto the sidewalk. In this drawing, Tessenow demonstrates again how he uses outlines to reach an abstraction, in which material expression and shadows have disappeared. At the same time, he also avoids clear outlines by using dots and dashes for a more abstract representation of the roof or the street surface. In a subtle way, the shadowy side of gutters, rainwater pipes and steps is indicated by rows of dashes.



### **Reihenhäuser für Kriegsheimkehrer, Rähnitz, 1919**

Source: Mackowsky, 'Heinrich Tessenow, der Meister des Hausbaues', Der Profanbau XV (1919), Nr. 9/10, p. 77-92

The expression of the individual house in the dominant uniformity of the row is reduced to a small dormer on the roof here. With this dormer reduced in scale and thus less visible, the two rainwater pipes now work as delineating elements of the individual house and the entrances become the main representational elements in the street. These are emphasized by the two steps placed in front of the doors and by their verticality with the added transom windows.

In the drawing, the silhouette of a human figure is visible, something that Tessenow avoids as much as possible in his perspectives. The scale of the figure, however, supports the exaggerated height of the front door as a representational gesture.

When the individual house merges into the continuous facade of the housing row, the extent to which each individual house is expressed in a dominant larger collective becomes an important architectural question. Tessenow has explored this question in his perspective drawings from the very start of his career: the uniformity demanded by the collectivity of the *Kleinstadt*, as proclaimed in *Hausbau und dergleichen*<sup>301</sup> and the wish to find an individual expression of the *Kleinwohnung* returns in many of his drawings. In the three drawings shown here, this investigation moves from a picturesque approach, exaggerating the differences between various terraced houses, to a more *sachliche* one, where the expression of each individual house is narrowed down to a representational focus on specific building elements.

In his very early housing project *Reihenhäuser für Kleinbürger und Arbeiter* (1903), Tessenow makes an effort to avoid the idea of repetition and uniformity as much as possible. When comparing the floorplan with the front elevation of this housing complex, it becomes immediately clear how Tessenow obscures the arrangement of the various dwellings by introducing a variety of bay windows, cross-gable roofs, porticos and dormers, seemingly independent of the individual houses and their dividing walls. In the drawing that is shown here, the idea of repetition is suppressed as much as possible and the visual representation of this complex therefore suggests a single villa with a garden rather than a row of housing.

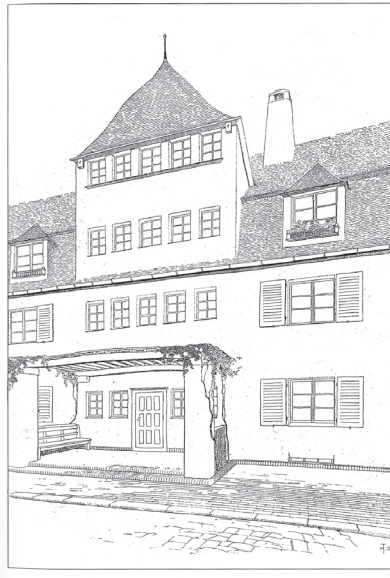
This early project remains an exception in Tessenow's investigation of the representation of row housing. Already with *Vier Arbeiterwohnhäuser als Reihenhäuser*, discussed in the previous section of this chapter, Tessenow had experimented with the repetition of similar building elements. In *Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser, Hohensalza* (1914) a repetition of wall dormers protruding from the housing row is visible. Placed between these wall dormers, building elements and objects such as planters and doorsteps extend their footprint beyond the outline of the housing row and the dormers, thereby not only softening the formal strictness of the repetition, but also marking the individual entrance spaces.

This softening of the uniformity of the facade is also visible in *Reihenhäuser für Kriegsheimkehrer, Rähnitz* (1919). The wall dormers of the Hohensalza facade have now withdrawn into the housing row and shrunken into roof dormers that appear now more as aedicular building elements, each representing an individual house. But in this case, there also seem to be interventions by individual inhabitants, such as the pergola attached to a front door or a different surface treatment of one house facade. It is as if Tessenow is exploring all the potentials of a repetitive facade in these drawings by showing how uniformity might form a suitable background for individual ways of living.

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<sup>301</sup> See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow: Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 43-46

## Representing collectivity: Multi-family buildings in an urban context



### Eingebautes Doppelwohnhaus für 12 Arbeiterfamilien, 1906

Source: B. Hanftmann, 'Reihen-Doppelhaus für 12 Kleinfamilien', 1908, 50-52

This multi-family building with a mansard roof contains three stories of small apartments accessed through a shared staircase, accentuated here in the front facade by its enlarged pitch-roofed dormer. The facade shows similarities with the executed Schaffnerwohnungen in Trier (1907), although in this project the staircase is much wider and the building has one extra floor of apartments.

The drawing style focusses on showing both the main material differences, such as the clinkers of the pavement and the roof tiles, and the specific horizontal shadows, such as the one caused by the gutter, the exterior windowsill of the top staircase windows and the beams of the pergola.



### Etagenhäuser, 1908

Source: Das Werk, I (1909), Nr. 1, 6

In this project, part of the apartments is moved to the fore with narrow side windows, thus creating a setback for the entrances that can be overlooked by the inhabitants. The windows are deeply recessed, while the front doors on the street are placed flush with the facade.

The chosen viewpoint in the drawing exaggerates the perspectival effect of the repetition in the building mass under a continuous roofline. Cast shadows are avoided and only a small potted plant can be distinguished as a token of nature.



### Sechsfamilienhäuser für Arbeiter und Angestellte, Gröba-Riesa, 1913

Source: Tessenow, Hausbau und dergleichen, 1916, 86

Designed for the Großeinkaufsgesellschaft deutscher Konsumentvereine Hamburg, this project contains small apartments accessed via a staircase. The framed windows are all similar, with only the front door accentuated by a lamp and a protruding frame. Rainwater pipes subdivide each Sechsfamilienhaus in the row.

The chosen viewpoint not only exaggerates the perspectival effect but also conceals the pitched roof, thus reinforcing the abstract appearance of this drawing, only softened by the ivy growing on the frame around the front door.

At first sight, these three drawings of multi-family buildings address a housing form that seems at odds with most of Tessenow's oeuvre. However, as part of his investigation of the representation of the *Kleinwohnung* and the individual dwelling in an urban setting, Tessenow explored multi-family buildings from 1907 on and was also able to actually build a number of such buildings.<sup>303</sup> When the individual house is no longer arranged in a housing row, but stacked as apartments in multi-storey buildings, the question of representing the individual house within a collective building shifts to the question of representation of the collective building itself. The three perspective drawings in this subcategory show different strategies to address this question.

In the first drawing, *Eingebautes Doppelwohnhaus für 12 Arbeiterfamilien* (1906), Tessenow makes an effort to emphasize the collective entrance and the collective staircase as the central part of the building. Topped with its own roof and a different treatment of its facade, this part of the building is used for a monumental representation, dominating the appearance of the collective building.

In the second project, drawn in the same year, Tessenow chooses a radically different approach. In *Etagenhäuser* (1908), Tessenow tries to find a formal motif to counter the inherent uniformity of multi-storey housing. Under the continuous roof edge, he arranges the bay windows of the individual apartments in repetitive vertical protrusions that give a rhythm to the front facade. The expression of collectivity is thus translated into the repetition of an abstracted formal motif.

In the last drawing, *Sechsfamilienhäuser für Arbeiter und Angestellte, Gröba-Riesa* (1913), Tessenow refrains from introducing any abstracted formal experiments with building masses or an emphasized monumental treatment of the collective parts. The front facade of the building consists of a repetition of similar windows. Only the entrances are accentuated by an enlarged, protruding frame and a doorstep. The representation of the individual house has completely merged here into the collectivity of the multi-storey block. As a consequence, the expression of the multi-family building is now reduced to a continuous facade that shows a repetition of similar windows. This drawing thus demonstrates a shifting focus from the perception of the individual house to the collective space of the street.

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<sup>303</sup> Among these are the so-called Schaffnerwohnungen (housing for tram conductors) in Trier (1907, later demolished); housing Bahnhofstraße Neustädter Straße in Pößneck (1923) and a building for the GAGFA-Siedlung in Berlin (1928). See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow 1876-1950* (1991), 97, 180; 86-91, 270; 293-297 and Weiss, 'Der Wohnungsbau Heinrich Tessenows' (1976), 104-105, 186-187; 132-133; 222-226.

## The representation of *Haus* in Tessenow's perspective drawings

For Tessenow, *Haus* forms an essential category that permeates all his work and, in particular, the *Kleinwohnung* forms the core of this category. The question of housing as part of a broader *Lebensreform* (life-reform) movement is considered by Tessenow and many of his colleagues as a fundamental challenge. The *Kleinwohnung*, in their eyes, plays a pivotal role in facing this challenge, since this type of house is able to mediate between the private sphere of the dwelling and the collectivity of the *Kleinstadt*. Architecturally, Tessenow finds the sources of the contemporary *Kleinwohnung* in two traditions: the *bürgerliche* house of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the vernacular farmhouse.

The specific architectural aspects related to the *bürgerliche* house, such as restraint and formal simplicity, and those related to the farmhouse, such as the strong ties to a labour-related *Gewerblichkeit* (craft industry) and, as a consequence, an informality of expression, are continuously explored by Tessenow in a series of perspective drawings. In these drawings, houses appear in a wide variety of typologies and settings, ranging from detached single-family houses in a rural setting to multi-family row housing in an urban context.

To get an idea of Tessenow's explorations in these drawings, it is helpful to make use of the three epistemic notions that I consider fundamental for his architectural thinking: *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit*.

The notion of *Empfindung* evidently forms the main point of departure for Tessenow's perspectives, since the evocation of a visual perception is immediately tied to this type of drawing. However, for Tessenow the notion of *Empfindung* has a broader scope. It also affects the formal and material elaboration of his designs, as is visible in a number of drawings of detached houses in a rural setting. In the case of the drawings *Direktorwohnhaus Waldkirchen* (1916), the notion of *Empfindung* finds its way into the treatment of the outer wall and the roof as a formal reflection of the surrounding hills, while in *Einsiedelei* (1905) the material expression of the facades mimics the natural elements of the landscape in which the house is placed.

In more urban settings, the expression of the house is increasingly subdued: in *Zweifamilien-Wohnhaus* (1904), where the house faces the street with a clear front facade, Tessenow limits an *empfindliche* treatment of forms and materials to the end facade and the roof. These drawings precede Tessenow's investigations of row housing, a typology that fits the *Kleinwohnung*, since it enables higher housing densities. In *Reihenhäuser* (1903), an early attempt to compose a housing row that completely ignores the repetition of the individual house, Tessenow relies on strong *empfindliche* gestures with bay windows, cross-gable roofs and porticos. Although this housing scheme clearly remains an exception in his oeuvre, the *empfindliche* expression of specific elements, such as the entrances, continues to play a role in Tessenow's work, both in the individual houses and in the larger housing schemes. While his later drawings show an increasing acceptance of repetition and uniformity, schemes such as *Eingebautes Doppelwohnhaus für 12 Arbeiterfamilien* (1908) demonstrate how the elaborate articulation of entrance and communal staircase dominates the expression of this multi-family building. In all these drawings, a more figurative expression is sought, either in the main form of the building volume, in material expression or in traditional architectural motifs. For Tessenow, however, *Empfindung* is not a predominant artistic gesture but relates to the visual perception of the house.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, Tessenow became increasingly interested in the notion of *Abstraktion*. In regard to the category of *Haus*, we see a rigorous reduction of formal and material expression in his drawings *Haus auf der Höhe* (1904) and *Landhaus Saratoff* (1905). This early exploration of what *Abstraktion* entails for the house leads to both a deliberate contrast with the surrounding landscape and a strong formal autonomy and restraint. This is also visible in more urban projects, such as *Bürgerliches Wohnhaus* (1905) or *Einfamilien Doppelhaus* (before 1916) in which the elevations of the house show a strong formal reduction. In his drawings of row housing, such as *Einfamilien-Reihenhaus Hohensalza* (1911-1914) Tessenow explores how *Abstraktion* affects the representation of the individual house in a communal building. The same notion also influences Tessenow's investigation of the appearance of multi-family housing slabs to a large extent, as can be seen, for instance, in the continuous rhythm of the repetitive protruding bay windows in *Etagenhäuser* (1908). In all these examples, the representation of the house relies on abstraction as a form of aesthetic distinction. Aspects such as materiality or the effects of light and shadow have disappeared, leaving only the representative volume of the house, drawn in outline and thus reduced to its essence.

Both *Empfindung* and *Abstraktion* are necessary for Tessenow to finally arrive at the right *Gewöhnlichkeit* in the expression of the *Kleinwohnung* in its various typological manifestations. Tessenow takes the realism of the farmhouse as a point of departure in his investigation of this expression and applies a related matter-of-factness or *Sachlichkeit* in the way ordinary building elements such as doors, windows and rainwater barrels are used to contribute to the expression of the house. When the *Kleinwohnung* is confronted with a more urban setting, this strategy is continued. In *Zwei zusammengebaute Arbeiter-Einfamilienhäuser* (1907), Tessenow allows ordinary building elements such as a wooden fence and the shuttered windows in the front facade to take care of the representation of the house. In drawings that explore the architectural consequences of the multiplication of the *Kleinwohnung* such as *Einfamilienhäuser für Handwerker* (1916), he relies completely on *Gewöhnlichkeit*: a row of individual houses is simply connected by a receding closed fence. The various perspective drawings of row housing show a gradual acceptance of uniformity of the row, while at the same time he also explores the expression of the individual house within this row. This expression shifts from literally showing the form of the individual house and its pitched roof, towards a focus on smaller, ordinary building elements, such as doors, windows and dormers, as can be seen in *Reihenhäuser für Kriegsheimkehrer, Rähnitz* (1919) or the plain repetition of ordinary building elements in the neutral volume of the slab in the drawing *Gröba-Riesa Sechsfamilienhäuser* (1913)

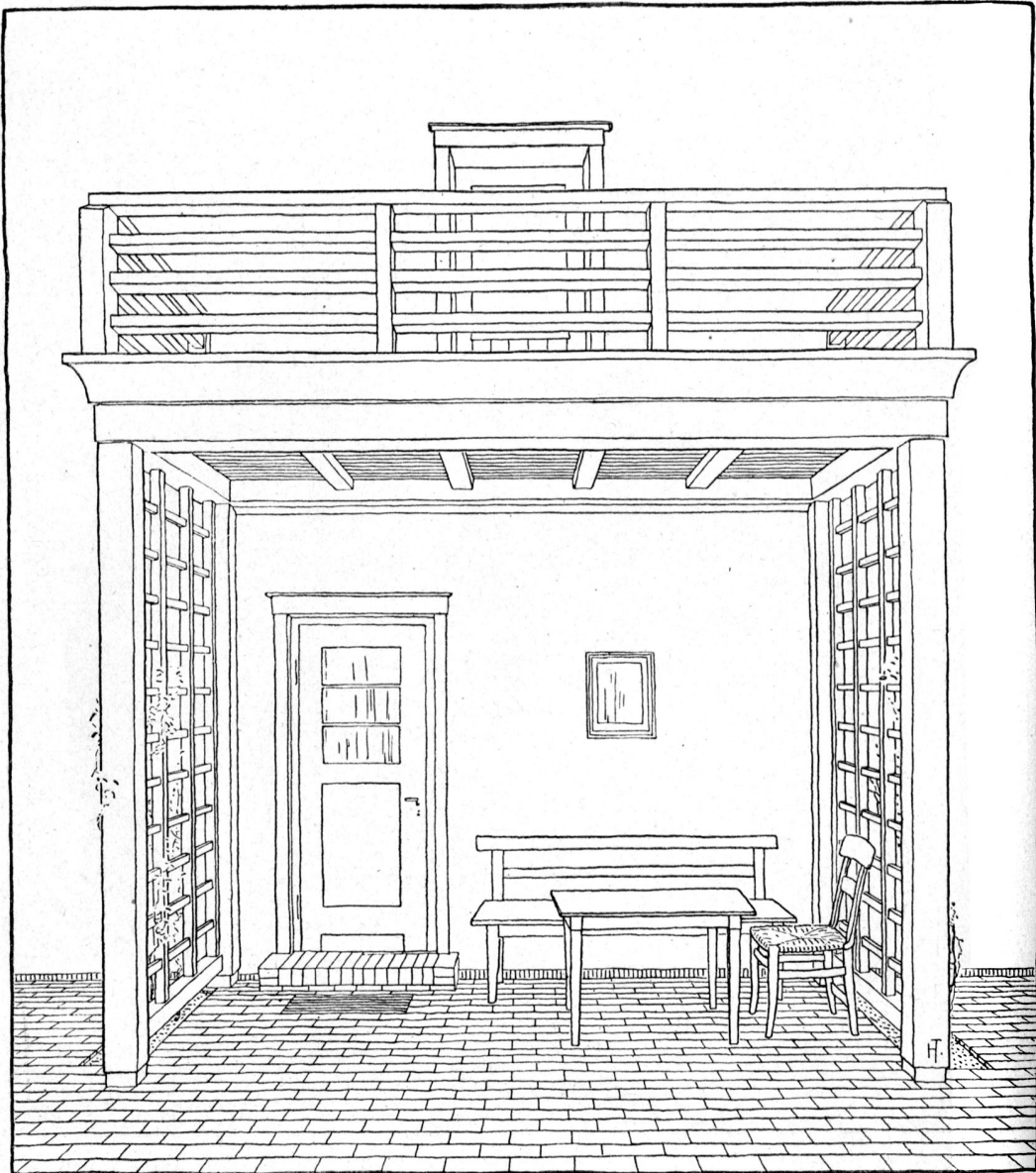
At that point Tessenow is confronted with the question of what the role and meaning of architecture is in relation to the *Kleinwohnung*. Both his two publications on this subject and the many perspective drawings he produced make clear that his interest lies in the visual perception of the house.<sup>304</sup> But for Tessenow, perception is not limited to the exterior; the approach to the house is of even greater concern than the expression of the facades. In dealing with this approach, he continuously tries to find ways to delay the transition from the public realm of the street or sidewalk to the private world of the house interior. In the detached house in a landscape setting, this transition is not so difficult to achieve, since there is quite a distance between the public road and the house. In the perspectives of these houses, the path that leads to the house is often seen accompanied by a wall or a few steps.

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<sup>304</sup> In *Hausbau und dergleichen* Tessenow suggests that 'architecture' needs to be postponed until we reach a 'unity in our work'. (translation by Wilfried Wang in Burdett, Wang (1989), 11. See also: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen*, (2011), 21

When the detached house is placed in a more urban context and the distance between street and house gets smaller, Tessenow needs to condense this path into an elaborately designed entrance, where front garden, garden wall, fence and steps help to enlarge the experienced distance between street and front door.

In the case of the *Kleinwohnung*, this distance between street and front door will inevitably be further reduced, leading to the increasing use of fences, steps in front of the entrance, flattened front gardens in the form of trellises on the facades or pergola-like frames around the front door. It is clear that in an urban setting the *Kleinwohnung* brings about both a reduction and a condensation of the approach. Finally, it is the threshold of the house that works as the most reduced form of approach. For Tessenow, the threshold is not simply a representational gesture: it is a concrete space, directly tied to all the other spaces and rooms of the house and its immediate surroundings. In the following chapter we will therefore look in more detail at perspective drawings focused on the category of *Raum*.



# 4

*Raum, from Raumgestaltung to  
Raumbegrenzung*





*Junozimmer Wohnhaus Goethe am Frauenplan, Weimar, c. 1905*

Source: Wilhelm Bode (?), reprinted in De Michelis, Heinrich Tessenow, 1991, p 101

*In this drawing Tessenow depicts the interior of the so called Junozimmer, or Juno room, the largest room of a series of representative salons, arranged as an enfilade at the front side of Goethe's house in the centre of Weimar.<sup>305</sup> Besides the cast head named 'Juno Ludovisi', the room contains a grand piano, a sideboard with a bust, a bench and some chairs, placed against the walls, and a round table with a tablecloth. While the floor is made of wooden boards, the ceiling displays some ornamentation and the walls have a decorated wainscoting, above which a number of paintings are hung. Through the door opening a series of subsequent rooms are suggested by showing an alternation of dark and light frames. In the final room a glass case on a small table is visible.*

*Although the outlines of the room are expressed through the careful drawing of its ornate lineation and the cornice at the edge of the ceiling, the distinction between the two walls mainly derives from the suggestion of light and shadow, as do the outlines of the various pieces of sculpture, like Juno's head on the left and the bust on the right. Shadows and other dark elements, such as the curtains flanking the painting on the right, are drawn with a vertical linear hatch: horizontal hatching is used for the ceiling, Juno's head and the wooden planks of the floor.*

At first sight, the drawing of Goethe's *Junozimmer* mainly serves to show Tessenow's drawing skills in depicting a variety of materials and textures, such as the wooden floor, the ornamental treatment of the wainscoting, the padded back and armrest of the bench and the tablecloth. A closer look reveals the role of daylight and shadow in this drawing: while most surfaces are hatched, to indicate their shadowy position in the room, the long wall above the wainscoting is left completely blank, as are major parts of Juno's head and the bust on the other side of the door opening. Marking a contrast

<sup>305</sup> The Juno-room, named after the colossal cast head of Juno Ludovisi, is situated in Goethe's house on Frauenplan, in the centre of Weimar, where he lived from 1782 till 1789 and from 1792 till 1832. See: Paul Kahl, *Die Erfindung des Dichterhauses: Das Goethe-Nationalmuseum in Weimar: Eine Kulturgeschichte*, (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2015)

with the hatchings, the striking white of the wall surface on the right indicates the light falling into the room through the invisible windows on the left. In the end, neither the ornamented surfaces, the furniture pieces or the works of art in the room, nor the play of daylight and shadow form the real subject of this drawing: it is the space of the room itself and its enfilade arrangement with the other rooms that Tessenow depicts in this drawing.

In the German language the word *Raum* has a meaning that ranges from 'room' to 'space' in the metaphorical sense of freedom, and all kind of meanings situated in between. *Raum* also transcends scale and ranges from the universe (*Weltraum*), a region (*Thüringer Raum*), the space between buildings or objects (*Zwischenraum*) and finally the enclosed space inside a building (*Räume eines Museums*).<sup>306</sup>

In German architectural thinking, *Raum* already appeared as an important category in Goethe's essay 'Baukunst' from 1795 that was first published a hundred years later in 1895.<sup>307</sup> In particular the perception of *Raum* (*Raumwahrnehmung*) is addressed in this essay. Goethe states here that the reception of architecture is based on three categories: materiality, functionality (*Zweckmäßigkeit*) and sensory harmony (*sinnliche Harmonie*).<sup>308</sup> Regarding this last category, so Goethe writes, it is not so much the visual sense that is relevant, but rather the sense of motion or movement, activated when proceeding through a space. Only with this sense, which connects spatial and temporal dimensions, is it possible to experience *Raum*. Movement is crucial, since an architectural work, according to Goethe, is basically a *Raumkomposition* (composition of spaces) and not a container of various decorations. A visitor experiences this composition by moving through the spaces, while a subconscious rational measuring and balancing takes place.<sup>309</sup> The harmony experienced by the visitor relates to the proportions and dimensions of the space, and is closely related to the human body: 'We feel a pleasant sensation as we move according to certain laws when dancing; we should be able to evoke a similar sensation in someone whom we lead blindfolded through a well-built house.'<sup>310</sup>

Goethe seems to touch here on some remarkable issues (the sensory experience of architecture and the notion that movement is necessary to gain a spatial experience) that would be echoed in the work of art historians such as Lipps, Wölfflin, von Hildebrandt and Schmarsow a hundred years later.<sup>311</sup>

Tessenow began working as an architect not long after the publication of Goethe's *Baukunst* essay and the publication of Schmarsow's investigations into *Raum* and *Raumwahrnehmung* in *Das Wesen der architektonische Gestaltung* (The Essence of Architectural Creation).<sup>312</sup> With his focus on the house, and the *Kleinwohnung* in particular, Tessenow doesn't respond explicitly to the theoretical

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<sup>306</sup> According to *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. See: <https://www.dwds.de/wb/Raum>, visited 04-02-2022.

<sup>307</sup> The essay remained unpublished in Goethe's lifetime. For the text of the essay, see: Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werke, Hamburger Ausgabe 1998 Band 12*, 588 and *Berliner Ausgabe, Band 19*, 107. For a summary see: Jan Büchschuß, "Goethe und die Architekturtheorie" (PhD diss., Technische Universität Berlin, 2009)

<sup>308</sup> Büchschuß, "Goethe und die Architekturtheorie" (2009)

<sup>309</sup> See: Klaus Niehr and Jens Bisky, 'Poesie Der Baukunst. Architekturästhetik Von Winckelmann Bis Boisseree.' *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 64, no. 4 (2001), 583–83

<sup>310</sup> 'wir fühlen eine angenehme Empfindung, wenn wir uns im Tanz nach gewissen Gesetzen bewegen; eine ähnliche Empfindung sollten wir bei jemand erregen können, den wir mit verbundenen Augen durch ein wohlgebautes Haus hindurchführen'. Quoted in Büchschuß, *Goethe und die Architekturtheorie* (2009), 219 (my translation)

<sup>311</sup> Wölfflin refers to Goethe's idea of the blindfolded experience of *Raum* in his *Prolegomena* (1886), p. 9

<sup>312</sup> Schmarsow's *Das Wesen der Architektonische Schöpfung* appears in 1894, one year later than Goethe's 1795 *Baukunst* essay. See Büchschuß (2009), 279.

explorations of *Raum* by either Goethe or Schmarsow, but develops his own investigation into the subject, using the perspective drawing as his main tool. It is also important to understand that at the start of the twentieth century, the discussion of *Raum* and its meaning for architecture had just begun to enter the field of dwelling. While in 1894 Schmarsow in the very last pages of his book considered *Räumgefühl* (spatial feeling) to include all fixed places of our cultural works, stretching out, as he says, to ‘even the domestic seclusion and cosy settings of our private lives’,<sup>313</sup> he implicitly marked the somewhat peripheral position of the private house. Twenty years later, his ideas seem to have drastically changed in an article with a title that immediately refers to his inaugural lecture: *Raumgestaltung als Wesen der architektonischen Schöpfung* (Spatial Design as the Essence of Architectural Creation).<sup>314</sup> Following Gottfried Semper, Schmarsow prioritizes here the private dwelling: ‘The building of dwellings is everywhere the foundation and the deciding factor for the essence of architecture as space creator.’<sup>315</sup>

In Tessenow’s writings, such as *Wohnhausbau* and *Hausbau und dergleichen*, the central position of the dwelling is evident, but he avoids describing his views on *Raum* in these books. However, in his drawings, and more particularly his perspective drawings, *Raum* forms one of the central categories that he explores. Apparently, the perspective drawing as such formed a medium that allowed a particular form of investigation that both text and plan drawings were unable to offer. In order to understand this investigation of *Raum* in his perspectives, I will confront the category *Raum* with the same three notions – *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit* – that were introduced in the previous chapter on the category of *Haus*.

### ***Raum and Empfindung***

Although the ties between *Raum* and *Empfindung* are investigated at the end of the nineteenth century by a wide range of art historians, the investigations of August Schmarsow are perhaps the most relevant when discussing Tessenow’s perspective drawings.<sup>316</sup>

In his inaugural lecture as professor at Leipzig university in 1893, Schmarsow not only prioritized *Raum* and its subjective experience in architecture by proposing an ‘aesthetics from inside’, rejecting the nineteenth-century dominance of exterior-oriented aesthetics, he also pointed out the fundamental importance of the imaginative aspect of architecture, notated in plans, elevations and perspectives, suggesting that drawings surpass the actual execution of a built work.<sup>317</sup> Are architectural drawings, Schmarsow asks himself, comparable to the score of a musical piece and the realization of a building, in that respect, similar to the performance by musicians?<sup>318</sup> Schmarsow

<sup>313</sup> Translated by Johanna Güllberg. See also: Johanna Güllberg, ‘Voids and bodies: August Schmarsow, Bruno Zevi and space as a historiographical theme’ in: *Journal of Art Historiography*, 2016;14, p. 4. Accessed through <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2016/05/gullberg.pdf> on 04-02-2019

<sup>314</sup> August Schmarsow, ‘Raumgestaltung als Wesen der architektonischen Schöpfung’ in: *Zeitschrift der Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, 9, 1914, Heft 1, p. 66-95. Accessed through <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/zaak1914/0072> on 04-02-2019

<sup>315</sup> ‘der Wohnbau ist überall das Grundlegende und Entscheidende für das Wesen der Architektur als Raumgestalterin’. See: Schmarsow, *Raumgestaltung* (1914), 73 (my translation). See for Semper’s ideas on space: Harry Francis Mallgrave, ‘Introduction’, in Harry Francis Mallgrave (ed.), Gottfried Semper (author). *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, or, Practical Aesthetics*. Texts & Documents. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004), 48-49.

<sup>316</sup> See: Forty, *Words and Buildings* (2004), 259-262 and Mallgrave, *Empathy, Form and Space* (1994), 57-85

<sup>317</sup> ‘Es gälte nur (...) eine Aesthetik vin Innen zu versuchen’ See: Schmarsow, *Das Wesen der Architektonischen Schöpfung* (1894), 3. Translation from: Mallgrave (1994), 59

<sup>318</sup> ‘Es fragt sich ferner , wie viel in architektonischn Zeichnungen, Plänen, Aufrissen, Durchschnitten und ansichten verschiedener Art vom ursprünglichen Wesen der architektonischen Schöpfung enthalten sei (...) Sollte es damit ebenso stehen, wie mit der Partitur eines Werkes der Tonkunst’ See: Schmarsow, *Das Wesen der Architektonischen Schöpfung*, (1894), 7-8

touches here on an interesting subject, especially in the light of an investigation of Tessenow's perspective drawings. For Schmarsow the subjective experience of the *Raum* is not necessarily related to a 'real' physical experience: the viewer is able to imagine her- or himself in the drawn projection of the *Raum*. The perspective drawing, in that sense, forms not only the most accessible expression of an imagined spatial experience, but is also able to capture the essence of a project. Schmarsow's claim, in that sense, supports the supposedly independent and important position of Tessenow's perspective drawings in the totality of his architectural works.

Schmarsow defines *Raumgestaltung* (spatial creation) as the essence of architecture. This 'creation' is based on two determining factors: *Raumgefühl* (sense of space) as a mainly visual experience of space; and *Raumphantasie* (what we imagine a space to be like) as an imaginative impression.<sup>319</sup> Both factors are essential in arriving at *Raumgestaltung* (spatial creation), Schmarsow states: 'Our sense of space [*Raumgefühl*] and spatial imagination [*Raumphantasie*] press towards spatial creation [*Raumgestaltung*]; they seek their satisfaction in art. We call this art architecture; in plain words, it is the *creatress of space* [*Raumgestalterin*].' <sup>320</sup> A few pages later, he also introduces another interesting presumption:

The spatial construct is, so to speak, an emanation of the human being present, a projection from within the subject, irrespective of whether a human likeness such as a statue is substituted for that individual, or whether the shade of some departed person is imagined to be present.<sup>321</sup>

This 'shade of some departed person imagined to be present' is a remarkable characterization of the perspective drawing, where an imaginary viewpoint replaces the viewer's eye. But Schmarsow extends this single subjective impression to a broader spatial sensitivity that enables us to 'construct' the *Raum* out of a multitude of impressions and experiences.

Not only in the perspective construction as such, but also in the content of Tessenow's drawings can a link with Schmarsow's interest in space be distinguished. Interestingly, Schmarsow specifically draws attention to the peripheral or transitional spaces. He does not believe

. . . that the history of architectural development should be limited to the establishment of permanent buildings and self-contained building systems. We must not forget . . . how necessary it is, for the understanding of these traditions of spatial design, to study the furnishings of Christian monasteries in pagan lands, the vestibules of basilicas, cloisters and corridors, the pergolas of summer residences, the interior courtyard of an Italian villa, or the hypaethral *cella* of a Greek temple.<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> See: Ute Engel, *Stil und Nation: Barockforschung und Deutsche Kunstgeschichte (ca. 1830 - 1933)* (Boston: BRILL, 2018), 333

<sup>320</sup> 'Raumgefühl und Raumphantasie drängen zur Raumgestaltung und suchen ihre Befriedigung in einer Kunst; wir nennen sie Architektur und können sie deutsch kurzweg als *Raumgestalterin* bezeichnen.' See: Schmarsow, *Das Wesen der Architektonischen Schöpfung* (1894), 11. Translations in: Mallgrave, *Empathy, Form and Space* (1994), 287.

<sup>321</sup> 'Das Raumgebilde ist eine Ausstrahlung gleichsam des gegenwärtigen Menschen, eine Projektion aus dem Innern des Subjekts, gleichviel ob es leibhaftig darinnen ist oder sich geistig hineinversetzt, also auch gleichviel ob eine Statue nach dem Ebenbilde des Menschen seine Stelle einnimmt oder der Schatten eines Abgeschiedenen hineingedacht wird.' See: Schmarsow, *Das Wesen der Architektonischen Schöpfung* (1894), 15-16. Translation from: Mallgrave, *Empathy, Form and Space* (1994), 289

<sup>322</sup> 'dass die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Architektur auf die Errichtung fester Gebäude, geschlossener Bausysteme beschränkt werde. Wir dürfen nicht vergessen, (..) wie wenig die Einrichtung christlicher Klöster im Heidenland, wie wenig die Vorhöfe der Basiliken, die Kreuzgänge und Wandelbahnen, die Laubengänge der Lustschlösser, der Binnenhof eines italienischen Hauses oder die Hypaethralcella eines griechischen Tempels für das ganze Verständnis dieser Raumgebilde entbehrt werden können' See: Schmarsow, *Das Wesen der Architektonischen Schöpfung*, 1894, 25-26. Translation from:

Schmarsow points here at the importance, not only of interior spaces, but more in particular of transitional spaces such as courtyards, pergolas and vestibules, spaces that mediate between inside and outside. These spaces, often situated on the periphery of the 'main' spaces, also play an important role in Tessenow's perspectives, as we will see in this chapter. While Schmarsow, mainly relying on historical examples, developed a theory on space, Tessenow refrained from any written speculation on the perception of *Raum*, but instead used his perspective drawings to investigate spatial perception.<sup>323</sup> In these drawings, this perception is inevitably connected to another epistemic notion, namely abstraction.

### ***Raum and Abstraktion***

When abstraction is related to *Raum* (space), a number of specific issues arise, in which the various meanings of abstraction are confronted with the no less varied meanings of the word *Raum*.<sup>324</sup> One meaning of abstraction (from the Latin *abstrahere* or drag away, remove) relates to the removal of the specific details and the superfluous in order to get to the more general and simple.<sup>325</sup> In the visual arts around 1900, this notion of abstraction can be found in the visual strategies to liberate art from a mimetic content and from highly naturalistic forms.<sup>326</sup> This tendency to simplify, to remove the superfluous and to try to capture the essence finds a clear parallel in architecture. But the question remains how this abstraction relates to a category such as space or *Raum*. To better understand how space and abstraction interacted in architectural thinking around 1900, it is helpful to return to Tessenow's drawing of Goethe's *Junozimmer*.

The way that Tessenow has drawn the long wall on the right side of the room illustrates in a nutshell how space and abstraction interact. Out of the traditional wall, with its ornaments and lining, a whole new kind of wall seems to emerge: completely blank, unadorned and reduced to its very essence.<sup>327</sup> This emerging blank wall illustrates the increasing role of abstraction, but the question arises whether this abstraction relates simply to the walls, together with the similarly abstracted floor and ceiling, or also to the space that is contained by these planes. In order to better understand this distinction, it is useful to introduce some ideas on the relation between abstraction and art formulated by art historian Wilhelm Worringer, developed in his famous dissertation *Abstraktion und Einfühlung: Ein Beitrag zur Stilpsychologie* from 1908.<sup>328</sup> Here he stated:

What remains central . . . is the essential distinction . . . between art that takes pleasure in creating some recognizable simulacrum of three-dimensional space – the 'real' space of our

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Mallgrave, *Empathy, Form and Space* (1994), 295. See also: August Schmarsow, *Grundbegriffe der Kunstwissenschaft am Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter* (Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1905), 188

<sup>323</sup> The three publications in which Schmarsow developed his ideas on space are: *Das Wesen der Architektonischen Schöpfung* (1894); 'Über den Wert der Dimensionen im Menschlichen Raumgebilde' (1896) and *Grundbegriffe der Kunstwissenschaft* (1905)

<sup>324</sup> See: Sabine Flach, 'Abstrakt/Abstraktion', in: Karlheinz Barck, Martin Fontius, Dieter Schlenstedt, Burkhardt Steinwachs, Friedrich Wolfzettel, *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe*, Band 7, Supplemente Register, (Stuttgart/Weimar: Verlag J.B. Metzler, 2005), 1-40

<sup>325</sup> See the definitions used in the previous chapter.

<sup>326</sup> See: Nina Sontag, *Einfühlung und Abstraktion. Ästhetisches Erleben in der Theaterarchitektur um 1900* (Berlin, jovis Verlag, 2015), p. 25

<sup>327</sup> See also: Mark Wigley, *White Walls, Designer Dresses. The Fashioning of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge & London: MIT Press, 1996)

<sup>328</sup> See: Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraktion Und Einfühlung: Ein Beitrag Zur Stilpsychologie*. (München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1908) and the English translation by Michael Bullock: Worringer, *Abstraction and Empathy* (1953)

awakening experience – and art that suppresses that spatial illusion in favour of something flatter, more constricted and abstract.<sup>329</sup>

Looking back at the history of architecture and art, Worringer links abstraction, defined by him as the creation of flat, geometrical, non-three-dimensional forms, to a spiritual ‘fear of room’ (*Raumscheu*), ‘as the only possibility of repose within the confusion and obscurity of the world view’.<sup>330</sup> In Tessenow’s perspectives, there is not so much a space-flattening fear of room as there is a certain restraint that withholds spatial expression. However, both Worringer’s *Raumscheu* and Tessenow’s restraint can be read as a response to the same ‘confusion and obscurity’, as is clear from the following quote by Tessenow, taken from *Hausbau und dergleichen*: ‘We have a dangerous excess of destructive qualities, and we seem to have great trouble finding and holding onto things that have, at least to some extent, the quality of calmness and clarity.’<sup>331</sup>

While Tessenow’s perspective drawings in essence oppose the spatial abstraction that Worringer described, they also explore the possibilities of this notion. In Tessenow’s perspective drawings, *Abstraktion* often derives from the abolition of expressive elements or the suppression of tectonic expression and materiality. For him, the real outcome of his investigations lies in his awareness that abstraction in itself is not something to strive for. *Abstraktion* is only valuable for Tessenow as long as it serves something that is actually more important, namely the *Gewöhnlichkeit* or ordinariness of what goes on inside the *Raum*.

### ***Raum and Gewöhnlichkeit***

At first sight the notion of *Gewöhnlichkeit* distinguishes itself from the notions of *Abstraktion* and *Empfindung*, especially when the latter are considered, as Worringer more or less does, as poles in an area of tension related to the creation and reception of a work of art.<sup>332</sup> By definition, *Gewöhnlichkeit* seems quite far removed from any deliberate artistic expression. In order to understand how Tessenow is nevertheless able to bring the three notions together in his perspective drawings, it is necessary to first restrict the meaning of *Raum* to ‘room’ or any other defined space, and second, to consider the use or purpose of such a space. The German word *Zweck* is most appropriate here, since it not only signifies the fulfilment of a practical need but also points at an inner purpose.<sup>333</sup> Art historian Paul Frankl elaborated this broader idea of *Zweck* when he introduced the term *Zweckgesinnung* (purposive sentiment or intention) as one of the four categories to analyse the development of changes in architecture, along with *Raumform* (spatial form), *Körperform* (corporeal form) and *Bildform* (visible form).<sup>334</sup> When Frankl states that ‘der geformte Raum . . . als Schauplatz bestimmter menschlicher Handlungen gedacht (ist)’,<sup>335</sup> he introduces *Zweckgesinnung* as

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<sup>329</sup> Hilton Kramer, ‘Introduction’, p. ix in: Wilhelm Worringer and Michael Bullock (transl.), *Abstraction and Empathy. A Contribution to the Psychology of Style*, (New York, International Universities Press, 1953 / Repr. Chicago, Ivan R. Dee, Inc., 1997)

<sup>330</sup> ‘der einzige Ausruh-Möglichkeit innerhalb der Verworrenheit und Unklarheit des Weltbildes’. Worringer, (1921) p. 58, translation taken from Worringer and Bullock (1997), 44

<sup>331</sup> Heinrich Tessenow, *House building and such Things*, in: Burdett, Richard, Wilfried Wang (eds.), *9H On Rigor*, 13. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989

<sup>332</sup> Especially if *Empfindung* is replaced by the related term *Einfühlung*. See: Worringer (1908), p. 18

<sup>333</sup> See: Forty, *Words and Building* (2004), 181

<sup>334</sup> Paul Frankl, *Die Entwicklungsphasen der Neuere Baukunst* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1914)

<sup>335</sup> Frankl, *Die Entwicklungsphasen der Neuere Baukunst*, (1914), 14. The translations are taken from Forty (2004), 181. In the English translation of Frankl’s book, James S. Ackerman describes the categories *Raumform*, *Körperform*, *Bildform* and *Zweckgesinnung* as follows: ‘spatial composition’; ‘treatment of mass and surface’; ‘treatment of light, color and other

a 'higher' level of *Zweck*, transposing purpose or use into cultural entity. In late-nineteenth-century architecture, he notes a loss of *Zweckgesinnung* and a related disengagement between the client and the purpose of the building. While Frankl develops his system for analysing architectural form mainly for churches and public buildings, the idea of *Zweckgesinnung* may nevertheless also be useful when considering the specific confrontation between *Gewöhnlichkeit* and the rooms in which dwelling takes place. Frankl's idea of *Zweckgesinnung* also forms an interesting point of view from which to reconsider Tessenow's publication *Der Wohnhausbau*. In the first edition of this book, he dedicates a chapter of the text to 'Die einzelne Räume der kleinen Wohnungen'<sup>336</sup> (the various rooms of small houses) in which entrance hall, living room, kitchen, cellar, staircase, bedroom, bathroom, toilet, shed and garden are briefly discussed. His descriptions of these rooms and spaces actually addresses their very concrete and pragmatic use in the case of the *Kleinwohnung*. However, Tessenow is not so much interested in functions as abstract activities, the 'sachliche Funktionen', in the way the modernists in the 1920s described them.<sup>337</sup> Although his descriptions in *Der Wohnhausbau* all focus on *Zweck*, they are not able to express the broader cultural qualities of everyday use in relation to dwelling in an immediate way. In order to evoke these qualities, Tessenow needs his perspective drawings. Only in these drawings is he able to bring together *Zweck* and *Raum*, depicting the *gewöhnliche* qualities of dwelling. With his careful description of use, as fragments of everyday life in the first part of the book, combined with the *Räume*, drawn with similar care in the second part, Tessenow is able to lift the idea of *Zweck* to *Zweckgesinnung*. For this reason, the substantial image section in his two main publications *Der Wohnhausbau* and *Hausbau und dergleichen* should not be regarded as illustrations, even though Tessenow often refers to these images in the preceding text. The perspective drawings form an independent collection of investigations, in which *Räume* are depicted, showing not only how furniture, a window, walls and floor relate to each other, but also how *Sachen* (objects) are positioned in the space, indicating a *wöhnliche* (habitual) use that is about to happen or has already happened. For Tessenow, the *Gewöhnlichkeit* of the *Raum* cannot be expressed in pragmatic descriptions alone or in the diagrammatic representation of floorplans, but finds its true expression in the perspective drawing.

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optical effects'; and 'relation of design to social function'. See: Ackerman, 'Introduction', in: Paul Frankl, *Principles of Architectural History: The Four Phases of Architectural Style, 1420-1900*. Translated by James S. Ackerman. (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1968), VI

<sup>336</sup> Tessenow, *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909), 18-32

<sup>337</sup> The term 'sachliche Funktionen' is introduced by the architect and critic Adolf Behne (1885-1948), author of *Der moderne Zweckbau* (1926) and 'Wege zu einer besseren Wohnkultur' in: *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 33 (1927), 121

### **Perspective drawings of *Räume***

If we take a close look at Tessenow's perspective drawings, it is possible to distinguish different types of *Räume* or spaces that frequently appear in his oeuvre. More or less arranged by scale, these spaces could be classified as follows:

- Infinite space. The all-embracing *Raum*, in which all structures are placed.
- Courtyard. An enclosed outdoor space that often holds a central position in the organization of the house and its garden.
- Hall or *Diele*. An enclosed indoor and often double-height representational space that holds a central position in the organization of the house.
- Room. An enclosed non-central space in the house, with a more or less defined use.
- Arbour or *Laube*. A freestanding small space, open on one side, created by erecting a framework of poles and beams.
- Pergola. A small open framework of poles and beams, attached to the house.
- Niche. A space carved out of the volume of the house.
- Threshold. A condensed and flattened space at the perimeter of the house or the garden

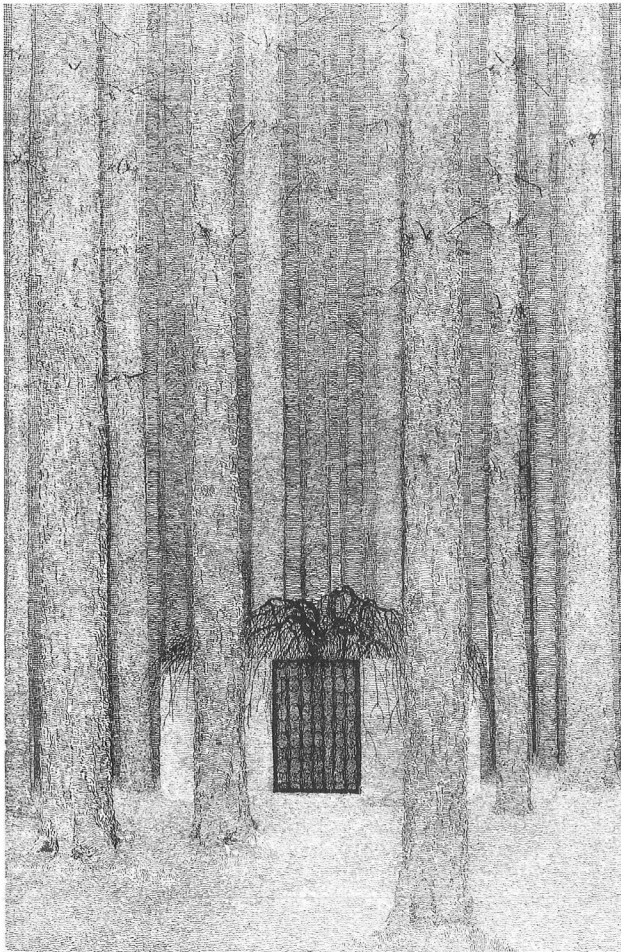
Similar to the previous chapter, where the concept of *Haus* in Tessenow's drawings was investigated using the notions of *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit*, these same notions will now be used to look at these different subcategories of *Raum* in Tessenow's perspective drawings. It is important to note that these different types of spaces appear on various scale levels, such as the town, the street, the house and the garden, although in this chapter we will mainly concentrate on *Räume* related to the dwelling, being Tessenow's main focus in the years between 1903 and 1925.<sup>338</sup>

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<sup>338</sup> Most of Tessenow's urban plans date from 1941 to 1947. See Weis (1976), 60 - 65 and De Michelis (1991), 144-151



## Labyrinthine obscurity or clear order: Infinite space

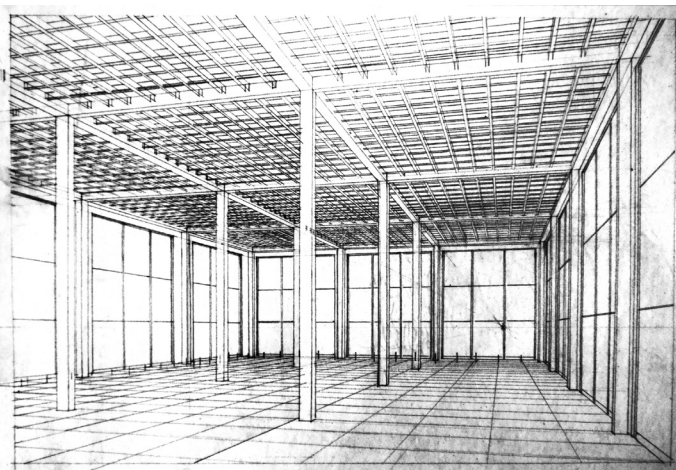


### **Grabstätte im Walde, 1905**

Source: *Das Werk*, I (1909), Nr.1, p. 5 <sup>338</sup>

*The drawing, named 'Gravesite in a Forest', shows a small walled garden in a dense forest, with a centrally placed gate. Above the gate, a willow tree is visible, with its branches hanging over the wall. Most striking, however, are the vertical branchless trunks of the surrounding trees, giving an impression of the forest as an infinite labyrinth.*

*The drawing is mainly built up of a multitude of small horizontal lines that are crossed with small vertical lines to suggest the contours of the separate trees. While the wall of the tomb and the soil seem to merge into one surface, the gate and the willow tree, drawn in full black lines, contrast with the background.*



### **Perspektivische Studie zu dem Innenhof Internationale Kunstausstellung Dresden, 1926**

Source: *Kunstabibliothek Berlin /Tessenow Archiv* <sup>339</sup>

*In this drawing, which pictures an inner court, the expression of enclosure is mixed with a strong suggestion of a continuous abstract grid. The columns and the main beams are complemented by a subdivision of the grid in the facade through posts and rails and even further subdivided in the coffered ceiling. All these parts seem subjected to a strict Cartesian grid. The sketchy character of the drawing undoubtedly has had its effect on the exaggerated role of the geometrical grid.*

<sup>338</sup> Reprinted in De Michelis (1991), 95. This drawing shows a remarkable similarity with a perspective drawing of the central meeting space for the *Kraft durch Freude* sea resort competition in 1936. See: De Michelis (1991), 138

<sup>339</sup> While Strey also considers a relation with the 1927 Stadtbad Mitte in Berlin, De Michelis links this drawing 'sicherlich' to the 1926 Kunstausstellung Dresden. See Strey (1981), 44 and De Michelis (1991), 279

The two drawings that are selected here to show infinity, depict this type of space in an almost opposite way. In *Grabstätte im Walde* (1905) the many high bare tree trunks surrounding the tomb give an impression of a gloomy forest with tall trees, reinforced by the verticality of the picture frame. Tessenow doesn't use an oblique viewpoint and angle here, as in most of his perspectives, but applies a frontal view and central perspective, with the vanishing point on the central axis of the drawing and a particularly low horizon. As a result, the attention is drawn to the dark gate of the tomb but even more to the labyrinthic obscurity of its surroundings.

The drawing fits into a German tradition of Romanticism, evoking nature as an alienating and threatening force, comparable to pictures such as *Tannenwald* (1901) by Gustav Klimt.

In the 1926 sketch *Perspektivische Studie zu dem Innenhof Internationale Kunstausstellung Dresden* (1926), Tessenow offers a completely different impression of infinite space. Here, an orthogonal grid is used as a tool to organize both the building structure, the composition of the facade and the surface treatment of the ceiling. Derived from what appears to be an underlayer for creating the perspective drawing, the grid in this sketch becomes redundant when it starts to dominate, not only the building structure or the facade, but the whole space. The grid as an overall ordering device becomes increasingly important in the buildings that Tessenow created in the 1920s and 1930s, such as the Berlin-Mitte swimming pool,<sup>341</sup> and this drawing illustrates this development. It shows a particular abstraction of *Raum*, in which a highly abstracted loadbearing structure begins to dominate the viewer's perception of the space.<sup>342</sup> The seeds for this abstract grid, however, are already present in the many *Lauben* and pergolas that Tessenow had designed in the earlier years of his career.

Comparing the two drawings, it becomes clear that two opposite types of infinity are shown here. *Grabstätte im Walde* depicts the gloomy labyrinthic infinity of the *Waldraum*. In clear opposition to this type of infinity, an omnipresent infinite Cartesian grid is visible in the perspective study of the Dresden *Innenhof*, offering a reassuring feeling of control and depicting a clear and ordered infinity as a celebration of spatial abstraction. Both drawings exclude *Gewöhnlichkeit*: the first because of the highly symbolic and exclusive character of the tomb and the other because it quite literally depicts only the framework for a courtyard in a drawing that most likely would serve as an underlayer for a more elaborated drawing.<sup>343</sup>

In most of his drawings, Tessenow tries to screen off space, to create an enclosure. Even in these two drawings, in which infinite space seems to be the main subject, the viewer will notice a specific kind of enclosure. In *Grabstätte im Walde* the expressive gate fits in the front wall of the enclosure of the tomb that appears as a small garden, enclosed with walls; while the *Innenhof* shows facades, placed in the outer ring of columns, neatly fitting in the three-dimensional grid. In these drawings, different as they are, Tessenow makes it clear that his real interest lies not so much with space as an infinite entity, but with its perimeter and the building elements that define it.

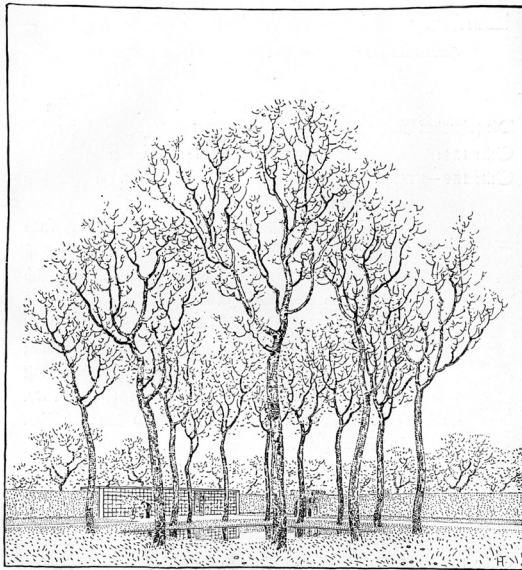
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<sup>341</sup> See: Adler, *Tessenow in Hellerau*, (2004), 190-212

<sup>342</sup> See: Matthias Noell, 'Abstraktion in der Architektur. Zerstörung der Form, Befreiung der Mittel' in: Susanne Hauser, Claus Dreyer, and Plattenpalast (Berlin, Germany). *Das Konkrete und die Architektur*. (Baunach: Spurbuchverlag, 2014) and Werner Oechslin and Verena Rentsch, *Stilhülse und Kern: Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos und der evolutionäre Weg zur modernen Architektur*. (Zürich: Gta, 1994)

<sup>343</sup> In the final realization of this open inner court, Tessenow softens the rigidity of the grid with plants climbing the columns, irregular floor tiles and a bench, turning a seemingly abstract space into a space that also refers back to the *Laube* and the pergola. See also Adler, *Tessenow in Hellerau* (2004), 210-211, in which he quotes a review by Pevsner of this space published in the *Dresdner Anzeiger* on 13-6-1926. A picture of the so-called *Zierhof* and the preceding sketch can be found in De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 114

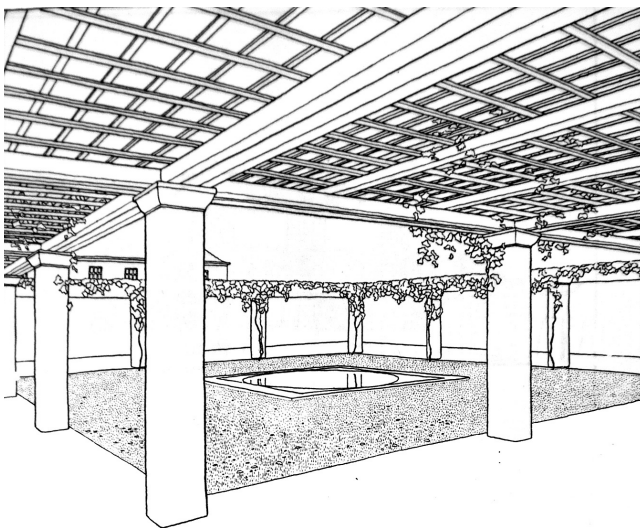
## Perimeter and columns: The space of the courtyard



### **Gutsherrenhaus, Ansicht des Gartens mit Wasserbecken und Gewächshaus, c. 1913**

Source: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, 145

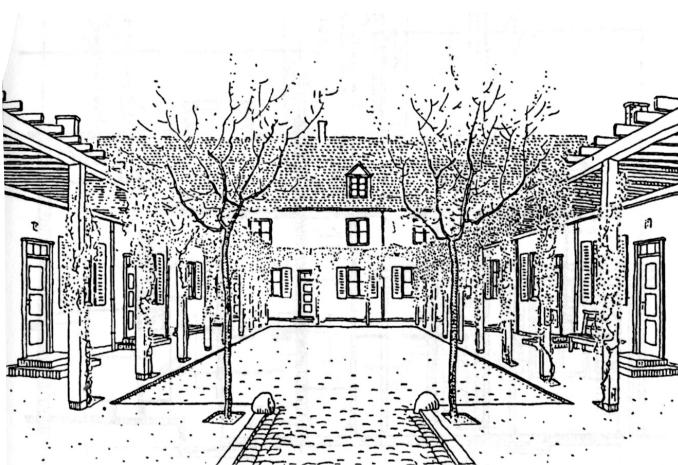
*This drawing of a pond in front of a greenhouse belongs to a series of drawings for a manor house and its extensive garden. In the middle of the drawing, eight trees are placed at equal distances around the square pond, while a hedge and a greenhouse enclose the lawn in which the pond and trees are placed. The low viewpoint and low horizon reinforce the verticality of the trees. The drawing is mainly built up of dots and small dashes: only the trunks of the trees are drawn with interrupted outlines.*



### **Gartenwandelgang eines vornehmen Wohnhauses, 1907**

Source: Tessenow, *Wohnhausbau*, 1909, Tafel 44

*The drawing shows a square courtyard with a pool in the middle, surrounded by what appears to be 12 thick columns with capitals, carrying a pergola. On at least two sides, this pergola is supported by a high enclosing wall. Above the wall, on the left side, the top part of a house is visible. The drawing is quite elaborate in parts (the lattice, carried by the beams, the capitals) and highly abstract in other places (the ground, the columns, the wall).*



### **Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser (Wohnhof), Gartenstadt Hohensalza, 1911**

Source: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, 68

*This drawing is part of a series of housing designs for a garden city of Hohensalza (now Inowroclaw). Most likely 13 houses (two times four on both sides and five at the rear) enclose a cul-de-sac court, with a pergola on three sides. The two trees and cornerstones indicate the entrance to the courtyard. A central perspective is chosen here, with the vanishing point in the middle. With the ivy growing over the columns, beams and pergola, the columns seem to dissolve and the foliage merges with the roof tiles of the higher housing row at the back.*

All three courtyard drawings show spaces enclosed by trees or columns. In order to define the space of a courtyard, Tessenow often uses two layers or successive perimeters. In the drawing *Gutsherrenhaus, Ansicht des Gartens* (c. 1913), high birch trees are placed in a circle around a pond, thus defining the main space. The outer layer or the 'real' enclosure of the garden, containing the surrounding hedge and the greenhouse, is almost invisible but still plays a decisive role in the perception of the space of the pool.

The perspective view *Gartenwandelgang eines vornehmen Wohnhauses* (1907) continues this theme of a double-layered enclosure, but now translated architecturally into an ambulatory. The trees are transformed into columns, carrying a pergola-like structure of main and secondary beams and a gridded lattice, on which ivy or a grapevine is growing. This drawing is much more abstract than the previous one. It immediately focusses on the ambulatory that oversees an open courtyard. Only after a careful second look will the viewer notice a distant wall, secluding the space and distancing it from the nearby house that pops up above the wall. With its focus on the abstract outlines of the building elements, softened by the ivy or grapevine, the drawing clearly refers to Schinkel's drawings.<sup>344</sup>

The third drawing shows a *Wohnhof* created for a 1911 proposal for row housing in Hohensalza.<sup>345</sup> The central courtyard is now confronted with the everyday reality of row housing. The columns that surround the courtyard, transformed here into plain posts, have lost any architectural reference to the classical column with its base and head. What remains is their careful position: they are now part of a structure supporting a long beam, on which secondary beams are resting. Two trees, placed at the entrance to the court, complement the rhythmical composition of the posts. Unlike the two courtyards that we saw before, this central space no longer has a symbolic element, such as the pool, but is now an accessible public space. The outer perimeter wall that remained almost invisible in the drawings *Gutsherrenhaus* and *Gartenwandelgang*, forms the obvious backdrop for a series of simple building elements and furniture pieces: doors, windows, benches and rainwater pipes. These building elements are not embellished, exaggerated or integrated in some sort of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, but presented as straightforward as they are.

In these three examples, the focus on the courtyard as a central and organizing open space is clear. The attention is drawn to the centre, but Tessenow often counters this centripetal force by emphasizing the space between the columns and the outer perimeter. By doing so, he shifts the attention of the viewer to the edge and thus balances the strong spatial effects of an open central space.

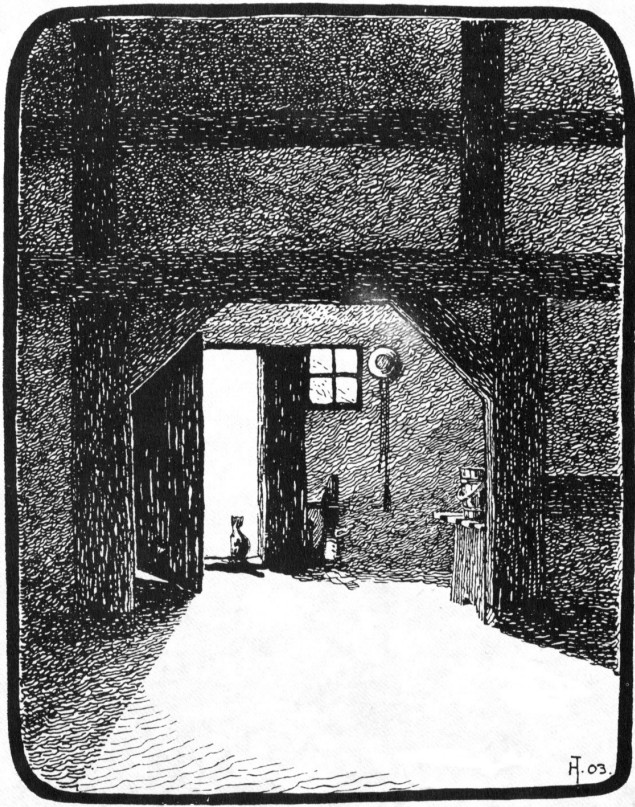
Obviously, such central spaces are not limited to the outside, but also find their way into the house, with the *Diele* (hall) as a clear example.

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<sup>344</sup> See: Waltraud Volk (ed.), *Karl Friedrich Schinkel : Sein Wirken als Architekt : Ausgewählte Bauten in Berlin und Potsdam im 19. Jahrhundert*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1981)

<sup>345</sup> Today this Polish town is called Inowroclaw. The name 'Hohensalza' was only used between 1904 and 1920 and between 1939 and 1945. See also: Zeinstra, 'Rooms and Things' (2020), 55, f 12

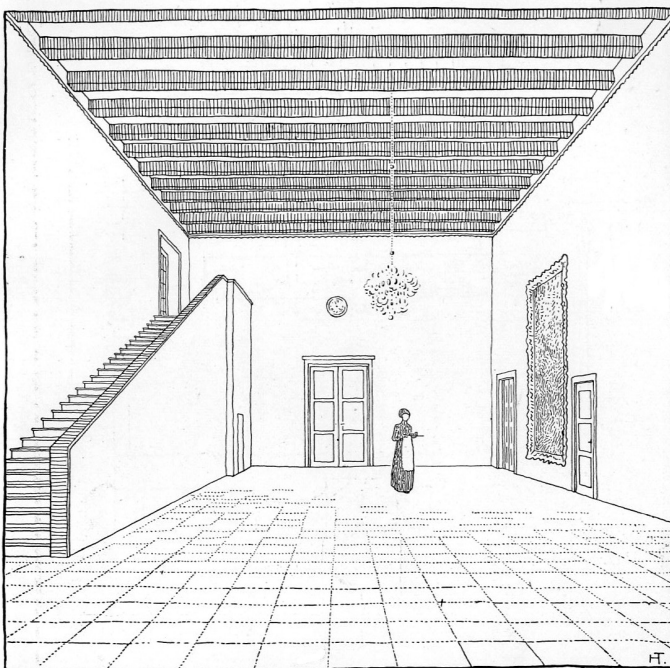
## Enlarged representational space: The *Diele*



### Aus einem alten hannoverschen Bauernhaus; Diele und Hofausgang mit Spülplatz, 1903

Source: 'Das Bauerndorf in hannoverschen Wendland' in: *Leipziger Bauzeitung*, Jg 1906, Nr. 11, (13.3.1906) S. 85-88<sup>345</sup>

The Diele represented in this drawing is most likely a T-shaped room in a so-called four-post Fachhallenhaus. It is most likely that a fireplace is situated at the heart of the T-shape, here coinciding with the viewpoint. The timber building structure frames the view to a half-open door with a cat sitting on the threshold. Some tools and objects can be distinguished in the dark hachings around this door, but most attention is drawn to the light that enters this relatively dark space. An impression of the height of the Diele in the foreground can be sensed from the height of the door opening where the cat is sitting.



### Diele, c. 1913

Source: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, 133

Although the context of this particular Diele is not quite clear<sup>346</sup>, the drawing is undoubtedly related to a series of designs for country estates, made by Tessenow in the first decades of the twentieth century. These estates or country houses often express some sort of sublimated agricultural atmosphere. In that sense, this Diele and its ceiling height are also closely related to the Diele and height of a traditional farmhouse.

The central perspective with the vanishing point exactly in the middle of the double door at the back is countered by the asymmetrically placed staircase on the left. There are no shadows: only the hatching of the individual ceiling beams reinforces a certain rhythm, which returns in the stairs and the floor tiles. In contrast, the chandelier is drawn with simple dots, not unlike the foliage that we see in other perspective drawings.

<sup>345</sup> Reprinted in Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Das Land in der Mitte* (2017), 30-43

<sup>346</sup> Marco de Michelis disputes attributing of this drawing to the *Gutsherrenhaus für Norddeutschland* on the opposite page of *Hausbau und dergleichen*, as is done by Wangerin, Weiss and Strey. The similar font sizes of both captions with these two images seem to support his argument. See: De Michelis (1991), 242

*Diele* is a German word with various meanings that differ per region: plank or wooden board, a floor made out of these boards, or a central, higher space in a house or building.<sup>348</sup> In a traditional farmhouse, the latter meaning of *Diele* is used for a space for farm work, such as threshing. Tessenow illustrates his article on one of the German farmhouses with a drawing of the interior of the *Diele*.<sup>349</sup> The perspective gives a view of this central space, looking back at the entrance, and in this drawing the verticality of the *Diele* and its impressive timber structure are countered by drawing attention to the modest door, where the light enters the space and a cat is visible, thus giving an indication of scale. The small window in the middle of the image is surrounded by objects and equipment that relate to the use of the space. In the accompanying text, Tessenow does not write about this space or even the layout of the farmhouse, but he does give a description of a visit to the *Diele* of a farmhouse:

Let's enter through the large barn door into the *Diele*: there are on both sides quietly ruminating cows, while a few hens are disturbed by our entrance, which also draws the attention of the farmer's wife at the fireplace in the back.<sup>350</sup>

Instead of focussing on the impressive high space itself, Tessenow describes in this quote the life in this space and how the animals and farmer's wife respond to the visitors. In the drawing, the space itself is only suggested by indicating the heavily timbered structure of columns and beams in the dark hatching; most attention, however, is drawn to the daylight entering the space through the opened door.

In its transformation from the traditional *Bauernhaus* to a contemporary *Gutsherrenhaus*, the *Diele* still forms a vital link in the chain of spaces inside the house, but now also serves as an important representational space. In *Diele*, drawn some ten years later, Tessenow no longer depicts daylight but focuses on the space itself: its height, indicated through the stairs, and its width and depth, suggested through the grid of the floor tiles and the beams in the ceiling. Its representational character is supported by a range of additional elements that appear in this space: the chandelier, the maid, the higher double door and the large painting or tapestry. While the space of the *Diele* is drawn quite abstractly, with a focus on the floor grid and the repetition of beams, the role of the building elements and objects that appear in and on the walls should not be underestimated. As we will also see in the next paragraph, these *Sachen* (objects and elements) are not only drawn as additional decor, contributing to the representational qualities of the space, but have a clear purpose and meaning by themselves.

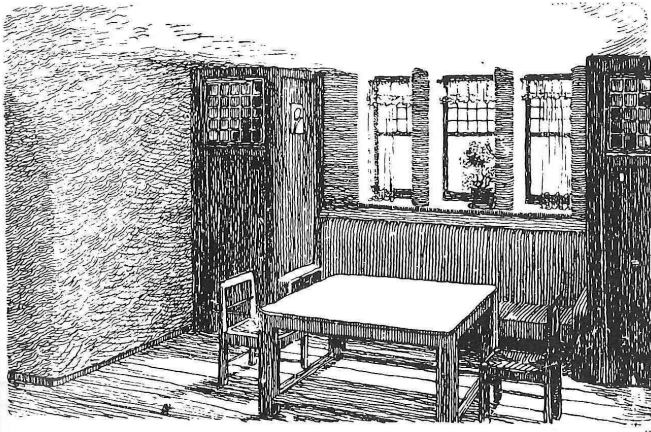
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<sup>348</sup> As such, the word *Diele* forms a pars pro toto. See: 'Diele' in: *DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, published by the Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, <https://www.dwds.de/wb/Diele> visited on 15.05.2020.

<sup>349</sup> Tessenow, 'Das Bauernhaus im hannoverschen Wendland', republished in Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Das Land in der Mitte* (2017), 30-43

<sup>350</sup> 'Treten wir durch das große Tor in die Diele: Da stehen behaglich wiederkäuend zu beiden Seiten die Kühe, unser Besuch schreckt ein paar Hühner aus ihrer Ordnung, wodurch uns auch da hinten, beim Herd, die Bäuerin gewahrt'. See: Tessenow, 'Das Bauernhof im hannoverschen Wendland' in: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Das Land in der Mitte* (2017), 35 (my translation).

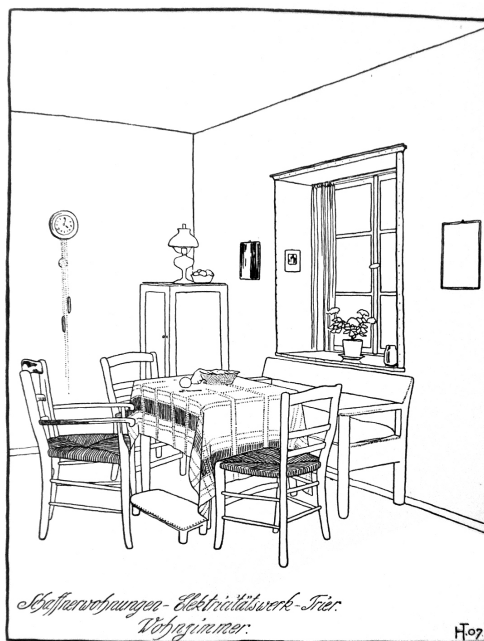
## Dissolution of the perimeter: The space of the room



### **Wohnzimmer Haus IV in Reihenhäuser für Kleinbürger und Arbeiter, 1903**

Source: Sch. 'Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder', Bautechnische Zeitschrift, XIX (1904) Nr. 420, p. 154-159, Beilage

This drawing shows the living room of a lower-middle-class single-family row house. We notice a table with two chairs, placed in front of a built-in bench under a set of three small windows. The bench is flanked by two tall corner cupboards. On the left, the arched opening suggests a thick dividing wall. In the drawing a density in hatching and tones is visible, recalling nineteenth-century engravings of interiors.



### **Wohnzimmer, Schaffnerwohnungen Elektrizitätswerk, Trier, 1907**

Source: Tessenow, Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 16

A corner of a living room is visible here, with a window and bench, a table and chairs, a cupboard in the corner and a variety of loose furnishings, such as a lamp, a clock, a fruit bowl, a potted plant and a vase.

The shadowless drawing is made with clear outlines, both used for the delineations of the room and the various objects placed in it, showing a careful elaboration of details.



### **Wohnzimmer in Einfamilien-Reihenhaus Hohensalza, 1911**

Source: Tessenow, Hausbau und dergleichen, 1916, 78

This room belongs to a single-family row house for a garden city in Hohensalza. Again, there is a fixed bench positioned under a window: an armrest and a cushion are visible in the corner of the room. In front of the bench are a table with two chairs.

With the walls and ceiling left completely blank, the delineations of the room are now simply suggested through a dotted line. As a contrast, strict outlines are used to carefully draw the building elements, such as the window, as well as the furniture and other things in the room.

It is interesting to compare the drawing technique in the three perspectives of living rooms brought together here.<sup>352</sup> In all three, Tessenow applies an oblique view on a sitting arrangement with a fixed bench, a table and chairs, placed in front of a window. In *Wohnzimmer Haus IV* (1903), Tessenow still uses a myriad of little scratches and dashes to indicate both the different materials and surface treatments and the effects of daylight and shadows. By contrast, the ceiling is left completely blank, as are the reveals and sills of the three windows and the tabletop, suggesting their role as light-reflecting surfaces. But Tessenow's attempt to catch the *Stimmung*<sup>353</sup> or atmosphere of the room comes at a price: the objects in the room, such as the chairs, the flowerpot in the windowsill, are hardly visible, fading away as they do into the background of scribbles and dashes.

The drawing *Wohnzimmer Schaffnerwohnungen Trier* (1907), created four years later, has a completely different atmosphere. Unlike the previous drawing, where a few surfaces in the room lighten up in the dense background, the drawing *Wohnzimmer Schaffnerwohnungen Trier* seems to have no light source anymore, since all shadows have disappeared. At the same time, it is also possible to read this drawing as if it were illuminated by an omnipresent and all-exposing light. As a result, the spatial illusion has drastically changed. The delineations of the room, formed by the edges where two walls and a wall and a ceiling meet, are now only indicated by lines. Furthermore, with the surfaces of floor, walls and ceiling left blank, all attention is now drawn to the window, the furniture and the loose furnishings. *Abstraktion* has radically changed Tessenow's way of drawing, with a remarkable effect on the perception of the space of the room.

The same *Abstraktion* returns in the drawing *Wohnzimmer Hohensalza* made in 1911. There is now only a mere suggestion of the space of the room, through drawing its delineations with dotted lines.<sup>354</sup> The effects on the perception of space is remarkable. It is not so much that the space disappears, but it dissolves, or hides between the *Sachen* or things that have come to the fore. In the next chapter we will come back to this new role of *Sachen* in Tessenow's drawings.

The *Wohnzimmer Hohensalza* drawing also shows an interesting development in the way the perspective is constructed. In the previous two drawings, the viewer observed the room from a bit of a distance, creating a somewhat static impression. In this drawing, however, the viewpoint lies closer to the chair and table, giving the viewer an illusion of becoming part of the scene, moving in the direction of the table. Tessenow reinforces this illusion by drawing one of the chairs as if it is pulled out, as an invitation to the viewer to take a seat.<sup>355</sup>

Tessenow thus transforms the viewer into an active participant and enhances the viewer's *Raumgefühl*.

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<sup>352</sup> See also: Zeinstra, 'Rooms and Things' (2020), 49-58

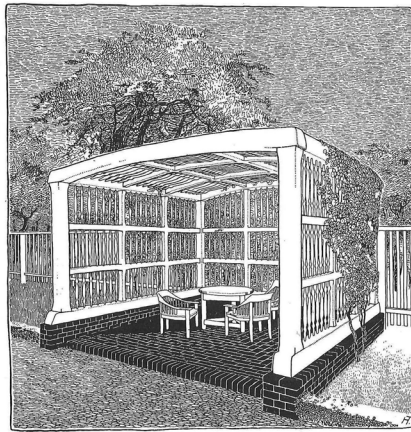
<sup>353</sup> See for the complex meaning of *Stimmung*: Dave Wellbery, 'Stimmung', in: Karlheinz Barck et al. (eds.), *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe* Band 5 (Stuttgart/Weimar: J.B. Metzler Verlag, 2003), 703-733 and Stefan Muthesius, *The Poetic Home. Designing the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Domestic Interior* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009), 172-175

<sup>354</sup> In a number of perspective drawings of rooms made in the years between these two examples, Tessenow had experimented with the delineation of the room and how the changes of plane of wall to wall and wall to ceiling are indicated. Sometimes these delineations simply derive from the elaboration of the walls, ceiling and floor; or they follow from the perspectival changes in wallpaper pattern; they appear as simple straight lines, or even completely disappear. See also Adler, *Tessenow in Hellerau* (2004), 15

<sup>355</sup> The description here is partly taken from Zeinstra, 'Rooms and Things' (2020), 55



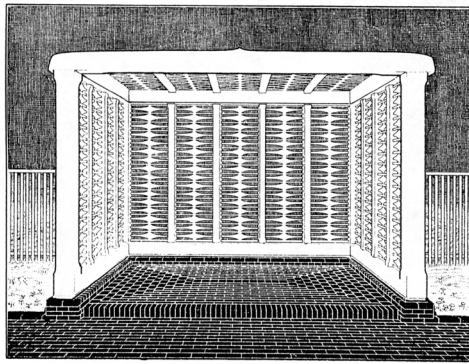
## An aedicular space in the garden: The Laube



### **Gartenlaube, 1907**

Source: Tessenow, 'Entwurf zu einer Laube',  
Bautechnische Zeitschrift, XXII, 1907, Nr. 52, Beilage

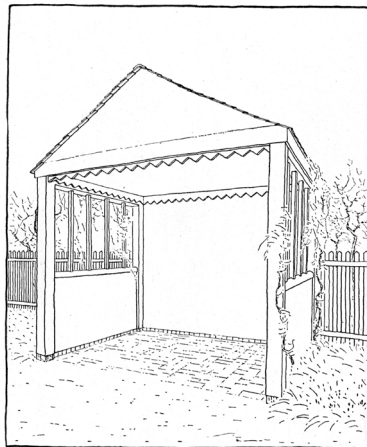
The drawing shows a Laube or arbour positioned at the edge of the garden, pushed against the fence, with a timber structure, in which the secondary beams form a grid of verticals and horizontals, with spindles placed in a vertical direction. The Laube is placed on a slightly raised floor made of dark clinkers. Contrasting with its dark background of both the floor, the foliage and the sky, rendered here with small dashes, the structure itself and the furniture inside it are drawn with clear outlines.



### **Gartenlaube, 1906**

Source: Tessenow, Zimmermansarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 38

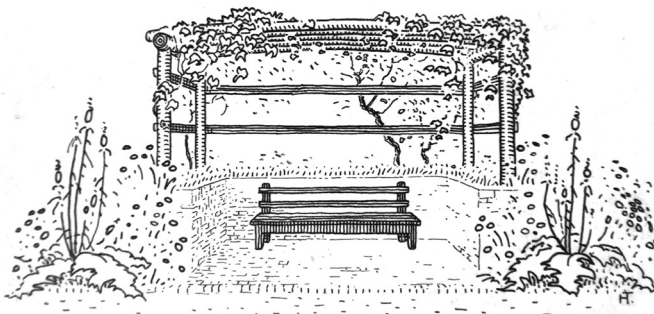
This Laube shows strong similarities with the one shown above. Apart from a more vertical structure, the main difference lies in its perspectival representation, with a symmetrical central perspective and an abstract background of crosshatches.



### **Gartenlaube, b. 1916**

Source: Tessenow, Hausbau und dergleichen, 1916, 120

Again, the Laube is placed against the fence, overlooking the garden. The context of this drawing is unclear, but its rather abstract and refined elaboration suggests a suburban setting. The abstract drawing style avoids material expression, except for the plinth of clinkers and the stone tiles used for its floor.



### **Gartenlaube, b. 1913**

Source: H. Tietze, 'Heinrich Tessenow' in: Kunst und Kunsthandwerk XVI (1913), p. 598

This drawing appears as an emblem at the end of Hausbau und dergleichen. A retaining brick wall makes a recess with a floor of clinkers on which a bench is placed. Above the brick walls stands a structure of timber posts and planks, grown over by ivy. The brick wall is drawn with the thinnest line, only faintly indicating bricks with some dashes on the shadowy side. A thicker line with hatching is used for the bench and the timber structure. Finally, two plants in the front, flanking this Laube, are also drawn with this line thickness.

As we have seen in the paragraph on *Raum* and *Empfindung*, the more peripheral spaces such as vestibules, pergolas and courtyards had gained a much more prominent position in the thinking on spatial design at the end of the nineteenth century. The *Laube* (arbour) is definitely one of these peripheral spaces and also a recurring subject of Tessenow's drawings. This small and often aedicular structure creates a space in the garden that, besides its use as a place for rest and relaxation, also carries a strong symbolic meaning.<sup>357</sup> The 1907 *Gartenlaube* is quite similar to the one drawn in 1906, and both are published in his book *Zimmermannsarbeiten*.<sup>358</sup> Interesting in the comparison of these two perspective drawings is the different spatial experience caused by the change in viewpoint. In the first perspective view, an angular perspective with an oblique viewpoint is used, while the second drawing shows a very similar *Laube* in a central perspective. The spatial implications of both perspective views are clear: the central perspective 'draws in' the viewer by isolating the space of the *Laube*, create a strong but also rigid one-dimensional spatial illusion, while the angular perspective shows the *Laube* both as a space and as an object in a context of trees and plants. The oblique view also enhances a more moderate *Empfindung*, creating both a stronger sense of scale and a more 'sympathetic' relation with the viewer, who easily transposes him- or herself into one of the chairs in the *Laube*.

With its clear reference to the pitch-roofed house, the *Gartenlaube* (before 1916) that was published in the first two editions of *Hausbau und dergleichen*<sup>359</sup> remains in essence a small *Raum* or room. The abstraction in the representation of the house motif is reinforced by applying simple columns and a plain white fronton, walls and ceiling. The rigorous *Abstraktion* of this arbour still leaves room for an indication of the cornice, here reduced to some sort of zigzag edge, as a modest festive ornament. Compared with the previous two arbours, this specimen also shows how the suburban conditions of the *Kleinstadt*, both regarding the available space in the garden and the proximity of neighbours, might have affected its design.

Where the previously described arbours could still be regarded as 'structures' trying to represent either a primitive hut, a *Haus* or a room, in the drawing *Gartenlaube* (before 1913) that Tessenow showed on the last page of *Hausbau und dergleichen*, the arbour no longer refers to such clear architectural prototypes, but disappears in the context of the garden. The emblematic arbour in this drawing is freed from the architectural or artistic pretensions still present in the previous versions. It might very well be fully covered with greenery, drawing all attention to the bench inside – here, too, showing that the *Sache* will gradually overtake the *Raum*.

For Tessenow, the arbour represented a hybrid between space and structure that established a connection between the house and the garden. It is interesting to see how the (sub)urban setting of the *Kleinstadt* affects the arbour. It does not disappear, but is transformed into pergola-like structure that appears either at the front or the back of the house.

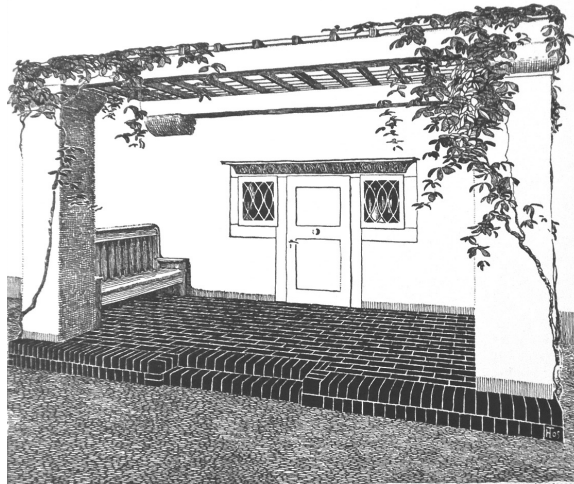
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<sup>357</sup> Gerald Adler illustrates the popularity of the *Laube* (arbour) in Germany at the turn of the century by pointing at *Gartenlaube*, the title of one of the first and most read magazines in Germany that existed since 1853. See: Adler, *Tessenow in Hellerau* (2004), 209

<sup>358</sup> Tessenow, *Zimmermannsarbeiten* (1910)

<sup>359</sup> See for its publication in the second edition: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1920), 114

## Transitional space added to the house: The pergola

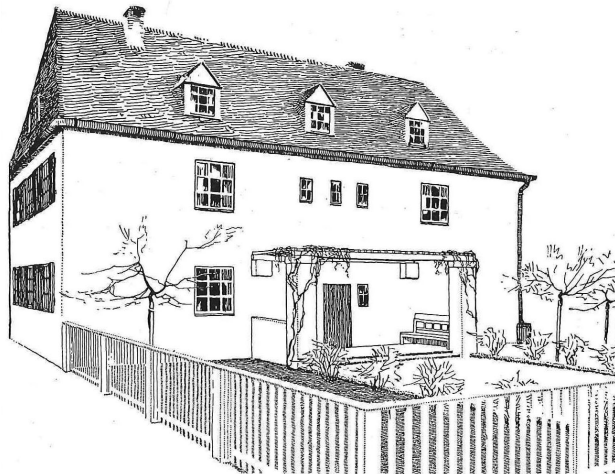


### **Eingangspergola für ein bürgerliches Haus, 1905**

Source: Tessenow, *Wohnhausbau*, 1909, Tafel 29

*This front-door pergola presents itself both as an element of the garden (note the ivy and the dark clinkers that were also visible in other drawings of Gartenlauben) and as an extension of the house (thick plastered columns and supports sticking out of the front facade of the house).*

*The drawing fits into the series of early perspective drawings, where Tessenow is still trying to emphasize differences in material (the cobbles of the sidewalk, the dark bricks of the platform, the timber of the bench) and allows himself some minor ornaments. At the same time, this drawing shows how the outlines of the columns and beams have disappeared. No shadows are cast, but the shadowy side of the left column is indicated with small dots.*



### **Entwurf Skizze zu einem freistehenden Arbeiterwohnhaus für 4 Familien, 1905**

Source: 'Unsre Bilder. Entwurf Skizze zu einem freistehenden Arbeiterwohnhaus für 4 Familien' in: *Bautechnische Zeitschrift*, XXII (1907) Nr. 40, p. 316, 318

*This drawing of a freestanding building with four workers' apartments shows some similarities with parts of the housing scheme for employees of the Trier housing project, realized in 1907, visible for instance in the thick columns of the pergola.*

*The drawing technique contributes to the dissolving of the space of the pergola, by focussing on both the front facade of the house and on the garden with the trees and the ivy overgrowing the columns.*



### **Reihenhaus (Haus 9), Rähnitz, 1917**

Source: Scheffler, 'Heinrich Tessenow', in: *Kunst und Künstler* XXVI (1928), Nr. 2, p. 43-55

*Shown here is the rear of a row house for Kriegsheimkehrer (soldiers returning home from the war) in Rähnitz. The fact that this house has two floors and a room in the attic may lead to the presumption that this is a modest middle-class house. To indicate the individual house in the continuous housing row, Tessenow uses a central perspective view, with the vanishing point in the middle of the ground floor window. This gives the rear facade, including the dormer in the roof, a strikingly flat appearance. As a contrast, the pergola with its characteristic stepped platform, bench, green bushes and ivy creates an illusion of depth.*

When the *Laube* becomes attached to the house and thus transforms into a pergola, a new type of space is created. At the front, this space is mainly representational and fits into the sequence of spaces that together establish the approach to the house. In drawings such as *Eingangspergola für ein bürgerliches Wohnhaus* (1905), the characteristics of the *Laube*, such as the stepped floor, the bench and the ivy, are still visible but are now combined with two thick columns that clearly refer to the solid walls of the house. With all these elements, this space in front of the entrance door remains ambiguous, literally situated between the house and the garden, between inside and outside.

In the *Entwurf Skizze zu einem freistehenden Arbeiterwohnhaus für 4 Familien* (1905), the front-door pergola is drawn from a greater distance, showing its relation to the context of house and front garden. The size of the pergola clearly extends the size of the front door, reinforcing the impression that the pergola should be read as a *Raum*. The stepped platform, the bench placed perpendicular to the facade, the parapet-like low wall and the thick columns add to this impression. Compared with the more private *Eingangspergola für ein bürgerliches Wohnhaus*, the elaboration of this entrance space, shared by four families, seems more abstract. Clearly visible in this drawing is not only the series of transitional spaces that lead the visitor from the street, passing the fence, over the path to the raised platform of the entrance, but also the integration of the pergola with all the other building elements such as door, windows and dormers, which together build up the restrained front facade.

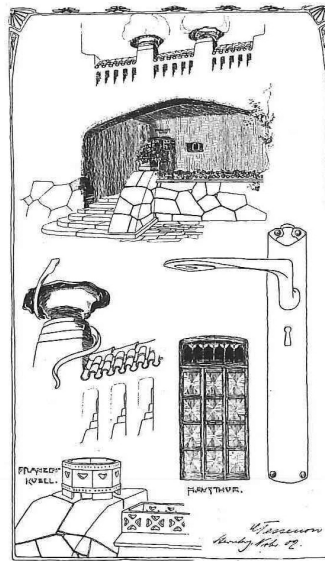
At the back of the house, the situation is quite different: here the pergola immediately relates to the garden and retains the garden-related character of the *Laube*. The pergola depicted in the drawing of the back of the 1917 *Reihenhaus (Haus 9), Rähnitz*, is perhaps one of the most minimal ones in Tessenow's oeuvre: slender timber posts, connected by a batten at the top. Near the house, vertical sidings continue the lines of the posts, suggesting either a high fence or a shed. The abstraction of this *Raum* has taken the shape of an unfinished structure: the ivy and lush greenery reinforce its ruin-like character. At the same time, the drawing also suggests a *gewöhnliche* quality, as the space clearly relates to the very concrete elements of the house, such as the bench, the various windows, the gutter and the rainwater pipe.

In Tessenow's drawings, the pergola appears either at the front of the house as a representational device mediating between street and house, or at the back of the house as an informal element mediating between house and garden. Its character remains somewhat ambiguous and can be read as both a framing structure,<sup>362</sup> an object and a space. Although it does indeed relate to the building elements of the house, its spatial character dominates Tessenow's drawings. This becomes even more clear if we take a look at the inverse of the pergola: the niche, carved out of the volume of the house.

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<sup>362</sup> Adler reads Tessenow's pergolas as frames, both literally and figuratively. See: Adler, *Tessenow in Hellerau* (2004), 209

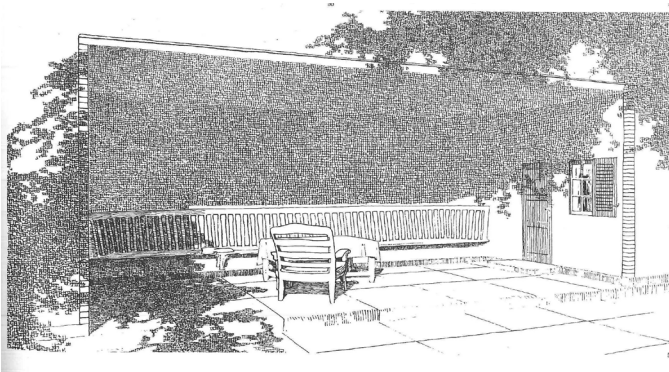
Transitional space carved out of the house: The niche



**Studie für einen Hauseingang, 1902**

Source: 'Architektonische Details', in: Deutsche Bauhütte, VII (1903), Nr.8

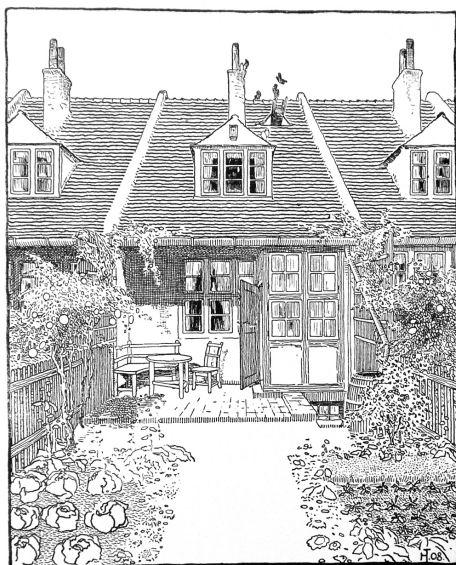
This early drawing shows a recessed house entrance. Behind a slightly curved opening, a deep niche containing the front door and a small window is visible. Above this elevated entrance niche, stylized merlons topped with bowls and roof-tile-covered crenellations with embrasure-like openings add to the representational character of the entrance. Below the perspective overview of the recessed shadowy entrance, four enlarged fragments are drawn in isolation in different scales. The content, the composition and the drawing technique applied in this drawing show a somewhat confusing variety.



**Gartenhalle / Studie für einen Hauseingang, c. 1905**

Source: undated original in Kunstbibliothek Berlin / Tessenow Archiv <sup>362</sup>

This entrance is cut out of the volume of an undefined house. The unusual width of the niche is reinforced by the stretched bench, which contrasts with the modest entrance door to the house and its flanking shuttered window. The door, the shutter of the window and the plinth of the house and the stepped platform are indicated with vertical hatching, while the furniture (chair, table, bench) are drawn with simple outlines. Most dominating here, however, is the shadow of two invisible trees and the shadow cast by the niche itself, drawn with a fine crosshatching.



**Eingebaute Arbeiterwohnung, 1908**

Source: Tessenow, Wohnhausbau, 1909, 29

This drawing is part of a series of studies that Tessenow made to investigate working-class row housing, with various spans. What the drawing makes clear is the importance of the garden, not only as a productive space for vegetables and poultry, but also as an extension of the house. Between the interior and the exterior, a niche is created. Similar to the ones at the front of the house, this niche forms a small room, but this time freed from any representational obligations. In the drawing, a frontal perspective is chosen, with the dormer exactly in the middle of the image. The shadows of the niche in this detailed drawing are made by crosshatching.

<sup>362</sup> Reprinted in De Michelis (1991), 47, 179

In the early perspective drawing *Studie für einen Hauseingang* (1902), Tessenow attempts to express the importance of the entrance in a variety of ways. First of all, the space of the entrance is given a particular expression in the facade through the use of the curved arch. The representational importance of the entrance is further reinforced by the ornamental treatment of the edge of the roof immediately above the space, the steps leading to its raised floor and the expressive parapet made of ashlar stone. On a smaller scale, different ornamental elaborations of the door itself, the flowerboxes and the doorhandle are noteworthy. The resulting lack of coherence is also expressed in the composition of the drawing, where the niche is overwhelmed by the different ornamental embellishments that seem to compete rather than reinforce each other.

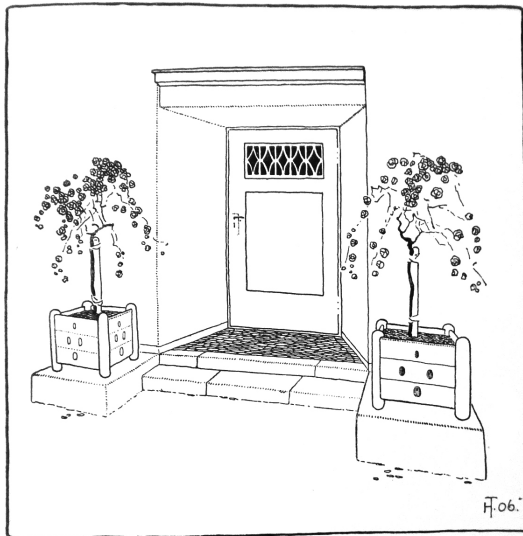
Drawn just a few years later, *Gartenhalle* (c. 1905) shows a completely different entrance niche. A rigorous abstraction has cleared away all ornamental expression, drawing all attention to the unusually wide niche itself, with on the short side a seemingly modest door and window and on the long side an elongated bench. A table and chair placed next to this bench reinforce the curious proportions of this space, similar to how the modest entrance door and the small shuttered window also add a sense of scale to the scene. The drawing itself is dominated by abstraction. Nature, in the form of trees and plants, is represented here by its shadow alone, a reversal of most Tessenow perspectives. These shadows merge with the shadows cast inside the niche, showing a very subtle distinction between the shaded walls and the ceiling. The viewpoint and vanishing point are chosen in such a way that the left wall of the niche coincides with the sightline, creating an even stronger alienating effect.

In the view of the back of a working-class row house, such as the one made to illustrate *Eingebaute Arbeiterwohnung* from 1908, Tessenow again shows a niche cut out of the volume of a row house, but one with a completely different character. Instead of reinforcing the alienating effect of abstraction that was visible in *Gartenhalle*, he now makes an effort to emphasize the *Gewöhnlichkeit* (ordinariness) of this space by drawing as much 'life' as possible around it: cabbages and other vegetables, fruit trees, ivy, a birdbox on the dormer and a dovecot near the ridge. The only living being not in the drawing is the inhabitant, although the half-open door suggests he or she might step out of the house at any moment.

This niche is situated at the back of the house and is freed of the representational duties that the front entrance has to fulfil. With the reduced scale of the *Kleinwohnung*, the niche at the back is also more strongly related to the interior of the house, extending its interior into the garden. As a non-representational space, its elaboration and expression is now more modest and *gewöhnlich*, but the role it fulfils for the house and its inhabitants seems even more crucial than in the previous two examples.

The niches shown here, positioned on the border between the outside and the inside of the house, are all clear examples of transitional spaces. Tessenow often drew these spaces, both for the larger houses that he designed but also for his *Kleinwohnungen*, stressing the importance that he attached to the spatial elaboration of this transitional space.

## Compressed transitional space: The threshold

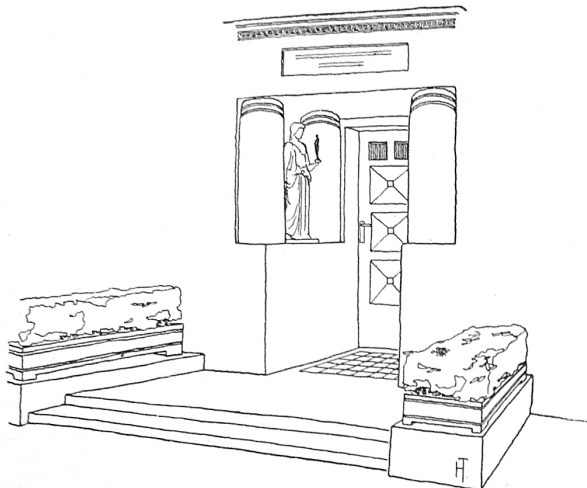


### **Hauseingang, 1906**

Source: Tessenow, *Wohnhausbau*, 1909, *Tafel 30*

This drawing of a house entrance shows a modest threshold space leading to the front door of a private house. The perspectival tapering effect created by the trapezoid form of the niche triggers an immediate empfindliches effect in the visitor. Subtle ornaments in the window of the door and the flowerboxes, the cornice above the entrance and the treatment of its floor add to the representational character of the entrance.

The image shows no shadows at all, but hints at specific materials and surface treatments.



### **Hauseingang, 1903**

Source: F.R. Vogel, *Haus- und Garten-Eingänge* in: *Deutsche Bauhütte*, VII (1903), Nr. 48, p. 335-337

This drawing shows another example of a representational treatment of a house entrance. The entrance is reached by stepping up onto a platform, flanked by two stone volumes, with flowerboxes filled with low square hedges. The front door can be found in a boxed recess, with low columns creating a niche containing a small statue.

In the perspective view of the front door, all expressive gestures are reduced to outlines and any material expressions have been left out, suggesting an all-white stucco treatment of this space



### **Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser, Hohensalza, 1911-1914**

Source: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, 74

In this drawing of the front facade of single-family row houses in Hohensalza, the entrance space is situated between two Risalite (avant-corps) that are created by the protruding front windows. Doorsteps and flowerboxes are positioned between the Risalite, to shield the entrance from the neighbours.

The drawing uses outlines in specific cases: the dormer, the front door, the windows (but not the frames around them) and the flowerbox. The ridge of the pitched roof is suggested by a dotted line, as are the roof tiles. Vertical hatching is used for the steps and the shaded side of the risalite.

It is evident from looking at Tessenow's perspectives that there is a strong spatial experience related to the movement of the visitor and that the culmination of this experience can be found in the entrance of the house, at the threshold near the front door, between the exterior and the interior. In Tessenow's early perspective drawings of these threshold spaces, such as *Hauseingang* (1906), he depicts a variety of means that indicate the importance of the entrance: the tapered setback, the two-step platform, the cornice at the end of the ceiling of the recess and the two raised flowerboxes. With the niche reduced to a threshold, Tessenow still tries to find a good way to give expression to this space.

In *Hauseingang* (1903), it is not so much the space itself, but the different elements aligning it that catch most of the viewer's attention. The steps, the platform, the stone blocks, the panelled door, its transom window, the short columns in the niche, the statue, the boxed inscription above the entrance and the cornice: all these things seem to be not only stylistically related, they also contribute to one coherent spatial gesture. The artistic content of this small *Gesamtkunstwerk* thus reinforces the representation of the house and its inhabitants: it introduces classical and palatial references, such as the columns, the statue and the cornice. All these things are visually and stylistically coordinated, tied together in the drawing by using outline alone.

By contrast, the 'flattening' of the niche, in this case the narrow space in front of the *Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser, Hohensalza* (1911-1914), is elaborated by using quite ordinary elements. In the perspective drawing of the front facade of this proposal for row housing, the front garden is reduced to a flowerbox, placed next to the three steps that lead up to the front door. Since the dormers are scaled up and protrude from the front facade by not more than 30 centimetres, a shallow niche is created, so that the private sphere of the house keeps its distance from the public realm of the street. This threshold space, reduced to the platform in front of the door, becomes part of a collection of *gewöhnliche* elements placed next to each other, including the rainwater pipe, the flowerbox, the small window, and the front door. It seems as if it is not so much the space of the threshold that dominates the drawing, but the building elements as such and the way they are arranged.

It is clear from these three examples that for Tessenow the threshold between street and house, between the public realm of the *Kleinstadt* and the private world of the *Kleinwohnung*, is not simply a representational gesture but an actual space, a *Raum* that mediates between two worlds. Because of the (sub)urban conditions of the *Kleinstadt*, this space becomes compressed to such a degree that the *Raum* (space) begins to be taken over by the *Sache* (object).



## The representation of *Raum* in Tessenow's perspective drawings

When we look at the category of *Raum* in Tessenow's perspective drawings, it is difficult to avoid discussing the perspectival construction as such. More than the category of *Haus*, this one is immediately tied to the perspectival construction and its immanent spatial illusion. In evoking this spatial illusion, the various elements that build up the perspectival view all play a role. One of those elements is the viewpoint, representing the viewing subject or the 'shade of some departed person imagined to be present', as Schmarsow described it in his inaugural speech.<sup>364</sup> The position of this imaginary viewing subject in the perspectival construction and its relation to the depicted space is important. The viewing subject might be placed outside the depicted space, looking at it from a distance, thus providing an impression of the surrounding context, visible for instance in the drawings *Gutsherrenhaus, Ansicht des Gartens* (c. 1913); *Gartenlaube* (1907); *Entwurf Skizze zu einem freistehenden Arbeiterwohnhaus* (1905) or *Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser Hohensalza* (1911-1914). The subject can also be placed inside the space, looking out, as is visible in *Diele und Hofausgang* (1903). Another possibility, often used by Tessenow, is to situate the viewpoint at the edge of the space, as is visible in drawings such as *Perspektivische Studie zu dem Innenhof* (1926) and *Wohnhof Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser Hohensalza* (1907).

Besides the viewpoint, the view direction also plays a role. Basically, Tessenow uses two types of perspective views: the central one-point perspective and the oblique, angular view. Both types of view have a strong effect on the spatial illusion. In the central one-point perspective, the view of the observer is immediately pulled to the vanishing point that coincides with the centre of the space, thus creating a certain solemnity and, therefore, a paradoxical distance between viewing subject and object. The viewing subject remains fixed in one position and the *Raumwahrnehmung* freezes. Tessenow applies the central one-point perspectival view in a number of cases, reinforcing the solemnity or monumentality of a highly symbolic or representative space, such as in *Grabstätte im Wald* (1905) or *Innenansicht Diele* (c. 1913). Interestingly, he also applies this type of view to monumentalize the *gewöhnliche Raum*, drawing attention to its 'ordinary' qualities, such as in *Wohnhof Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser* (1911); *Gartenlaube* (1906); *Reihenhaus/Haus 9* (1917); or *Eingebaute Arbeiterwohnung* (1908). Although the central perspectival view appears regularly in his drawings, most of the time he applies an oblique angular view in which the concurrence of the vanishing point and the centre of the room is carefully avoided. As a consequence, the immediate perspectival effect of pulling in the viewer is weakened, but at the same time other, more subtle spatial effects are reinforced. Two of these effects, the illusion of movement and the suggestion of informality, can often be noted in Tessenow's perspectives: the illusion of movement is reinforced, for instance, in *Gartenwandelgang* (1907) or *Gartenlaube* (1907) while the suggestion of informality appears in *Wohnzimmer Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser Hohensalza* (1911).

Besides the perspectival construction, with its viewpoint and view direction, there are other aspects of the drawing that affect the experience of the *Raum*. The *Abstraktion* of the *Raum* results, in Tessenow's drawings, in the severe reduction or even abolition of expressive elements and materiality, with three subsequent consequences, which are perhaps most clearly visualized in the three *Zimmer* drawings.<sup>365</sup>

First, when the material expression and the treatment of the surfaces of the space are no longer depicted in the drawing, a closer attention is drawn to the outlines and thus the delineations of the space. Second, when shadows cease to appear in the perspective drawing, the objects in the room become more important, as is visible in the *Wohnzimmer Schaffnerwohnungen*. And finally, when the delineations of the room, already cleansed of textures and shadows, are reduced to simple

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<sup>364</sup> See the previous remarks in this chapter's paragraph on *Raum* and *Empfindung*.

<sup>365</sup> See the paragraph 'Dissolution of the perimeter: the room' in this chapter

outlines, it is a relatively small step to depict these delineations of the space with a dotted line, as can be seen in the *Wohnzimmer Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser Hohensalza* (1911). This dotted line foreshadows the complete disappearance of the delineations of the room and the foregrounding of the *Sachen*, something that we will discuss in the next chapter.

After having looked in detail at the perspective drawing itself and the spatial consequences that follow from both the perspectival construction and the way of drawing, we will now take a closer look at *Raum* as the content of the drawing. When considering Tessenow's perspective drawings that address this category, a distinction can be made between two fundamentally different types of space depicted in these drawings, namely the room-like spaces and the threshold-like spaces.

In Tessenow's perspective drawings, room-like spaces appears in three basic types. The courtyard is one of these types, used by Tessenow for a variety of houses and other buildings. In Tessenow's preoccupation with the *Kleinwohnung*, the spatial type of the courtyard moves from the seclusion of the mansion, visible in the *Gartenwandelgang* (1907) to the public realm of the *Kleinstadt*, where it transforms into a small square, as is visible in the drawing *Wohnhof* (1911). As another typological variant of the room-like space, the *Diele* (hallway) is depicted in *Innenansicht Diele* (c. 1913). This space is typologically related to the courtyard and can be considered the central space in the interior of the house, having a similar important role in the organization of the house.

Not surprisingly, the room itself forms perhaps the most important spatial variant of the room-like spaces that Tessenow explores in many of his perspectives. These rooms share similar characteristics, independent of their size and use. They are predominantly small and mostly rectangular, and they have only a few openings to the outside, such as doors and relatively small and high windows. What is shown in most of the perspective drawings of these rooms is no longer a preoccupation with *Stimmung* or atmosphere, through the representation of daylight and material qualities, but a growing concern for *Sachlichkeit*, in its most literal meaning of thing-like-ness.<sup>366</sup> And with the growing importance of *Sachlichkeit*, the meaning of the *Raum* itself also begins to change. While initially Tessenow investigated an expressive spatial arrangement of his rooms, using nooks, bay windows and fixed furniture, his treatment of the room quickly moved in a direction where *Raum* begins to dissolve, drawing more and more attention to what is in the room, namely the *Sachen* (things) that it contains, thus representing its *Zweckgesinnung*.<sup>367</sup>

Similar to the importance of the room for the interior of the house, the *Laube* (arbour) forms a recurring element in Tessenow's drawings of outside spaces. This element has a triple character, since it can be regarded as a small house, an aedicular element with clear references to the primitive hut; as a *Raum*, a sheltering space that is set opposed to the open space of the garden; and as an object, a fixed piece of outdoor furniture, often containing a bench. Considered as a space of rest and contemplation, it is related to the room in scale and proportion and at the same time opposed to the room, freed from any specific use. In that sense, the arbour is literally detached from the other rooms in the house, having an immediate relation to the garden and its planting.

In the *Kleinwohnungen* that Tessenow designed, where the garden is relatively small and narrow, the *Laube* is now transformed into either a pergola, attached to the house, or a niche, carved out of the building volume. Both spaces share many of the characteristics of the *Laube*, but now transferred to the zones immediately bordering the house. It turns these zones into *Räume*: defining

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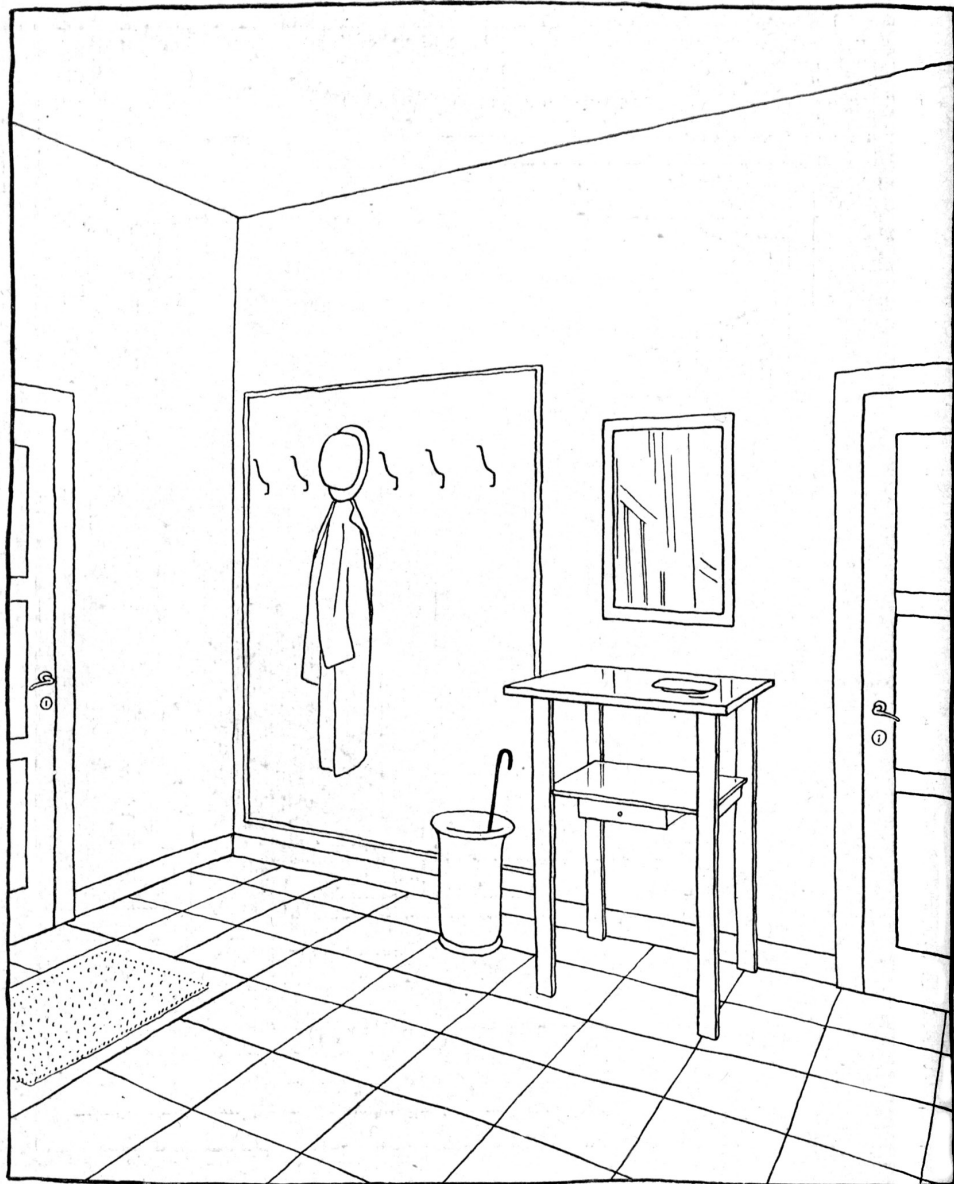
<sup>366</sup> See for an introduction to *Sachlichkeit*: Mallgrave, *Otto Wagner* (1993), 281-362

<sup>367</sup> See the paragraph on *Raum* and *Gewöhnlichkeit* previous in this chapter.

them through elements like columns, beams, laths, but also through a raised floor and furniture pieces placed inside, such as a bench.

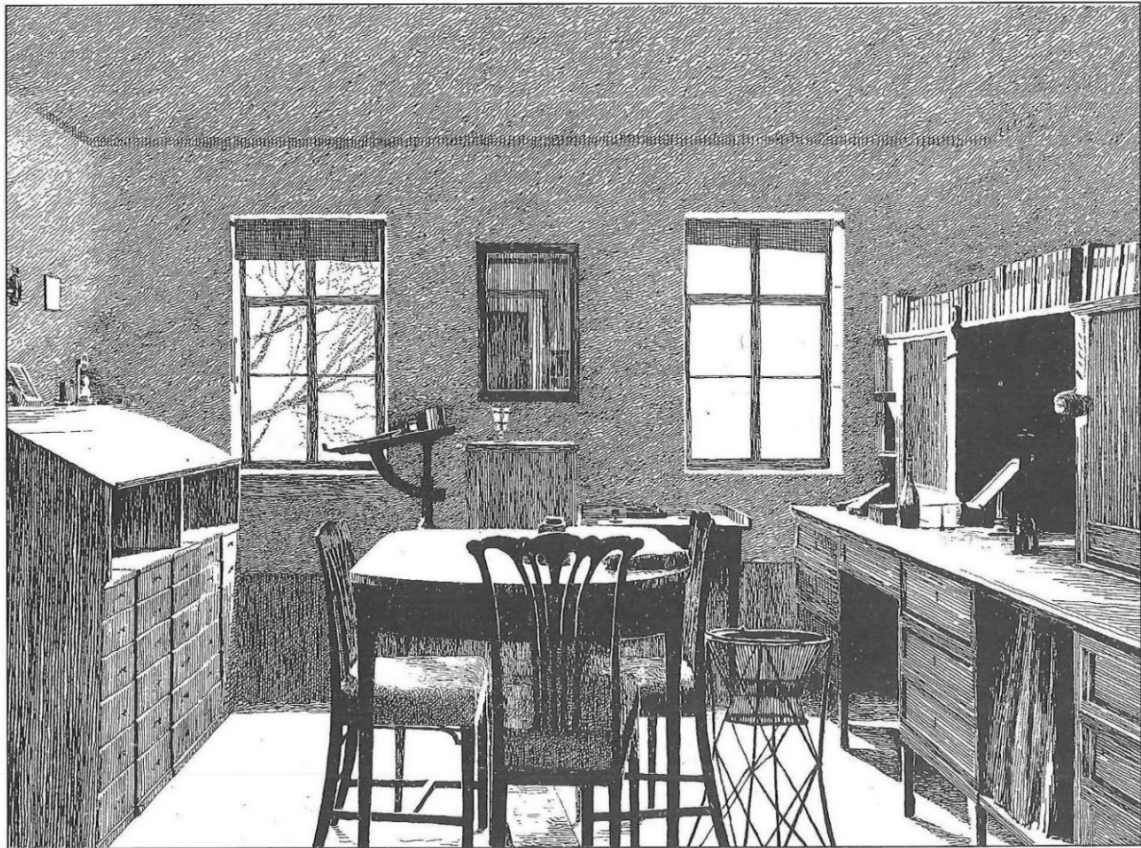
As threshold-like spaces, pergolas and niches play an important role in Tessenow's work and are explored in detail in many of his perspective drawings. Used in a compressed form for the *Kleinwohnung*, these spaces play an important role in the approach to the house, fulfilling clear representational purpose. A clever use of pergolas and niches thus enables Tessenow to enrich the spatial experience of the *Kleinwohnung*, but these elements also contribute to the individuality of the singular house in a row.

When considering the two main subcategories of *Raum* as they appear in Tessenow's perspective drawings, namely the room-like spaces, such as the courtyard, hall (*Diele*), room and arbour (*Laube*), and the threshold-like spaces, such as pergola, niche and threshold, an interesting difference can be distinguished. In the room-like spaces the perimeter of the space often seems to dissolve, drawing more attention to the ordinary things (*Sachen*) that are placed inside the space. In the threshold-like spaces, the perimeter does not dissolve, although its boundaries are often softened by ivy or other plantings. In their elaboration and scale, these threshold-like spaces, oscillating between *Raum* and *Sache*, gain an ambiguous character. With this in mind, it is interesting to take a closer look at the *Sachen* in Tessenow's perspective drawings, as we will do in the next chapter.



# 5

*Sache, from Formgefühl to  
Zweckgesinnung*



*Arbeitszimmer Goethe's Wohnhaus Weimar, c. 1905*<sup>368</sup>

*This drawing by Tessenow shows Goethe's study in his house on Frauenplatz in Weimar. On the right side, we see a long writing desk with drawers and cabinets, topped by a row of books; on the left is some sort of apothecary cabinet with an elevated lectern on it. A table with three chairs sits in the centre of the room along with an object that looks like a waste paper bin. On the table, a support cushion pad and an ink pot are visible, indicating the seat of Goethe's clerk. A mirror hangs between the two windows in the back wall, showing the reflection of a corner of the entrance door. Below the mirror, there is a cabinet with a glass on it.*

*Tessenow does not draw the precise delineations of the room, but uses small dashes instead to depict the shadowy walls and ceiling. Basically, walls and ceiling are hatched in the same tone, with the left wall slightly lighter. The darker zone at the transition from wall to ceiling is also abstracted, by drawing a subtle row of vertical hatches that disappear to the right. Various pieces of furniture, seen against backlight, are drawn full black, emphasizing their contours. The other pieces are drawn with a vertical or horizontal hatching. Through the left window, a tree is visible.*

At first glance, Tessenow's drawing of Goethe's study in the same house in which the *Junozimmer* is situated, looks like another tribute to the important German writer, scientist and statesman.<sup>369</sup> This room has been the subject of many commentaries in which the austerity and restraint of the room are often noted and contrasted with the greatness of its owner and with the many famous literary

<sup>368</sup> See: De Michelis, *Henrich Tessenow 1876-1950*, 1991, 101, 123. The drawing, most likely traced from a photograph of the room that was also used as a postcard (in possession of the author), appears in one of the books on Goethe by Wilhelm Bode. This sheds some light on how Tessenow actually made his perspectives, at least those of Goethe's interiors.

<sup>369</sup> Tessenow's drawing fits in a long range of celebrations of Goethe's house, and more in particular his workplace, that started already during Goethe's lifetime but continued to Tessenow's days. See: Christiane Holm, 'Goethes Arbeitszimmer. Überlegungen zur Diskursivierung des Dichterhauses um 1800'. In: *Die Werkstatt des Dichters. Imaginationsräume literarischer Produktion*, edited by Klaus Kastberger and Stefan Maurer, 47-63. (Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2017)

and scientific works written in it.<sup>370</sup> Unlike the reception rooms in the front of the house, this particular room does not have an elaborate wainscoting or any decoration on the ceiling, and the pieces of furniture here are remarkably plain and simple. Even during his lifetime, the ordinariness and simplicity of Goethe's study were noticed, not least by the poet himself:

When I live in a splendid house, like the one I had in Karlsbad, I at once become lazy and inactive. A lowlier dwelling, on the other hand, like the wretched room we are in now, a little disorderly in its order, a little gipsy-like – that is the right thing for me; it leaves my inner being with the complete freedom to do what it wishes and to create from within myself.<sup>371</sup>

With these words Goethe evokes a contrast between, on the one hand, his poor and somewhat messy room with its simple and worn-out furniture and, on the other, his rich and creative spirit. In the decades after Goethe's death in 1832, this contrast also fascinated the many visitors to his house, especially when they were confronted with this unpretentious small room, facing the back garden of the house. The room itself has no noteworthy decorations on its walls and ceiling, nor a breath-taking view of the back garden. What will have attracted the attention of the visitors, however, are the many desks and cupboards placed inside the room. Clearly, these pieces of furniture immediately relate to the use of the room as a study by Goethe and his clerks.<sup>372</sup> A closer look also reveals many smaller objects in the room, such as the bottle on the long desk on the right side and the glass on the cabinet below the mirror. These objects, placed by Goethe in continuously changing settings in and on the various pieces of furniture, played an important role in his writing. Goethe once describes his activities in this room as having 'conversations with objects', seemingly prioritizing them over his books.<sup>373</sup>

In Tessenow's drawings, objects or *Sachen* also play an important role, but in a very different way. While for Goethe the objects in his room each in their own right represented a specific scientific and aesthetic interest or memory, in Tessenow's drawings the objects or *Sachen* refer to a specific use or purpose (*Zweck*) and are used by him to investigate both their relation with the room in which they are placed and their mutual interaction. In many of his perspective drawings, Tessenow thus turns Goethe's *Gespräche mit den Dingen* (conversations with things) into *Gespräche zwischen Sachen* (conversations among objects).

The German word *Sache* is etymologically related to the English word *sake* and has gradually developed into a word that indicates concrete things.<sup>374</sup> According to a German synonym dictionary published in 1904, there is a difference between *Sache* (object, matter) and *Ding* (thing), whereby *Sache* is a subcategory of *Ding*: '*Sachen* are those things that have a close connection with humans.

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<sup>370</sup> Various visitors, including Walter Benjamin in 1928, have published their experience of visiting the room. See: Annegret Pelz, 'Philologie im Zeichen der Tischszene. Walter Benjamin in Goethes Werkstatt'. In: *Die Werkstatt des Dichters. Imaginationsräume literarischer Produktion*, edited by Klaus Kastberger and Stefan Maurer. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, 2017, 65-76

<sup>371</sup> 'Ich bin in einer prächtigen Wohnung, wie ich sie in Karlsbad gehabt, sogleich faul und untätig. Geringe Wohnungen dagegen, wie dieses schlechte Zimmer, worin wir sind, ein wenig unordentlich ordentlich, ein wenig zigeunerhaft, ist für mich das Rechte; es lässt meiner inneren Natur volle Freiheit, tätig zu sein und aus mir selber zu schaffen.' See: Johann Peter Eckermann and Ernst Beutler (ed.). *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens*. (1848) (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1976), 329. Translation taken from: Jennings a.o.(eds.) *Walter Benjamin, Selected writings 1927-1930* (2005), 183

<sup>372</sup> See: Holm, 'Goethes Arbeitszimmer' (2017), 53

<sup>373</sup> 'Gespräche mit den Dingen'. See: Goethe, Johann Wolfgang, Karl Richter, and Carl Friedrich Zelter. *Sämtliche Werke Nach Epochen Seines Schaffens*. München: Carl Hanser, 1985 [1786], Bd. I, 1, 229

<sup>374</sup> See: Eberhardt, *Synonymisches Handwörterbuch der deutsche Sprache* (1905), 312

This connection arises out of benefit or harm they might imply for them. . . . In particular moveable things . . . small objects, for daily use, are considered *Sachen*.<sup>375</sup>

In this chapter the word *Sache* will be applied to a specific range of things that will also include non-moveable things. I want to argue here that the category of *Sachen* should not only contain pieces of furniture, but also loose furnishings, such as cushions, vases, bowls, pictures, mirrors and lamps. In the case of Tessenow's drawings, building elements, such as doors and windows, that he depicts as carefully as the furniture should also be included in this category.<sup>376</sup>

Unlike the category of *Raum*, which Tessenow mostly avoided in his writings, he expressed his view on *Sachen* a number of times quite specifically in books and articles. For instance, in *Hausbau und dergleichen* he points at the continuously growing amount of objects that surround us in our houses and observes a certain indifference or even numbness in our relationship with them:

Today's average industrial work, for instance our average home furnishings, are in particular characterized by a certain poor multiplicity . . . [Thus] we do not so much have what we actually want as what is strongly imposed on us from outside, and so it happens that our homes, that our industrial works in general, are so very much so miserably strange and indifferent, so empty and so actually worthless . . . We can do quite an unheard of amount of industrial work; but we cannot do so much as to have 'the world and its wife' vividly around us in each home. Today, every normal dwelling contains, both inside and out, an almost unbelievably large heap of very unimportant things . . . we always have the greatest difficulty in finding and holding on to what is only somewhat at rest or clear . . .<sup>377</sup>

Tessenow regards the increasing distance between the people and the many objects that occupy their homes as a very serious threat to their wellbeing. According to him, the abundance of objects obscures the view of what has real value and is 'at rest and clear'. In this chapter, we will take a closer look at how Tessenow not only investigated this particular quality of the individual *Sache*, but also the way that *Sachen* respond to each other and to the *Raum* in which they are placed. As we will see, Tessenow concentrates both on the form of each individual *Sache* and on their formal interaction. And again, as with the categories of *Haus* and *Raum*, the perspective drawing is used by him as a primary explorative tool in the investigation of this architectural interaction.

Before looking more closely at Tessenow's perspective drawings, we will again start by confronting the category of *Sache* with the previously introduced notions of *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit*. Some relevant ideas that are connected to the specific relation that *Sache* has with each of these notions, will be briefly sketched out. These ideas are distilled from either writings by Tessenow himself or from relevant publications by some of his contemporaries.

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<sup>375</sup> '*Sache* nennt der Mensch diejenige Dinge, die in einer nähern Verbindung mit ihm stehen. Diese Verbindung entsteht aus dem Nutzen oder Schaden den sie für ihn haben können (..) Besonders werden bewegliche Dinge, (..) kleinere Gegenstände, die zum täglichen Gebrauch dienen, als *Sachen* bezeichnet.' See: Eberhardt, (1905), 312

<sup>376</sup> According to what Gerda Wangerin writes in a footnote, Tessenow designed more than 220 furniture pieces, but this high number cannot be verified in the Heinrich Tessenow-archive and the publications by Strey, Wangerin & Weiss and Marco de Michelis. See: Wangerin (1976), 51, footnote 217

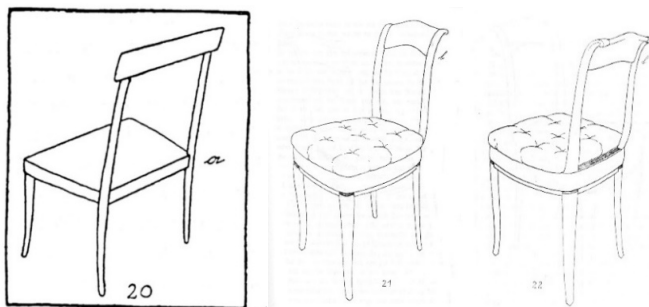
<sup>377</sup> 'Die heutige durchschnittliche gewerbliche Arbeit, etwa unsere durchschnittliche Wohnungseinrichtung, ist besonders gekennzeichnet durch eine gewisse armselige Vielheit; (...) (So) haben wir nicht so sehr das, was wir eigentlich wollen, als das, was uns stark von außen her zugetragen wird, und so kommt es, daß unsere Wohnungen, daß überhaupt unsere gewerbliche Arbeiten so sehr viel so elend fremd und gleichgültig, so leer und so eigentlich wertlos sind; (...) Wir können gewerblich ganz unerhört viel; aber wir können nicht so viel, als daß wir mit jeder Wohnung so ungefähr "die Welt und sieben Dörfer" lebendig um uns herum haben können. Jede normale Wohnung enthält heute innen und außen einen fast unglaublich großen Haufen sehr Unwichtiges (..) wir haben immer wieder die größte Mühe, das zu finden und festhalten, was nur einigermaßen das Ruhende oder Geklärte habe (..)'. See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011); my translation.

## **Sache and Empfindung**

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one of the scholars addressing the relation between *Empfindung* and *Sache* was art historian Heinrich Wölfflin.<sup>378</sup> Wölfflin introduced the idea of *Körpergefühl* (corporeal form) to link the human body to objects that are manipulated by hand, that support the human body or that serve as a container for this body. According to him, all these objects not only have a scale that is related to the human body, but literally get in touch with this body. Wölfflin specifically looked at architectural and artistic styles from the past, but his ideas were also taken in by architects and designers.<sup>379</sup> Wölfflin expressed the importance of objects as follows:

The pulse of a people's temper must be sought . . . not in the heavy and ponderous forms of architecture, but in the smaller decorative arts; it is in them that formal sensibility (*Formgefühl*) finds a direct and unconstrained outlet.<sup>380</sup>

Wölfflin implies that formal sensibility thus allows the *Sachen* to mediate between architecture and the sensual perception of the human being, and although he relates this sensibility immediately to the bodily experience of stylistic change, the connection between the object's form and the *Empfindung* (in the sense of both perception and sensitivity) is clear. This connection not only plays a crucial role in Tessenow's perspective drawings, but also forms a cornerstone of his ideas on architecture as expressed in his texts. As an example, it is interesting to read Tessenow's considerations on the design of a chair. It is quite telling, considering his background as carpenter, that he hardly addresses technical and tectonic issues related to chair design, but mostly discusses the visual issues related to connecting the various parts of the chair. In a chapter called 'Empfindsames über das Teilen und Verbinden',<sup>381</sup> he writes:



*Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, p. 47-49

The parts of a whole, for instance the legs, the seat and the backrest of a chair, always have their own expression, which also always requires special attention. If we connect – as in figure 20 – the backrest with the rear legs of the chair, by continuing these above the seat in one movement, then this might be very good from a technical point of view, but the technique will then create a dead form at the point where the legs merge into the backrest, i.e. approximately at the level of the seat. Point 'a' is void of expression, because at that point the individual expression of the backrest and the individual expression of the legs cancel each other. . . . in the case of the chair in figures 21 and 22, the legs, the backrest, the

<sup>378</sup> For Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945) and his relation with *Sachen*, see: Payne, *From Ornament to Object* (2012), 112-156.

<sup>379</sup> For the further development of Wölfflin's ideas by the architect Richard Streiter, see: Mallgrave, *Empathy Form and Space* (1994), 46-47. Payne also points at the wide dissemination of Wölfflin's ideas, see Payne (2012), 127

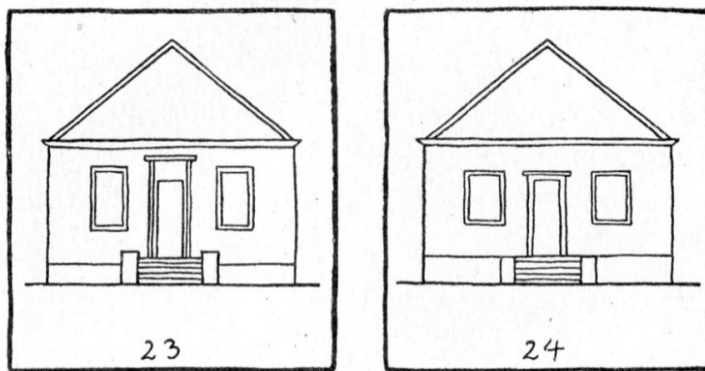
<sup>380</sup> 'Den Pulsschlag des Volksgemüts muss man dann anderswo beobachten: nicht in den grossen, schwerbeweglichen Formen der Baukunst, sondern in den kleineren dekorativen Künsten. Hier befriedigt sich das Formgefühl ungehemmt und unmittelbar und von hier wird man dann auch die Spuren einer Erneuerung des Stils vermutlich immer zuerst entdecken.' See: Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, (1888) 1907, 58 (translation in Payne (2012), 121)

<sup>381</sup> Title of a chapter in *Hausbau und dergleichen*. See Burdett and Wang, *9H On Rigor* (1989), 24



seat, and within the seat the frame and the upholstered part, are separated. In addition, all the parts are connected by being curved in the same way. Moreover, a special fillet is placed at the lower edge of the seat's frame to create an apparent connection between each leg and at the same time a connection between the legs and the seat frame.<sup>382</sup>

It is important to note that Tessenow considers the singular *Sache*, in this case a chair, not from a stylistic or tectonic point of view, but solely focusses on its visual perception. When Tessenow speaks of the importance of simultaneously *teilen und verbinden* (separating and uniting) he thus refers to the perception of the various parts out of which the chair is built up. In a similar way, the viewer's visual experience of separating and uniting also applies when various *Sachen* (both building elements, pieces of furniture and loose furnishing) come together, as Tessenow makes clear in *Hausbau und dergleichen*:



*Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, p. 52

In order to separate the base of a house from the doorsteps and these again from the door frames, which are all of a very different nature, it is very easy to shift all the boundary lines in relation to each other, such as in Figure 23 as opposed to an arrangement in Figure 24, in which case the different surfaces perhaps have the same aspect ratio to form a connecting element. According to figure 24, the upper end lines of the windows and the door are at the same height, similarly to how we very often arrange or tie together the top edge of the pictures on the wall in the room with the height of the door to the room, for example, or with some other height that is somehow given; but the question is whether such connections are not unnecessarily poor or coarse. In any case, they pay very little attention to the very different expressiveness of these individual surfaces, and are – even in the literal sense of the word – very one-sided.<sup>383</sup>

<sup>382</sup> 'Die Teile eines Ganzen, zum Beispiel die FüÙe, der Sitz und die Lehne eines Stuhles, haben für sich immer einen Eigenausdruck, der auch immer für sich besonders beachtet sein will. Verbinden wir – wie in Figur 20 – die Rückenlehne mit den hinteren StuhlfüÙen, indem wir diese, über den Sitz hinaus, nach oben hin glatt durchführen, so mag das technisch sehr gut sein; aber die Technik bildet dann dort, wo die FüÙe in die Lehne übergehen – also etwa in der Sitzhöhe – eine tote Form; die Stelle bei a est dem Ausdruck nach leer, weil sich dort der Eigenausdruck der Lehne ind der Eigenausdruck der FüÙe gegenseitig aufheben (...) bei dem Stuhl nsch den Figuren 21 und 22 sind die FüÙe, die Lehne, der Sitz und im Sitz wieder der Rahmen und der Polsterteil getrennt; daneben sind alle diese Teile wieder verbunden, indem die alle gleichartig gebogen sind, außerdem ist noch für eine augenscheinliche Verbindung der FüÙe untereinander und gleichzeitig für eine Verbindung der FüÙe untereinander und gleichzeitig für eine Verbindung er FüÙe und des Sitzrahmens an dessen unterem Teil eine besondere Leiste angeordnet' Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow: Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 66-68. (my translation).

<sup>383</sup> 'Um bei einer Hausansicht den Sockel von den Türstufen und diese wieder von den Türumrahmungen zu trennen, die alle sehr verschiedener Natur sind, kann man sehr einfach alle Grenzlinien gegeneinander versetzen, etwa wie nach der Figur 23 gegenüber einer Anordnung nach der Figur 24, wobei dann die verschiedenen Flächen als verbindendes Element vielleicht gleiche Seitenverhältnisse bekommen. Nach der Figur 24 lliegen die oberen Schlußlinien der Fenster und der Tür in der gleichen Höhe, ähnlich wie wir auch sehr ofte twa die Oberkante der Wandbilder im ZFimmer mit der Höhe etwa der

Apparently, Tessenow is here not so much interested in the *Sache* itself but in the visual interaction of various *Sachen* in a larger entity, in this case a house facade. In these diagrammatic elevations, the visual coordination of the various building parts is reduced to a relatively simple alignment. In more complex situations, Tessenow can no longer rely on such diagrammatic representations and begins to investigate the visual coordination of the various *Sachen* in his perspective drawings. For this investigation, however, the notion of *Abstraktion* will prove crucial.

### ***Sache and Abstraktion***

To better understand the close relationship between *Empfindung* and *Abstraktion* in regard to the category of *Sache*, the ideas of architect and art historian Richard Streiter (1861-1912) are particularly helpful.<sup>384</sup> Streiter is especially interested in the connection between *Bürgerlichkeit*, *Sachlichkeit* and *Kunstgewerbe*. His main concern lies in the development of a contemporary style that is able to give expression to modernity. Following Wölfflin, Streiter also points to the need to turn to small objects to develop *Formgefühl* (feeling for form) as the basis of such a contemporary style.<sup>385</sup> For him, *Gefühl* (feeling) differs from *Empfindung*, since it is immediately related to the haptic experience of holding and touching the small object: it is no longer tied to visual representation alone. Streiter, who had already coined the term *Sachlichkeit* in the field of architecture in 1896, states that the daily, physical experience of objects stimulates our *Formgefühl*, since we are continuously confronted with both their visual and haptic experience.<sup>386</sup> The style that will develop out of this 'feeling for form', so Streiter writes, is the style of the machine: 'smooth, precise, simple, crisp and consistent.'<sup>387</sup> Here Streiter not only connects the haptic experience of the contemporary object with its form, but also states that this form will by necessity have to be *abstract* by relating it to the form of the machine. He speaks of the 'schlichte Eleganz der Grundform' (simple elegance of the essential form), an expression not far removed from the 'Wesentliche oder Einfach-Notwendige' that Tessenow writes about.<sup>388</sup>

In a way that seems similar to Streiter, Tessenow also links *Empfindung* to *Abstraktion*. However, in Tessenow's perspective drawings the haptic experience clearly does not play a role. Out of a more pragmatic notion of *Sauberkeit* (cleanliness) the *Reinheit unseres Denkens und Empfindens* (purity of our thinking and perception/feeling) will develop, so Tessenow writes in *Hausbau und dergleichen*, in a chapter called 'Cleanliness or purity of industrial works', in which the more pragmatic notion of cleanliness is extended to the purity of our thoughts and emotions.<sup>389</sup> While thus addressing the formal purity of *Sachen* (both building elements such as roofs and windows, and furniture pieces)

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Zimmertür oder mit einer anderen irgendwie gegebenen Höhe direkt zusammenordnen oder zusammenbinden; aber es fragt sich, ob solche Verbindungen nicht unnötig armselig oder grob sind; jedenfalls beachten sie das sehr verschiedenartig Ausdrückliche dieser Einzelflächen sehr wenig, sind – übrigens auch dem einfachen Wortsinne nach – sehr einseitig' See: Böll, *Tessenow, Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 70 (my translation).

<sup>384</sup> For Richard Streiter see: Mallgrave, 'From Realism to *Sachlichkeit*' (1993), 292-299 and Payne, *From Ornament to Object* (2012), 175-187

<sup>385</sup> See: Payne (2012), 185. She refers to Streiter, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1913), 119. The word 'Formgefühl' is introduced by Wölfflin, but Streiter attaches a slightly different meaning to it.

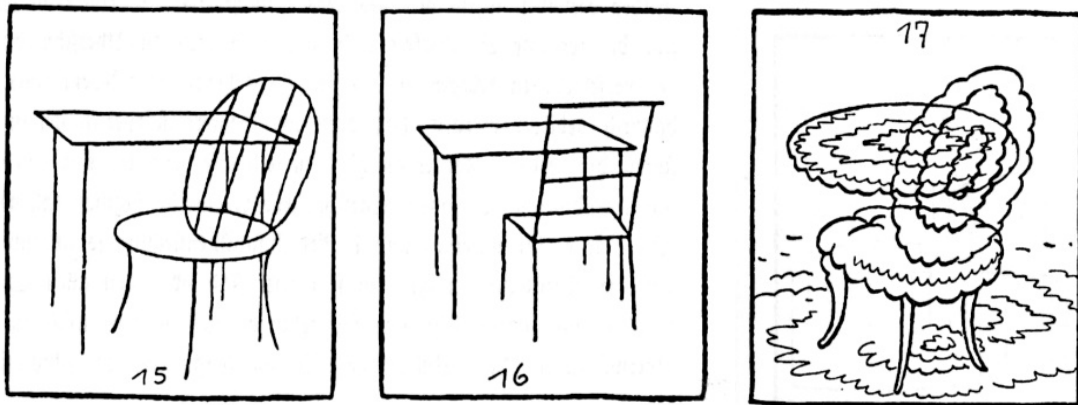
<sup>386</sup> See: Mallgrave, Otto Wagner (1993), 305. See also: Payne (2012), 183

<sup>387</sup> 'glatt, exact, einfach, scharfe Formen, regelmässig'. See: Streiter, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 1913, p. 28. Quoted in: Payne (2012), 178

<sup>388</sup> See: Payne (2012), 179; Streiter, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1913), 14 and Böll, *Heinrich Tessenow: Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 25

<sup>389</sup> See for the meaning of the word *sauber* and its translation as 'clean': Eberhard (1904), 897, p. 696. See also Böll, *Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 55 (my translation).

from a visual point of view, Tessenow pays particular attention to the visual interaction between various objects:<sup>390</sup>



Hausbau und dergleichen, 1916, p. 43, 44

The unavoidable and strong and so particularly indeterminable overlaps that have to be taken into account in the designing of industrial works give us a special reason to look for forms that are as neutral as possible or for forms that are related. For example, while in Figure 15 the curved and straight lines in their overlaps form very impure or conspicuously loud sub-forms, in Figure 16 there is something very unobtrusive and self-evident about these lines (to which in particular the overall outline always belongs). The intersected forms in this figure are also not pure in detail, but the relationship of the table and chair forms here does not allow the impurity of the intersected figures to come to the fore so easily; in this respect, strongly agitated or loose individual forms, such as in figure 17, are very often particularly suitable, because, so to speak, where there is already a lot going on, a little more doesn't matter, while the purer and more definite is always also more sensitive.<sup>391</sup>

This illustrated quote again makes clear that Tessenow is not so much interested in the design of an individual *Sache* as an isolated phenomenon, nor in the creation of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, but that the visual perception of one *Sache* interacting on a formal level with another *Sache* is what concerns him most. The diagrammatic drawings also illustrate the important idea of *Verwandtschaft* (affinity) that Tessenow introduces in his text. However, the real investigation of the formal interaction of the *Sachen* and the implied role of abstraction in this, takes place in the perspective drawing when the single *Sache* is drawn together with others. For Tessenow, this formal abstraction goes beyond aesthetics and holds an important ethical value:

<sup>390</sup> The following illustrations are taken from Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, 43 and reproduced in Böll (ed.), *Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 61. The drawings numbered 15, 16 and 17 belong to a series of 32 more or less diagrammatic drawings, accompanying the text of the last four chapters of the book.

<sup>391</sup> 'Die unvermeidlichen und starken und so besonders unbestimmbaren Überschneidungen, die für das Formen der gewerblichen Arbeiten zu beachten sind, bilden einen besonderen Grund, daß wir für sie nach möglichst neutralen oder nach verwandten Formen suchen; zum Beispiel während in der Figur 15 die gebogenen und geraden Linien in ihren Überschneidungen sehr unreine oder auffallende laute Nebenformen bilden, haben diese (zu denen besonders auch immer die Gesamtumrißlinie gehört) in der Figur 16 etwas sehr Unauffällig-Selbstverständliches, die überschrittenen Formen in dieser Figur sind im einzelnen auch nicht rein, aber die Verwandtschaft der Tisch- und Stuhlformen hier läßt es nicht so leicht dazu kommen, daß das Unreine der überschrittenen Figuren hervortritt; in dieser Hinsicht sind stark bewegte oder aufgelöste Einzelformen, etwa wie in Figur 17, sehr oft ganz besonders günstig, denn sozusagen: wo schon sehr viel los ist, kann es auf ein bißchen mehr nicht ankommen, während das Reinere und Bestimmtere immer auch empfindlicher ist' See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen*, (2011), 60-61 (my translation).

In any case, all strong craft work, and especially all strong architectural work, always contains the strongly communal, and thus also, without any further hesitation, a high estimation of the simple-proper, and thus is also determined the high value of form that all simple or elementary formal properness or regularity, such as the straight line, the rectangle, the circle, the ninety-degree angle, the horizontal, the vertical and so on, has for all craft work (and here especially for all architectural work; for in craft it is mostly communal).<sup>392</sup>

While Tessenow clearly acknowledged the importance of technology and the machine in the production of objects, he also continuously stressed the essential role of *Handwerk* (handicraft) and *gewerbliche Arbeit* (trade work) not only for the production of objects and buildings, but for society as a whole.<sup>393</sup> He carefully distinguished the craftsman from the factory worker and looked at the future possibilities for each of these professions, in the light of the ongoing industrialization.

Compared with Streiter, Tessenow holds a different position in relation to the artistic aspects of the machine style. The difference between Tessenow and Streiter is especially visible in their appreciation of the role of the arts in the production of objects. While Streiter merges *Gewerbe* (crafts) into *Kunstgewerbe* (applied or decorative arts) Tessenow distinguishes the two fields, paying attention to the difference in *Empfindung* between the craftsman and the factory worker. Traditional pieces of furniture, which we admire for their form and elegance, have often been produced without any artistic intent and do therefore not reflect the artistry of the individual craftsman, Tessenow writes.<sup>394</sup> And in a similar way, he goes on, contemporary industrial production assigns specific roles to each person in the making of an object, discouraging a highly personal artistic approach by any one of them, including the designer. The resulting formal abstraction of the object, due to the machine or to industrialization, is welcomed by Tessenow. However, and unlike Streiter, it's not the aesthetics of the machine for its own sake that Tessenow seeks. He is mainly interested in the uniformity, the commonplace character of the object that follows from a rigorous abstraction of the forms. It is for this reason that Tessenow explores in his drawings a specific kind of abstraction that not only relates to the condition of modernity, such as industrial production and a rigorous elimination of all that is considered superfluous, but also to anonymous traditions that have produced works generally considered as *gewöhnlich* (commonplace or ordinary).

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<sup>392</sup> 'Jedenfalls enthält alles starke gewerbliche und besonders alles starke bauliche Arbeiten immer auch das stark Gemeinschaftliche und damit auch ohne weiteres eine hohe Schätzung für das Einfach-Gesetzmäßige; und so bestimmt sich auch der hohe Formenwert, den alle einfache oder elementare formale Gesetzmäßigkeit oder Regelmäßigkeit, zum Beispiel die Gerade, das Rechteck, der Kreis, der Neunziggrad-Winkel, die Waagerechte, die Senkrechte usw. für alles gewerbliche Arbeiten hat (und hier besonders für alles bauliche Arbeiten; denn es ist im Gewerbe am meisten gemeinschaftlich).' See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 47-48 (my translation).

<sup>393</sup> These terms are not always easy to translate in English. *Gewerbe* might be described as 'trade', but has a focus on manual production, therefore 'craft' or 'industry' is more suitable. *Handwerk* is historically incorporated in *Gewerbe* and might be described as 'handicrafts' or 'crafts'. See: Eberhard (1904), 586

<sup>394</sup> Tessenow, 'Handwerkerarbeit und Fabrikarbeit' in Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Land in der Mitte* (2017), 81

## **Sache and Gewöhnlichkeit**

When considering the notion of *Gewöhnlichkeit* in Tessenow's drawings, objects of daily use play an important role. While we have focussed mainly on the forms of the *Sachen* in discussing their relation to *Empfindung* and *Abstraktion*, the notion of *Gewöhnlichkeit* now introduces another angle to approach the *Sachen* and this angle is best described by the German word *Zweck* (use or purpose). In Tessenow's drawings of the *Kleinwohnung*, many of the *Sachen* represent a particular use. When brought together, these *Sachen* form the immediate physical representation of *wohnen*, of all the various activities that take place in the dwelling. In Tessenow's view, the single *Sache* is not an isolated element, but is always related to other *Sachen*, such as furniture, loose furnishings and the building elements. When all the *Sachen* are brought together in the domestic interior, they give expression to the *Zweckgesinnung* of dwelling, which he tries to evoke in his perspective drawings of the *Kleinwohnung*.<sup>395</sup>

For Tessenow, this *Zweckgesinnung* cannot be separated from two traditions. The first is the tradition of the vernacular *Sache* or, more in particular, the *bäuerliche Sache*. At the core of this tradition lies the idea that there have always existed in the farmer's household strong and lasting ties between the house and its occupants and that these ties, expressed in a range of furniture pieces and household goods, pertain to what could be described as the culture of the farm. In his book *Volkskunst, Hausfleiß und Hausindustrie* (1894), art historian Alois Riegl gave folk art, centred on the object of daily use, a central place in this culture.<sup>396</sup> In order for the *bäuerliche Sache* to survive in modern times, Riegl acknowledged the need to develop a *Hausindustrie* (domestic industry) that should be able to transfer the objects of folk art to the contemporary market. Interestingly, Riegl argued that the traditional folk object contained certain ahistorical qualities that made it especially suitable for our times; it existed, so to say, outside the *Großstadt* culture of fashion and thus outside 'style'.<sup>397</sup> As a consequence, the regionally produced *Sache* would be subjected to an inevitable internationalization. While Riegl thus recognizes a modern *gewöhnliche* quality in the vernacular object that could lift it from its regional and historical determination, Tessenow also pointed at reverse influences when he addressed folk art in an article titled 'Das Bauerndorf im hannoverschen Wendland'. Describing a visit to an old village, he makes an interesting observation in regard to the interior of a farmhouse:

We cannot understand how the Viennese cane chair could come into the room, how this new chair could be placed next to the old 'bridal chair'. . . . The way of life of the peasant has changed a lot after all. . . . We can certainly regret that many old, sensible customs have left peasant life and the peasant house, but in their place something new has come, and not seldom something better.<sup>398</sup>

Tessenow's appreciation of the traditional wedding chair that he discovers in the old farmhouse is expressed in a perspective drawing. Finding a modern Viennese cane chair in the same room does not cause him to raise objections and lamentations: he actually values the changes and improvements in the *Wohnkultur* of the farmer.

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<sup>395</sup> See the previous chapter on *Raum*.

<sup>396</sup> See: Alois Riegl, *Volkskunst, Hausfleiß Und Hausindustrie* (1894) (Mittenwald: Mäander Kunstverlag, 1978)

<sup>397</sup> See: Sabrina K. Rahman, 'Industrializing Folk Art: Aesthetic Transformation in Alois Riegl's *Volkskunst, Hausfleiß und Hausindustrie* (1894)'. In: *Kakanian Revisited* 27.03.2007, 3. See also: Payne (2012), 138

<sup>398</sup> 'wir (können) nicht begreifen, wie hier der Wiener Rohrstuhl ins Zimmer kommen konnte. (..) Die Lebensformen des Bauern haben sich doch auch seitdem sehr geändert. (..) Wir können gewiß bedauern, daß manche alten sinnigen Bräuche das Bauernleben, das Bauernhaus verlassen haben; aber an ihre Stelle ist noch Neues getreten, und nicht selten das Bessere.' For the full text of Tessenow's article see: *Bauzeitung*, Jg. 1906, Nr. 11. See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Das Land in der Mitte* (2017), 31-38 (my translation).

The second tradition that addresses *Gewöhnlichkeit* in relation to the object can be found in the *bürgerliche Sache*. If the *Bauernhaus* interior represents the anonymous tradition in decorative arts found in the countryside, the *Bürgerhaus* interior is more connected to the city and especially the small town. The revival of *Biedermeier* buildings and furniture at the beginning of the twentieth century is closely linked to an appreciation of this anonymous *bürgerlich* tradition and of the related values embedded in these works. Tessenow shares this appreciation with architects such as Muthesius, Schultze-Naumburg, Mebes and Schmitthenner, but also with writers more related to the field of domestic interior and house decoration, such as Lichtwark and writer and art critic Joseph Aug. Lux. The latter looks back at the Biedermeier times in the following words:

The middle class (*Bürgertum*) creates the forms they need. It doesn't want to shine, it doesn't want to present itself, but it wants to live comfortably and cosily. It fulfils its demands with strict matter-of-factness (*Sachlichkeit*) and at the same time with a wealth of invention that is astonishing. Our furniture types were created at that time.<sup>399</sup>

It is interesting to see how Lux aligns *Bürgerlichkeit* and *Sachlichkeit* and immediately introduces the word *Möbeltypen*, to give the *Biedermeier* ethos a contemporary relevance.

Tessenow, in the opening chapter of *Hausbau und dergleichen* called 'Die gewerbliche Arbeit und das Bürgerliche' (Craft labour and middle class values), also addresses the appreciation of *Bürgerlichkeit* and tries to reflect on what *bürgerlich* means for contemporary society:

So for us today, the middle-class way of life, or rather craftsmanship, is of the greatest importance, we also acknowledge this importance of the middle class in particular. For example, simple diligence, seriousness, simple perseverance, love of order, cleanliness, etc. are of a very middle-class nature and yet are that which we now affirm in the highest degree of commonality.<sup>400</sup>

Tessenow makes no distinction between the house as such, the building elements and the furniture: he unites all this under the term *gewerbliche Arbeiten* (craft works). For him, it is the unifying strength of these works that is important:

Today we are obliged to search again and again for that which connects us with each other on a larger scale, or we are obliged to search again and again for that which we consider to be essential or to be simply necessary, and to hold on to it.<sup>401</sup>

The *Gewöhnlichkeit* of our houses, our interiors, and all the related *Sachen* is essential for Tessenow. He is quite outspoken regarding the role of art in the design of *Sachen* and, for instance, the uniformity of furniture:

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<sup>399</sup> 'Das Bürgertum schafft die Formen, die es braucht. Es will nicht glänzen, nicht präsentieren, sondern bequem und behaglich leben. Es erfüllt seine Forderungen mit strenger Sachlichkeit und zugleich mit einem Erfindungsreichtum, der erstaunlich ist. Unsere Möbeltypen wurden damals geschaffen.' See: Joseph August Lux. *Die Moderne Wohnung Und Ihre Ausstattung* (Wien: Wiener verlag, 1905), 8-9 (my translation).

<sup>400</sup> 'So hat für uns heute die bürgerliche Lebensart beziehungsweise das gewerbliche Arbeiten eine größte Wichtigkeit; diese Wichtigkeit des bürgerlichen anerkennen wir heute auch in besonderem Maße, zum Beispiel der einfache Fleiß, der Ernst, die einfache Ausdauer, die Ordnungsliebe, Sauberkeit, usw. sind sehr bürgerlicher Natur und sind doch dasjenige, das wir heute in größter Gemeinschaft bejahen.' See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 23 (my translation).

<sup>401</sup> 'wir sind heute hervorragend genötigt, immer wieder nach dem zu suchen, das uns im ganz Großen miteinander verbindet oder sind hervorragend genötigt, immer wieder zu suchen, das für uns ganz Wesentliche oder Einfach-Notwendige zu erkennen und festzuhalten' See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 25 (my translation).

Is it really worth complaining if you have pieces of furniture in your rooms that could just as well be in other people's rooms, or that really are in other people's rooms? As far as we are self-willed, we will also express this in our homes, in spite of the most ordinary factory furniture.<sup>402</sup>

It is not difficult to see in this quote from 1908 a foreshadowing of the Muthesius-Van der Velde Werkbund debate around the role of the artist in the *Kunstgewerbe* or *Gerwerbe* six years later.<sup>403</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> 'Ist es wirklich zu beklagen, wenn man in seinen Zimmern Möbel hat, die auch ebensogut in den Zimmern anderer Leute stehen könnten oder die wirklich auch in den Zimmern anderer Leute stehen? Soweit wir eigensinnig sind, werden wir das auch in unserer Wohnung zum Ausdruck bringen, trotz gewöhnlichster Fabrikmöbel.' See: Tessenow, 'Handwerkerarbeit und Fabrikarbeit. Auch eine Kritik der Naumannschen Ausstattungsbriefe' in: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Das Land in der Mitte* (2017), 89 (my translation).

<sup>403</sup> See for this debate and the *Werkbund*: Joan Campbell, *The German Werkbund: The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 57-81.

## Perspective drawings of *Sachen*

In the following paragraphs we will take a closer look at the role of the *Sache* in Tessenow's perspective drawings. Based on the way these are depicted in these drawings, the category of *Sache* includes building elements, fixed and moveable furniture pieces, and various loose furnishings and objects. The drawings brought together here are subdivided into three basic subcategories, not so much based on the type of the *Sache* that is represented, but on an increasing complexity of mutual visual interaction.

The first subcategory focusses on the single *Sache* with three different examples:

- A piece of furniture. The chair will serve as the first example, representing the moveable piece of furniture.

- An interior building element. Here we will take a look at the staircase, exemplifying a building element in the interior of the house.

- An exterior building element. The front door will be considered here, as an important representational building element situated on the outside of the house.

The second subcategory of drawings in this chapter will explore the mutual interaction of *Sachen*. The three examples presented in the previous subcategory are now combined with one or two other *Sachen* in newly formed sets.<sup>404</sup>

- An exterior set of *Sachen*. The first set that we will look at is a house entrance, consisting of a front door with a bench and a tree.

- An interior set of *Sachen*. This set is built up of a small staircase and a door, placed in a living room.

- A set made of pieces of furniture. Here we will take a closer look at a set consisting of a chair and table.

In the final subcategory of drawings different sets of *Sachen* will come together in a room. A set of chair and table or desk will be confronted with a variety of other *Sachen* so that various sets appear simultaneously.

Again, the previously discussed notions *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit* are used here to offer, each in their own way, a particular view on the category of *Sache*. Therefore, when looking at a number of Tessenow's drawings in which *Sachen* play an important role, we will again try to select the examples that show this *empfindliche*, *abstrakte* and a *gewöhnliche* focus. However, it is also important to keep in mind that in the case of *Sache*, perhaps more than with *Haus* and *Raum*, the three notions are so closely linked to each other that a strict distinction is difficult to make.

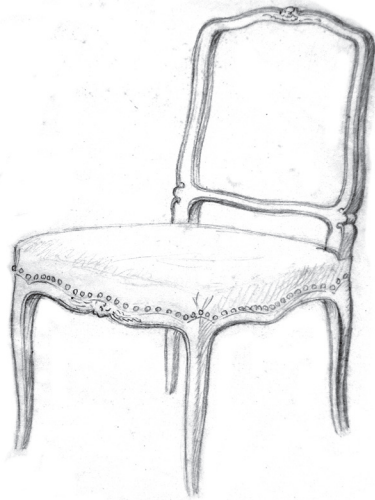
From traditions to modernity: The chair

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<sup>404</sup> The word 'set' refers here to 'a number of things naturally connected by location (..) or formation'. See: Gove & Webster (eds.), *Webster's Dictionary* (1971), 2078. In this case, 'set' is not limited to furniture sets, but also includes the combination of other *Sachen* such as building elements and loose furniture.



## From traditions to modernity: The chair

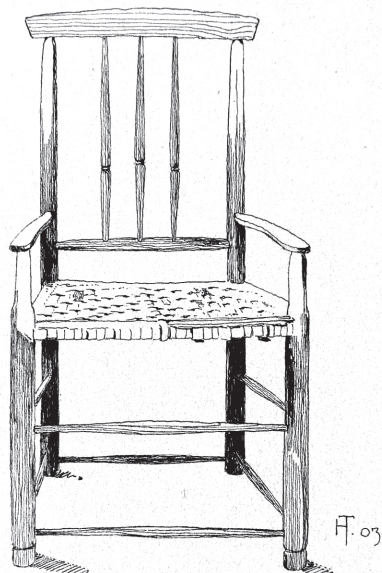


### **Stuhl mit Polstersitz und –lehne, c. 1925**

Source: Kunstbibliothek Berlin / Tessenow Archiv

*This upholstered dining chair has slightly curved legs that form an entity with the side and front rails. The back posts stick out from the upholstered seat. Nail heads follow the curves of the rails.*

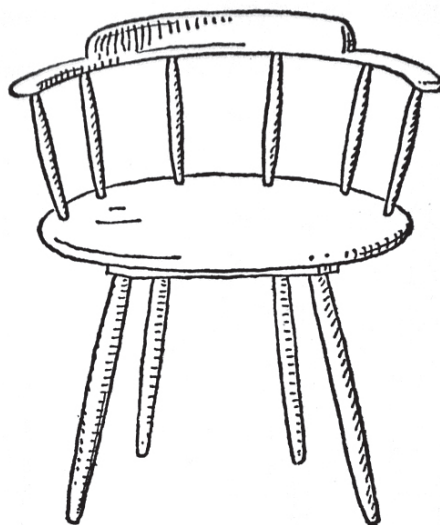
*The pencil drawing shows the profiling, a suggestion of central indentation in the back and the front rail and subtle shadow hatching*



### **Brautstuhl (aus dem hannoverschen Wendlande), 1903**

Source: Tessenow, 'Das Bauerndorf im hannoverschen Wendland' in: Leipziger Bauzeitung, Jg. 1906, Nr. 11

*A bridal chair was given as a wedding gift in certain areas in Germany. This particular chair has a simple round-wood frame and a rush-bottomed seat. The drawing shows the chair in a slightly off-centre central perspective with a relatively low viewpoint. There is an indication of material (wood) at the top of the back of the chair; the rear legs of the chair appear darker than those at the front (probably indicating painted decorations) and there is a hint of shadow near the feet of the legs.*



### **Armlehnstuhl, 1923**

Source: Kunstbibliothek Berlin / Tessenow Archiv

*Chair with a round seat and a round open back continuing in armrests, held up by six spindles. The seat is supported by four tapered legs. Tessenow proposes this chair in 1923 for his refurbishment of the rooms for the Deutsche Wollwarenmanufaktur in Grünberg (Silesia).*

*The chair is drawn using a central perspective view and a similar low viewpoint to that in the drawing of the bridal chair. There are subtle indications of shadow on the curved top rail, the seat and the legs, to reinforce the roundness of the various parts.*

Tessenow was particularly interested in chairs. Not only did he design quite a few, he also considered specific older chairs as concrete manifestations of a *bürgerliche* or *bäuerliche* tradition out of which he sought to develop a 'modern' chair. In his perspective drawings of chairs, his investigations into their formal language also makes clear how an awareness of the *bäuerliche* and the *bürgerliche* tradition coincides with a search for simplicity and pureness. In his writings, Tessenow often refers to chairs to illustrate his thoughts on design. In *Hausbau und dergleichen*, for instance, he describes the chair as a constellation of various parts and relates the *empfindliche* formal aspects of the chair to the assembly of its parts.<sup>407</sup>

The first drawing presented here is a sketch of a traditional-looking dining chair, hinting at a Louis XV or Queen Anne chair. Except for the back, it looks quite similar to a chair that Tessenow designed for a dining room and that appeared in the catalogue of the German firm Groschkus.<sup>408</sup> In its formal language, including the curved profiling and the subtle ornaments, the chair refers quite literally to an eighteenth-century middle-class *bürgerliche* tradition of highly crafted furniture making, where the various parts of the chair seemingly effortlessly merge together.

The second drawing shows a very different chair from a *bäuerliche* tradition. This is a *Brautstuhl* (wedding chair) that Tessenow had discovered on one of his hikes in the Wendland region in Lower Saxony. In the drawing, Tessenow ignores the painted decoration, often seen as the most remarkable feature of such a chair, but concentrates instead on the clear assembly of the chair parts. The round timber legs and stiles are mutually connected by spindles in a very clear and understandable way. As such, the drawing gives a clear expression of the tectonic structure of the chair.

The chair in the third perspective drawing is a design by Tessenow himself, clearly inspired by a low-back Windsor dining chair. Tessenow proposed this chair as part of the refurbishment of rooms for the *Deutsche Wollwarenmanufaktur* in Grünberg (1923). The chair builds on the straightforward tectonic expression of the *bäuerliche* chair, but in its main form backs away from a more *bürgerliche* reference. The circular wooden seat is emphasized and reinforced by the forms of its armrests and back, while the shape and angle of the legs mirror the spindles of the back.

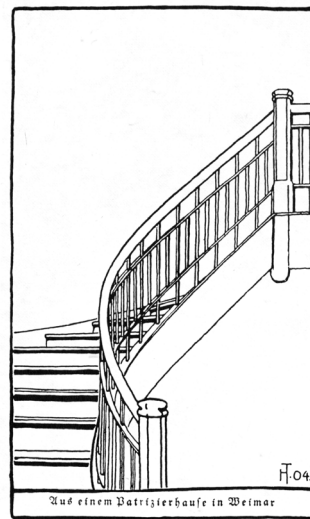
The three drawings together illustrate how Tessenow responded to both the *bäuerliche* and the *bürgerliche* tradition and how each of these responses introduces a different focus. In the dining chair the focus on the expressive *empfindliche* form of a traditional chair is clear. The drawing of the *Brautstuhl* points at both the elegance and at the *Abstraktion* that dominates this particular chair, by showing its clear and straightforward construction almost as a silhouette. The last chair in this series is an attempt to design a modern chair by assimilating both traditions. It unites the *Abstraktion* of the *bäuerliche* tradition of chair design with the more *bürgerliche Empfindung* of a coordinated visual form. In a long caption to this sketch addressed to the client, the *Wollwarenmanufaktur*, Tessenow praises not only its modesty and comfort, but especially its commonality: the fact that it will fit easily in various rooms. This last quality thus links the *Abstraktion* of this chair to uniformity and therefore to the notion of *Gewöhnlichkeit*. In the next three examples of *Sachen*, we will look again at Tessenow's interest in the aforementioned traditions, but this time applied to a fixed *Sache* in the interior, namely a staircase.

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<sup>407</sup> For instance in Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 60-63, 66-69 ; Tessenow, 'Handwerkerarbeit und Fabrikarbeit' in Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Das Land in der Mitte* (2017), 83 and 87

<sup>408</sup> See: Heinrich Tessenow and J. Groschkus, *Werkstätten für Möbel und Inneneinrichtungen. Tessenow-Katalog: Nach Alten Und Neuen Entwürfen Von Professor Heinrich Tessenow, Berlin*. Berlin, 1930.

## From Sache to Raum: The staircase

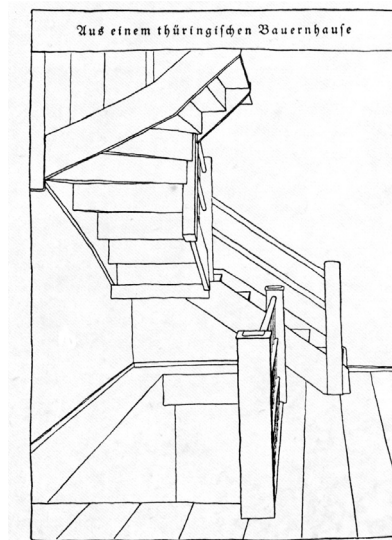


### **Aus einem Patrizierhause in Weimar, 1904**

Source: Tessenow, 'Die Ausbildung der Treppe und das Treppenhaus' in: *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, 1907<sup>408</sup>

This drawing of an existing curved staircase in a patrician house in Weimar mainly frames the handrail and the balustrade. It is shown as one of two illustrations that accompany a text by Tessenow on the design of staircases and stairwells.

The perspective uses a frontal view, in which the curved handrail holds a central position. Shadow is only drawn with a thick black line under the step nosings.

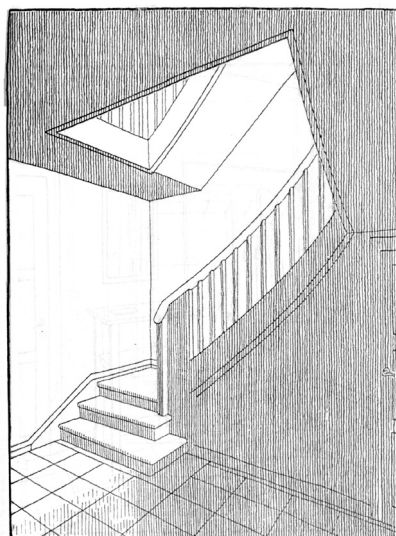


### **Aus einem thüringischen Bauernhause, b. 1907**

Source: Tessenow, 'Die Ausbildung der Treppe und das Treppenhaus' in: *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, 1907

This is the other of the two illustrations used in Tessenow's text on the design of stairs. It shows a very basic staircase, positioned in a corner of a space, that starts with a quarter landing and continues with a quarter winder.

The drawing shows the complicated carpentry of the underside of the staircase, with the treads and risers clamped between the strings.



### **Treppenhaus, b. 1916,**

Source: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, p. 11

This drawing is part of a series of perspective drawings that document a variety of interiors in a *städtisches Einfamilien-Doppelhaus* (semi-detached single-family house). Here, the stairwell with a double quarter landing is shown from the entrance hall. The two bottom steps that lead to the first landing are widened and a door is just visible under the second landing.

The stairwell is drawn in a very basic way with basic outlines. Continuous vertical hatching is used to indicate the shadows on the wall, the floor, the underside of the stairs, the risers of the bottom steps and the baluster.

<sup>408</sup> Unnumbered page. The illustration is reprinted in Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Das Land in der Mitte* (2017), 60

In general, staircases have a somewhat ambiguous character as they are situated somewhere between *Raum* and *Sache*.<sup>410</sup> This is visible in Tessenow's drawings of staircases.

The first two drawings shown here were used as independent illustrations in Tessenow's article 'Die Ausbildung der Treppe und des Treppenhauses' (The design of staircases and stairwells).<sup>411</sup> Two different staircases are depicted, again representing both the *bürgerliche* and the *bäuerliche* tradition that have affected Tessenow's designs.

In the top drawing, the elegance of a staircase in a patrician house in Weimar is shown by zooming in on the curved balustrade and its railing. By focussing on the handrail as the only part of the staircase that users will actually touch, Tessenow reinforces both a suggested haptic experience of holding the handrail and the visual experience of a curved line. While the elegance of this staircase is clearly suggested here, any indication of its construction remains invisible.

The drawing in the middle shows an existing staircase in a farmhouse in Thuringia. Unlike the drawing of the Weimar staircase, here Tessenow catches the complex construction of this rather crude platform staircase by showing mainly its rear. The drawing remains quite abstract, with no indication of shadows or materials, but mainly focussing on the assembly of the various parts.

While the first two drawings thus illustrate the *Sache*-like qualities of staircases, the final perspective in this series of three shows the spatial experience related to a stairwell and its use as a source of daylight. Seen from the entrance hall, only the first protruding steps of the stairs are visible, leaving the rest hidden behind the closed balustrade. The vertical shadow hatching suggests a window at the second landing, throwing light into the hall. Unlike the previous drawings, this one strongly emphasizes the important role that the stairwell can play as a space in the interior of the house. Fully integrated with this space, the stairs as such have dissolved here into the background, focussing all of the viewer's attention on the way daylight falls.

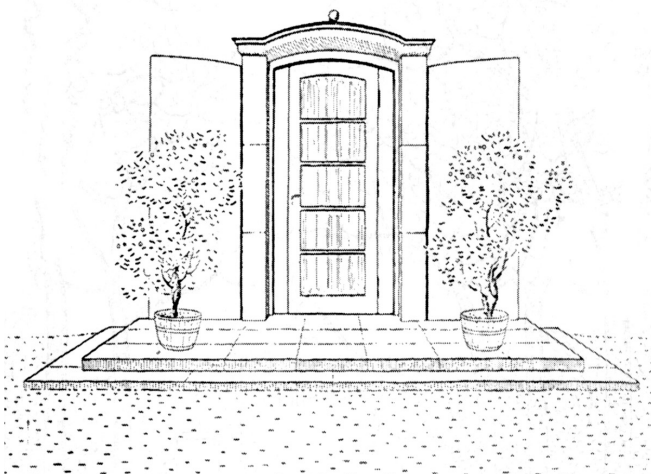
These three drawings of staircases demonstrate again how Tessenow carefully explores the formal qualities of both the *bürgerliche* and the *bäuerliche* tradition. Only after this exploration was Tessenow able to merge these two traditions and to arrive at a contemporary building element able to give expression to modernity. But these drawings also demonstrate something else: the strong ties between *Sache* and *Raum*. The aforementioned ambiguous character of the stairs is clearly illustrated in these drawings, showing in the third drawing how the diminishing presence of the stairs as *Sache* reinforces the spatial qualities of the stairwell. This interaction between *Sache* and *Raum* will also appear in the next example that we will look at.

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<sup>410</sup> Note how in the English language the word 'case' (*Sache* in German) is combined with 'stair'.

<sup>411</sup> Published in Tessenow, *Zimmermans-Arbeiten*, (1910) and reprinted in: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Das Land in der Mitte* (2017), 52-60

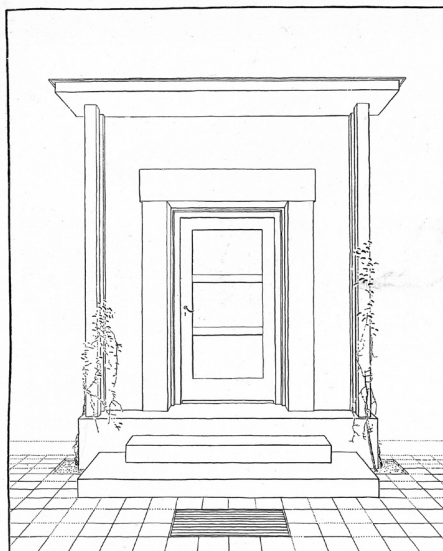
Sache as a condensation of Raum: The front-door



**Haustür, b. 1916**

Source: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, 139

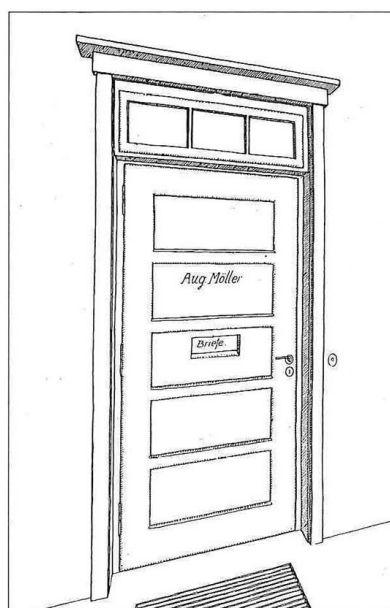
This drawing of a front door of a Gutsherrenhaus für Norddeutschland is accompanied in Tessenow's book by a horizontal section. The door is flanked by two unadorned stone pilasters, carrying an arched lintel with cornice profiling and a small ball in the middle. Two large shutters stand on either side, as do two potted shrubs on the stepped platform. The door, drawn in central perspective, shows the various frames and profiles in detail. No cast shadows are shown: only a subtle hatching indicates the shadowy sides of the lintel and the steps. The bottom line of the facade is not drawn, but suggested with a few dots.



**Haustür, b. 1916**

Source: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, 109

This panelled front door has an unadorned stone frame. A canopy, supported by four thin posts, is placed over a raised platform, reachable by two steps. A metal grille fits into a tiled surface in front of the steps. The central perspective reinforces the monumentality of the entrance, with the door itself as the main element and the various frames around it. Everything is drawn with simple outlines, leaving out any indication of shadow. Only the ivy climbing on the stilts is drawn in hesitating dashes. Incidental dotted lines also soften the strict grid of the tiles.



**Haustür, b. 1916**

Source: *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, p. 76

This panelled front door with transom window is most likely situated indoors, since a platform is missing. The framing of the door includes a protruding top rail, as some sort of cornice. All the additional parts, such as mail slot, lettering, doorhandle, escutcheon and doorbell are carefully drawn. In *Hausbau und dergleichen*, on the page opposite this perspective, working drawings of this door are shown with sections, elevations and details. The door is shown in an oblique perspective view. The recesses of the various parts that belong to the framing of the door are indicated by a dark diagonal hatching, while the more subtle recesses of the panelling are shown through a series of dashes.

In the previous chapter on *Raum*, we already looked at entrance spaces when discussing the threshold. The three drawings presented here will now zoom in on the front door as an illustration of the gradual development from *Raum* to *Sache*.

The front door depicted in the top image *Haustür, before 1916* belongs to a *Gutsherrenhaus* (country house) and is situated in its front facade as a solitary building element. Not so much the door itself, but mainly its stone frame with the ornamental gesture of the curved lintel contributes to the assumed dignity of the house, as does the space marked by a three-sided stepped platform in front of the door. This platform refers to a wider space in front of the house, contributing to the status of the country house.<sup>412</sup>

The second drawing depicts a front door of a middle-class semi-detached *Wohnhaus* in a more urban setting. The stone frame around the door is reiterated in a timber portico on a platform, giving a much stronger definition of the space in front of the door. Unlike the first drawing, where the front door itself seems unrelated to the wide representational space in front of it, in this second drawing the door becomes part of a smaller and more condensed set of *Sachen* that build up the entrance space. The grid of the paving stones reinforces the abstract formal language of this drawing.

Finally, the bottom image shows how all the representational gestures that need to be addressed by the entrance of the house are now condensed in the design of a front door and its frame.

As part of Tessenow's broader investigation of the transformation of the house entrance in the setting of the *KleinStadt*, the drawing of this front door shows how the elaborate house entrance has culminated in a highly compressed version of a doorframe, representing both portico and cornice, that draws all attention to the front door itself.

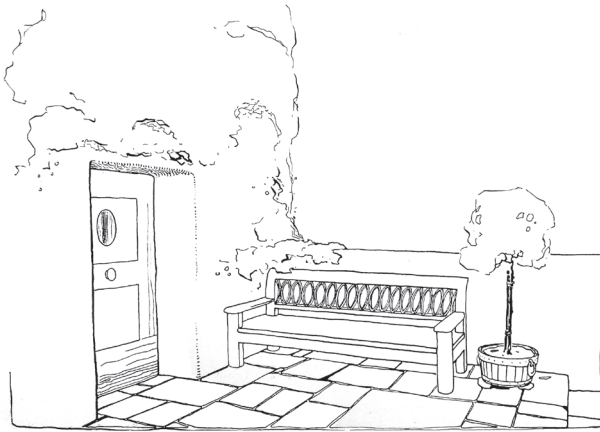
This door is a *Sache* that, in turn, contains a series of other, smaller *Sachen* assembled on it: doorhandle, keyhole, doorbell, and mail slot. Form and expression of both the door and these smaller objects do not so much follow from an intended artistic expression, but are straightforward and *sachlich*, derived from a *gewöhnliche* building tradition.

The three drawings of front doors show how the more dense spatial conditions of the *KleinStadt* and the *Kleinwohnung* influence not only the public and private spaces around and in the house, but also affect threshold spaces, such as the entrance. While the third drawing shows how the *Raum* of the entrance is condensed into the front door, most of the time Tessenow tries to balance the dominant role of a single *Sache* vis-à-vis the *Raum* by introducing other *Sachen* in the drawing in order to create a set, as we will see in the next examples.

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<sup>412</sup> See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 51-53

A set at the entrance: Front door with bench and tree



**Hauseingang, Haus auf der Höhe, 1904**

Source: Tessenow, 'Haus auf der Höhe' in: Bautechnische Zeitschrift XX (1905), Nr 3, Beilage,

The entrance door to this house, which we have already encountered in the chapter on 'Haus', faces a terrace. The recessed door is surrounded by lush ivy. A bench and a small potted tree are placed against a low wall that runs perpendicular to the facade. A landing of a few steps can be seen on the right side. The bench, placed on a detailed drawn pattern of tiles, is positioned in the middle of the image frame.

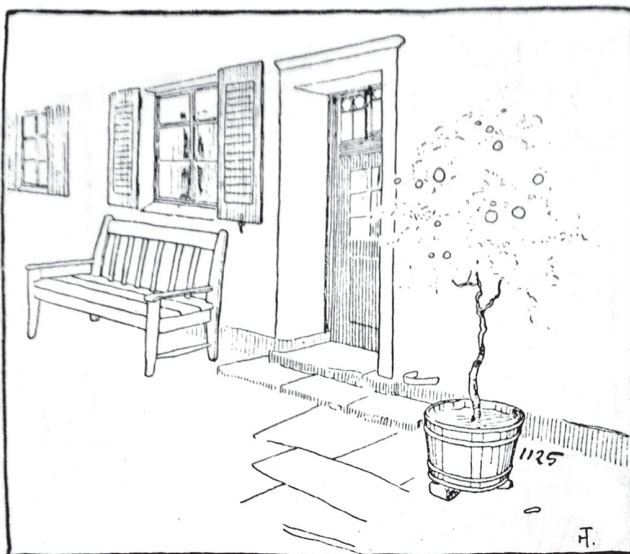


**Eingang zu einem ländlichen Wohnhause, 1906**

Source: J(ohannes) M(umbauer), 'Vom "Landhause"', in: Trierisches Jahrbuch für ästhetische Kultur, 1908, 121 <sup>412</sup>

The front door of this Landhaus is flanked by two small windows under a cornice-like protrusion. It sits in the corner where a garden wall meets the front facade. The bench is placed with its back to the garden wall, and shares a low platform made of large paving stones with the entrance door, immediately next to it. An apple tree is placed on the other side of the bench.

The bench is positioned exactly in the middle of the drawing, while the door next to it is only indicated by a vertical hatching that continues in the plinth of the facade and the garden wall. A substantial part of the drawing is reserved for the crown of the tree, drawn with dashes and scribbles.



**Hauseingang und Holzbank, 1904**

Source: 'Hauseingang und Holzbank' in: Der Bauzeichner, Nr 40, 1908, Beilage

The drawing shows a recessed front door. A low stone step leads to the stone doorsill. The door itself has a transom window with a built-in lantern. On the right side, the door is flanked by a small potted tree, while a bench is placed on the other side, below a shuttered window.

The perspective construction of the front door with its transom looks a bit clumsy, giving a misleading idea of the proportion of this door of which the elevation and section are drawn in scale below the perspective. The drawing contains no shadows, but the dark colour of the front door is indicated through vertical hatching.

<sup>412</sup> The drawing is reprinted in Tessenow, *der Wohnhausbau* (1909), Tafel 36 as 'Landhaus an der Ruhr'

In the three drawings presented here, Tessenow begins to explore how various *Sachen*, when brought together in a drawing, are able to become a set. As already mentioned before, a set of *Sachen* consists of a number of objects in a specific configuration that are somehow related. In Tessenow's case, sets are not limited to pieces of furniture, but can also include building elements and loose furnishings.<sup>414</sup> In these three drawings, Tessenow investigates a particular set of *Sachen*, namely a front door with an outdoor bench and a (potted) tree.

In the perspective drawing of the entrance of 'Haus auf der Höhe' (1904), the bench holds a central position, flanked by the front door on the left and the potted tree on the right. Together with the balustrade and the floor of the terrace, this set of three *Sachen* defines a space that mediates between the exterior and the interior of the house. In the previous chapter on *Raum*, we encountered similar spaces such as the niche or the pergola; in this case the *Raum* of the entrance is no longer defined by such spatial prototypes, but now depends on the positioning and visual interaction of the *Sachen*.

In *Eingang zu einem ländlichen Wohnhause* (1906), the central role of the bench in defining the entrance space is even more emphasized. While *Haus auf der Höhe* still offered a raised terrace near the front door, this space has now been reduced to a small platform that offers a podium to the bench, diminishing the role of the front door. In the drawing, the door is only visible as an inconspicuous stripe, drawn remarkably like the tree on the other side of the bench.

In the final drawing, *Hauseingang und Holzbank* (1904), the importance of the bench is already indicated by its title (house entrance and wooden bench). Contrary to the previous two examples, the entrance of this *Kleinwohnung* lies immediately on the sidewalk, leaving less room for an elaborate transition from outside to inside. Bench and potted tree now simply flank the front door as a line-up of *Sachen* that both represent the *Kleinwohnung* and compensate its missing front garden. This particular set also defines the narrow space between the domestic interior and the public realm of the street, as some sort of condensed threshold.

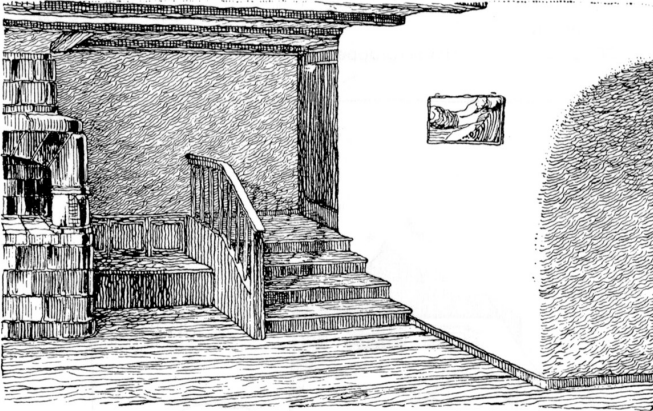
The entrance with its front door, bench and tree forms an important representational part of the house. However, Tessenow's exploration of how various *Sachen* come together in a set is not limited to this area. Especially in the interior of house, not only the amount of *Sachen* but also their proximity increases and the need to investigate how one *Sache* relates to another thus becomes more urgent.

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<sup>414</sup> See also the paragraph called 'Perspective drawings of *Sachen*', earlier in this chapter.



## Out of the shadow: Staircase with door



### Zimmer in Haus IV in Reihenhäuser für Kleinbürger und Arbeiter, 1903

Source: 'Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder', Bautechnische Zeitschrift, XIX (1904), Nr 20, Beilage

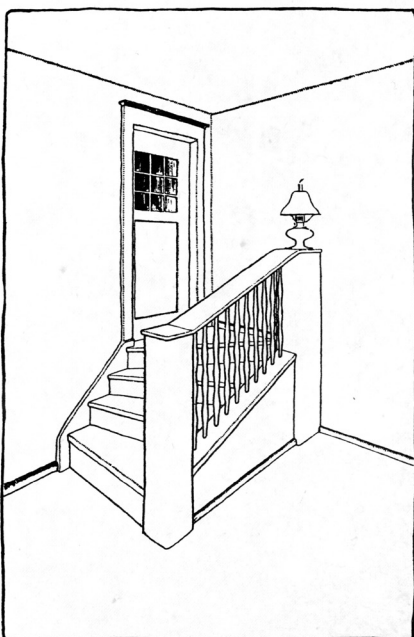
The drawing shows the corner of living room, where three steps lead to a platform in front of a door. Behind the door, the stairs will continue to the upper floor. On the left side, a tiled stove is visible, while an arched niche can be seen on the right, leading to a hall and kitchen according to the floorplan. Material expressions are visible in the reflecting surfaces of the stove tiles, the rendered walls and the ceiling beams, but also in the stairs and in the darker wood of the door. Cast shadows are drawn of the stove and the balustrade of the stairs.



### Treppe Becker Haus, 1905

Source: Tessenow, 'Freistehendes Einfamilienhaus für Herrn Bankier J. Becker, Dörlau bei Halle A.S.' in: Der Baumeister, IV (1906), Nr 6, Tafel 46

This winder stair, situated in an arched niche of a large room, leads to a door. Door and staircase seem to be well integrated: the frame around the door continues into the stringer of the stairs. The balustrade with its relatively thick balusters is placed against the pilaster from which the arch springs. Behind the arch, four steps lead up to the door, which has three small windows with a diamond pattern.



### Treppenstudie, c. 1907

Source: Tessenow, Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 21

This drawing is an adaptation of the staircase drawing for the Becker house in Dörlau. The changes concern the removal of the pilaster and arch, the windows and panel in the door, an ornamental line at the top of the newels, the undulating form of the balusters and an oil lamp sitting on the railing

The original drawing and the adapted version show a clear outline style, without any material expression or indication of shadows.

These three drawings show a similar configuration of a small staircase leading to a platform with a door, situated in the corner of a living room. The floorplans accompanying the first two perspectives reveal how the doors lend access to more stairs that lead to the upper floor.<sup>415</sup>

With this in mind, it is possible to speculate on what Tessenow wanted to express with this combination of stairs and door. While the door closes off the staircase to the upper floor, the small platform with the three steps helps to fit the staircase into a tight floor plan. However, the set of staircase and door also provide a representation of this upper floor, similar to the way the entrance to the house is represented by a platform with a front door, a bench and a tree.

In the drawing *Zimmer in Haus IV* (1903), Tessenow brings the two *Sachen*, staircase and door, together in a set that sits in a corner of the room, similar to the way other elements, such as a stove, a fixed bench or an arched niche can be found on the perimeter of the room.<sup>416</sup> This perimeter thus binds together a series of spatial fragments and *Sachen*, showing an outspoken material expression and a clear relation with either light or shadow.

The second drawing shows the stairs in one of the rooms of a single-family house that Tessenow had designed for the banker J. Becker in Dörlau bei Halle. This time the stairs have a triangular landing and, according to the floorplan, a much more complicated and cramped staircase behind the door.<sup>417</sup> The staircase is pushed behind a structural arch with a pilaster that visually interferes with the balustrade. The drawing demonstrates the radical change in the representation of *Sachen* that Tessenow explored in these years. Instead of showing shadows and material expressions, as in the previous drawing, the focus is now on the clear outlines of stairs, balustrade and door.

The drawing of this staircase returns in an adjusted version as an example of a staircase in Tessenow's *Zimmermannsarbeiten* of 1907.<sup>418</sup> Interestingly, Tessenow has now removed the pilaster and arch that in the previous drawing visually interfered with the set of stairs and door. By erasing the arch and the pilaster, Tessenow is able to create a better focus on the set of *Sachen* and their interaction. Besides some minor alterations to the stairs and the door, Tessenow also adds an oil lamp on the right side of the image and widens the picture frame for a better balance in the visual composition.

The three drawings presented here not only show *Sachen* tied together into one set, but also Tessenow's ongoing pursuit of 'purity', for a strict visual coordination of these *Sachen*. Basically, Tessenow applies two different strategies here. First, he integrates the two building elements, a staircase and its railing and a door, into one set. And second, he then prefers to isolate this set from what surrounds it, in order to prevent formal contamination by other building parts.<sup>419</sup> This 'purification' not only affects Tessenow's perspective drawings, but also his design of furniture, as can be seen in the various sets of chairs and table that he has drawn.

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<sup>415</sup> See: Wangerin & Weiss, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1976), 175

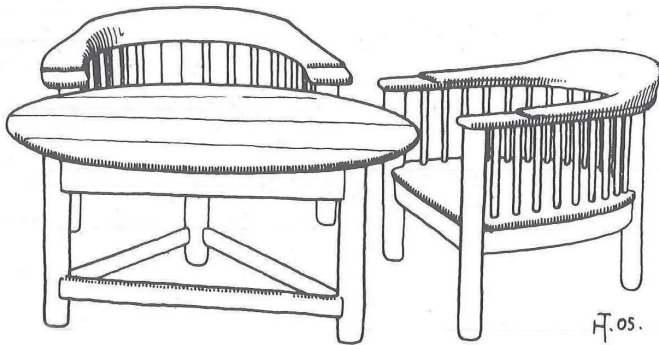
<sup>416</sup> See also the drawing *Reihenhäuser für Kleinbürger und Arbeiter*, 1903, described in the section 'Uniformity and individual distinction: Row housing in an urban setting' in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

<sup>417</sup> See for the floorplan: De Michelis (1991), p. 171

<sup>418</sup> See: Tessenow, *Zimmermannsarbeiten* (1907), Blatt 21

<sup>419</sup> Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 59-65

## Affinity of shapes: Chairs with table



### Gartenstühle mit Tisch, 1905

Source: Tessenow, *Wohnhausbau*, 1909, Tafel 28 <sup>419</sup>

The drawing shows a three-legged round table with two three-legged easy chairs. The chairs appear to have some sort of padded arm- and backrests. The legs are rather firm and continue from floor to armrest. Thinner spindles are placed between seat and armrests. The tabletop is supported by a triangular frame, carried by three cylinder-shaped legs that appear to have the same size as those of the chairs. The legs are connected at their bottom by a smaller triangular frame. <sup>420</sup>

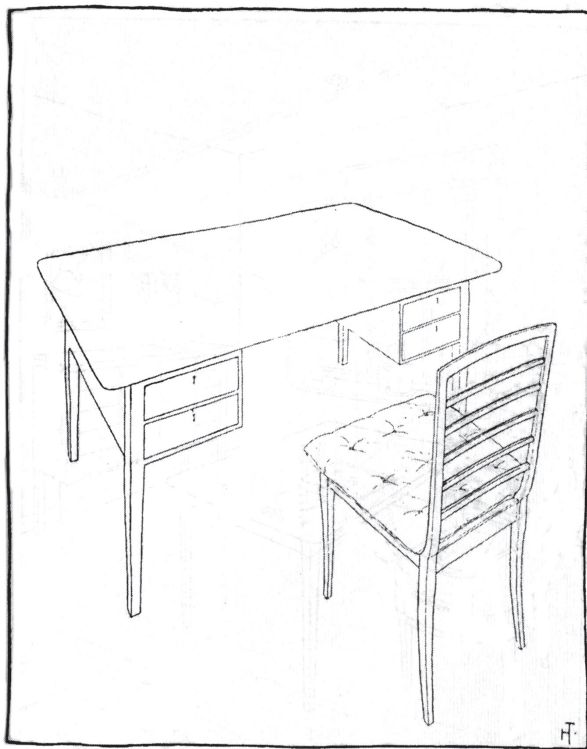
The furniture pieces are drawn in outline, with short dashes to indicate the rounded edges and the shadows of the padded parts on the armrests.

### Ein anderer Herrenschreibtisch, b. 1916

Source: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, 113

The drawing is part of a series of perspective drawings that document a variety of interiors for a single-family house. In this case an alternative desk and chair for a man's study is presented, while on the opposite page, the full interior of the man's study with a different desk and chair is depicted. See: *Aus dem Herrenzimmer* (1916). The table has two sets of drawers below the tabletop. According to the caption to this drawing in *Hausbau und dergleichen*, this top is fully covered with leather. <sup>421</sup> The chair has slightly curved legs that continue in the back stiles. Horizontal mid-rails are placed between the stiles. The seat has a padded cushion.

Chair and desk are drawn in outline, with a careful depiction of all of their different parts. The difference in material expression between the furniture and the padded cushion is suggested by subtle line variations.



<sup>419</sup> This drawing shown at the bottom of 'Tafel 28' is also described by Strey under nr. 236 (M7/29). See: Strey, *Die Zeichnungen von Heinrich Tessenow* (1981), 45 and 91.

<sup>420</sup> Another perspective sketch of a similar, smaller table, including measured drawings, is also shown in 'Zwei Gartenhäuser' *De Bauzeichner* VIII (1909), Nr 10, 106

<sup>421</sup> The description in brackets below the caption states that 'die Platte ist mit Leder überzogen' See: Tessenow, *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916), 113

These two perspectives illustrate how Tessenow investigated the forms of a table and a chair. By showing similar pieces of furniture in two different situations, both drawings lend insight into his ideas on *Sauberkeit* and the 'affinity of shapes' that we encountered in the paragraph on *Sache* and *Abstraktion* earlier in this chapter.

In the drawing *Gartenstühle mit Tisch* (1905), the affinity between the shapes of chairs and table is visible on different levels. In regard to the main forms, it is clear that the round tabletop reappears in the semi-circular seats and curved backs of the easy chairs. Looking at the construction of table and chairs, both show a three-legged support. On a more detailed level, there are also analogies such as the similar size of the legs of both table and chairs, and the way these legs continue, uninterrupted by stretchers or aprons, from the underside of tabletop and armrests to the floor. At the same time, chairs and table also remain formally independent; they 'stand on their own' and can be applied with other furniture.

In *Ein anderer Herrenschreibtisch* (before 1916), the relatively thin legs of desk and chair immediately establish a visual link between the two pieces of furniture, while the protruding tabletop also returns in the padded chair cushion. Tessenow makes an effort here to control the visual interference when chair and desk show overlapping forms, as can be seen in the horizontal rails in the chair's back. These rails make a subtle visual link with the two drawers below the tabletop and thus can be regarded as an elaboration of diagram 16 that Tessenow used as an illustration in *Hausbau und dergleichen*.<sup>423</sup>

In both drawings, chairs and tables are depicted as isolated figures, responding to each other's forms. Each *Sache* has a certain formal independence but at the same time, Tessenow seeks to establish subtle visual congruencies between the two *Sachen*, thereby using the perspective drawing as a testing tool. According to what Tessenow writes in *Hausbau und dergleichen*, there should be an equivalence between the forms of the various *Sachen*, not based on one coordinating stylistic regime but on the avoidance of 'impure' overlapping forms when the *Sachen* are seen together. This leads to a search for an affinity of shapes. However, if the moveable *Sachen* are no longer drawn as isolated objects or sets, but brought together with others in a room, the strategy of isolation and formal affinity becomes more complicated, not only because each set will contain more *Sachen*, but also because the various sets will start to visually interact in the relatively small space of the room.

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<sup>423</sup> See: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 61

## How sets of *Sachen* constitute the interior: Chair and desk in a room



### Schreibtisch mit Stuhl, c. 1913

Source: *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, p. 115

A simple upholstered chair stands in front of a secretaire, with the desk folded out. Some pens and a sheet of paper are visible below the recessed shelves inside the secretaire. Below the opened desk, there are three main drawers, and on top of the secretaire we see a small box, a little puppet and a branch in a glass. A picture of a house facade hangs above this piece of furniture.

Secrétaire, chair and all the other *Sachen* are drawn carefully in detailed clear outline. The chair is slightly turned towards the viewer.

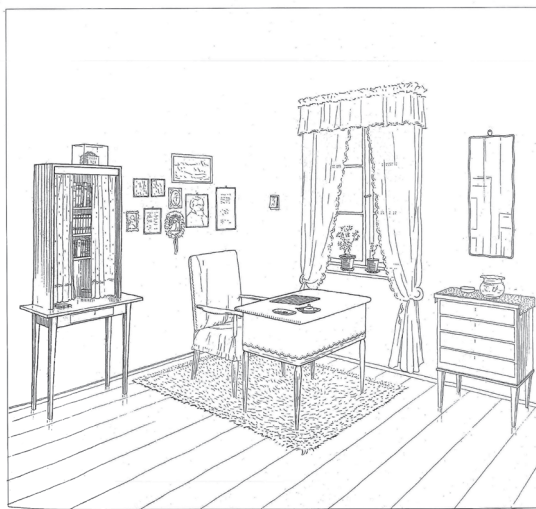


### Schreibtisch mit Stuhl aus einem Herrenarbeitszimmer, c. 1913

Source: *Profanbau XV* (1919) Nr. 9/10, p. 88; W. Mackowsky 'Heinrich Tessenow'

The drawing shows an almost identical secretaire, but this time with a different chair and now placed in front of a window with draped net curtains. A potted plant sits on a round side table in front of the window. On top of the secretaire, the same objects as in the previous image reappear, including the picture, but now in a different format and showing a landscape.

There is a difference in the way the furniture pieces and other solid *Sachen* are drawn, if compared with the curtains and the seat of the chair. The first show clear outlines, while the others are drawn with a thinner, often interrupted line.



### Aus dem Wohnzimmer, c. 1917

Source: *Profanbau*, 1919<sup>423</sup>

The perspective shows a corner of a living room. In front of a window with draped net curtains, we see an armchair and a small desk with writing materials. Two pieces of furniture flank the desk and chair: on the left, a side table with a bookcase on it, and on the right a low dresser with a mirror above it. Smaller furnishings are added to this scene: a carpet under the desk, flowerpots on the windowsill, a day calendar next to the window, various pictures on the wall behind the chair and a fishbowl on the dresser. In this drawing, the delineations of the room have disappeared and the *Sachen* come to the fore. Material expression is visible in various textile surfaces, such as the carpet, the curtains and the cover of the chair.

<sup>423</sup> According to De Michelis, this drawing is most likely related to Tessenow's designs for the Kriegersiedlung Rähnitz, near Dresden. See: De Michelis, *Heinrich Tessenow* (1991), 69.

The increasing visual complexity that follows from bringing together various *Sachen* in an interior is well illustrated by these three drawings of a desk and a chair. The first drawing *Schreibschrank mit Stuhl* (1916) shows a chair in front of a secretaire. Contrary to the previous drawings of chairs and tables, small details such as the knickknacks on top of the secretaire or the small picture suggests an interior situation. Chair, secretaire and picture thus form a set: overlapping forms are avoided, and there is a clear affinity of shapes between the chair and the secretaire, for instance with the legs, or a formal congruence between the back of the chair and the drawers of the secretaire, and even between the small panels of the cupboard inside the secretaire and the picture above it.

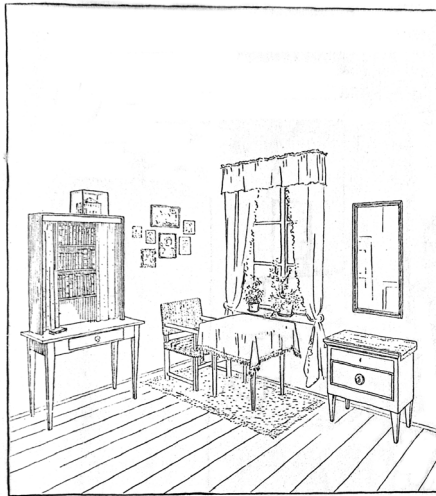
In the second drawing, *Schreibtisch mit Stuhl aus einem Herrenzimmer* (1916), an almost similar secretaire has a very different chair in front of it. Secretaire and chair are now complemented with a window and a potted plant on a round side table. Tessenow introduces here two sets of *Sachen*: one that consists of secretaire and picture, another formed by the window, the potted plant and the chair. In this last set, the affinity of shapes, visible in the congruence between round side table and the semi-circular top rail of the chair, is complemented by an affinity of material expression, as can be seen in case of the luxuriant curtains around the window and the upholstered seat of the chair. In the third drawing, *Wohnzimmer* (c. 1917), the desk is replaced with a separate small table in the centre of the image. The use of this table is represented by the writing gear placed on the table top. Although this piece of furniture looks slightly different from the other pieces surrounding it, there are also similarities, such as the relatively thin legs of the furniture and their abstract panelling and construction. Looking carefully at the composition of the *Sachen* in this interior, we notice how sets are formed by the way specific objects relate to each other. In this drawing, we are able to distinguish three separate sets. The chair, desk, window, carpet and pictures behind the chair are one set. All these *Sachen* are aligned, reinforced by the position of the carpet. At the same time, the various textile coverings create a material congruence. While this first set of *Sachen* occupies the centre of the image, the other set consists of the two pieces of furniture that flank the first set: the side table (with drawer) and the sideboard with a similar height and tapered legs that are visually connected. The final set is formed by the window and the mirror, as potential sources of light and as *Sachen* that will attract the view. One could also argue that the bookcase, with small curtains behind the glass doors, belongs to this set.

After looking at a number of Tessenow's perspective drawings of interiors, the question arises whether the visual coordination of the *Sachen* in related sets is a convincing strategy to address the domestic interior. Surely, each *Sache* finds its place and its relation to both the other *Sachen* and to the *Raum* in which it sits. Even in the third perspective drawing, which shows a room full of furniture, the expression of *wohnen*, and its *Zweckgesinnung*, is still limited.<sup>426</sup> In the last drawings of *Sachen* that we will consider in this chapter, we will stick with the chair and table in a living room, but take a closer look at Tessenow's attempts to tackle the complicated issue of how to depict *wohnen* in a perspective drawing.

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<sup>426</sup> For an explanation of *Zweckgesinnung* see the previous chapter on *Raum*

## The looming shade of a departed person: Table and chair in a room



### Ecke eines Wohnzimmers, c. 1921

Source: Tessenow, 'Vier Zeichnungen' in: *Kunst und Künstler*, XXIV, (1926) Nr 2, 51

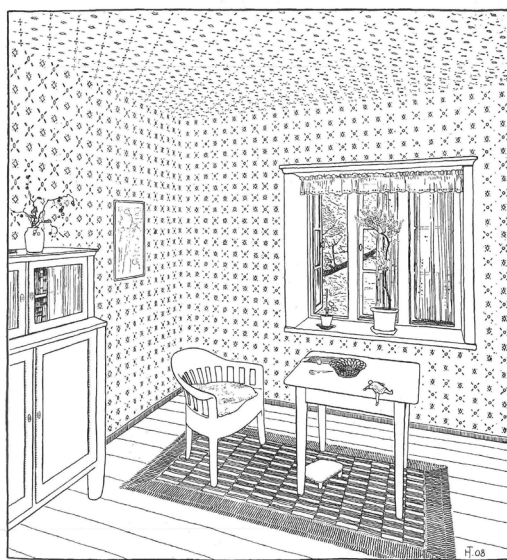
This perspective is almost identical to *Wohnzimmer c. 1917*, showing a similar arrangement of furniture pieces and loose furnishing near a window. The differences are subtle and suggest less focus on the use of this corner as a study, since the desk has been replaced by a simple square table. The chair in this drawing has a lower back and appears more simple. The dresser next to the window now holds only two drawers, of which the larger has a more prominent handle. The mirror above it has slightly different proportions, as is also the case with the side table on which the bookcase rests.



### Aus dem Herrenzimmer, b. 1916

Source: *Hausbau und dergleichen*, 1916, p. 112

The drawing shows a man's study, with on the opposite page in *Hausbau und dergleichen* an alternative for the desk and its chair. The central pieces of furniture in this drawing are the desk and the chair. On the desk we see an inkpot, writing gear and papers; in the curved-back chair with armrests there is a cushion. One wall has a window, with two small plants on the windowsill, while a cupboard is placed against the other wall. There is a formal similarity between desk, cupboard and chair, visible in the relatively high legs, for instance. The interior is drawn in outline, with no indication of shadows. The delineations of the room are drawn with a single line. An interrupted line suggests a textile fabric used for the curtains and the lampshade.



### Wohnzimmer, 1908

Source: De Michelis, 1991, p. 41<sup>426</sup>

This drawing also shows the corner of a living room with a window. There is a cupboard on the left, with a low bookcase on it, and a square table with an easy chair on a carpet. The net curtains in the window are now hung inside the window frame and are therefore less visible. One of the windows is open and offers a view of the branches of a tree. Most notable in this image is the wallpaper that covers both the walls and the ceiling.

The attention given to the detailed drawings of the loose furnishings, such as the cushion in the chair, the puppet, the sewing basket, the vase and flowers on the bookcase and the books inside this case is remarkable. The furniture pieces are relatively robust and drawn with plain outlines, with only tiny hatches indicating rounded edges.

<sup>426</sup> According to a photocopy in the Tessenow Archive / Kunstbibliothek Berlin this drawing was published in *Das Werk*, Leipzig, Jg. 1909

As we have seen, a careful arrangement of *Sachen* in sets cannot fully give expression to *wohnen*. These last three perspective drawings show how Tessenow experiments with the suggestion of the presence of an inhabitant, without literally drawing this person. The first drawing *Ecke eines Wohnzimmers* (c. 1921) shows an arrangement that is almost identical to the drawing *Wohnzimmer* (c. 1917), discussed in the previous paragraph. Both drawings illustrate the consistency in Tessenow's design thinking, entailing a careful arrangement of various *Sachen* in series of sets that relate to each other in a subtle formal and material congruence, while at the same time the *Sachen* remain independent and interchangeable.

The table and chair form the centre of the perspective, as the main hinge between the different sets. In the perspectival construction of this drawing, the viewpoint, and thus the viewer, holds a distance to the scene.

The second drawing, *Aus dem Herrenzimmer* (before 1916), also shows a small table with a chair. While for Tessenow pieces of furniture are relatively independent and interchangeable, a set will only remain intact as long as the *Sachen* inside this set have an affinity of shapes or of material expression. In this case, the chair, table, lamp and sideboard form one set and the large pieces of furniture are visually congruent. At the same time, visual coordination also works with the suggested materials: the wood of the furniture returns in the window frame and the textile shade of the lamp in the curtains.

However, there are now also some subtle changes in this drawing compared with *Ecke eines Wohnzimmers*. First, the viewpoint is drawn a bit closer to the table, changing the perception of both chair and table and thus reinforcing the impression of an approach. Further, the loose furnishings, such as the pictures on the wall, the book on the sideboard and the writing gear on the table deviate from the strict alignment of the main *Sachen* in the set, suggesting an inhabitation of the room.

In *Wohnzimmer* (1908), chair and table return, forming an evident set with the window. All three *Sachen* are drawn 'blank', with a clear outline, emphasising abstraction. At the same time, the 'secondary' *Sachen*, such as cushion, sewing kit, puppet and the expressive carpet, are drawn in detail and are thus distinguished from the main pieces of furniture. The window and the cupboard and the bookcase on top of it also form a set: there is a clear visual relation between the window, its curtains and the plants on the windowsill on the one hand, and the bookcase with its glass doors with curtains and the vase on top on the other. Small details, such as the cornice that both *Sachen* share, also confirm this idea. Clearly, Tessenow continues his visual coordination that we have discussed before. But in this drawing he also introduces something else. The chair is pulled out from under the table and turned towards the viewer. Together with the informal positioning of the loose *Sachen* on the table, and the footrest under it, these adjustments help to engage the viewer. In this drawing, Tessenow is able to evoke the 'shade of a departed person', to repeat a phrase introduced by Schmarsow that we already encountered in the chapter on *Raum*.<sup>428</sup> At the same time, Tessenow introduces a redundant indication of the representation of *Raum* here, this time not by showing the delineations of the room, but its surfaces: the patterned wallpaper that covers both walls and ceiling. Compared with the drawings in the previous paragraph, the abstraction of the furniture pieces is now set against a repetitive ornamental pattern that indicates the three surfaces of the corner of the room. Tessenow thus avoids strict delineations while at the same time creating a stronger illusion of space.

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<sup>428</sup> See '*Raum and Empfindung*' in the previous chapter on *Raum*



## The representation of *Sache* in Tessenow's perspective drawings

In the broad definition of *Sache* that we have applied here, not only pieces of furniture and loose furnishings are contained in this category, but also smaller building elements. Only a small selection of such *Sachen* is discussed in this chapter, showing how each time one of the notions *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit* is emphasized in Tessenow's drawings.

A number of the selected perspective drawings depict single *Sachen*. In their design and representation, Tessenow draws upon two of the same traditions that we already encountered in the chapter on *Haus*. The first of these is the *bürgerliche* tradition, closely linked to Tessenow's interest in contemporary *Handwerk* (crafts) as a social and cultural force, and firmly related to the *Kleinstadt*.<sup>429</sup> The other source for Tessenow is the vernacular *bäuerliche* tradition, which also contains elements of realism and *Sachlichkeit*.<sup>430</sup> While the *bürgerliche* tradition shows a stronger focus on form, visible in the upholstered dining room chair or the drawing of the handrail of the existing Weimar house, the *bäuerliche* tradition seems to emphasize construction and making, as can be seen in the drawing of the *Brautstuhl* (wedding chair) or the staircase in a *Thüringisches Bauernhaus* (Thuringian farmhouse). Out of the synthesis of these two traditions, Tessenow tries to distil a *sachlich*, modern design.

For Tessenow, the issue of visual coordination is important, understood as a compositional strategy that prioritizes the visual perception of various smaller elements. Perspective drawings offer him the best opportunities to investigate this coordination. This is visible in drawings of individual *Sachen*, such as a chair or a front door. Each individual single *Sache* consists of a series of separate, smaller parts. The way these parts are both separated and at the same time joined together, is for Tessenow essentially a matter of visual coordination.

When two *Sachen* are brought together, the situation becomes more complex. Now, it is no longer the visual coordination of the various parts of one *Sache* that has to be taken into account, but also the visual interaction of two or more *Sachen*.<sup>431</sup> In the case of fixed furniture or building elements, such as an outdoor bench, a front door and a tree, Tessenow manages to carefully relate in his perspectives one *Sache* to the other. In the case of moveable *Sachen*, such as furniture, this is different, even in the frozen setting of a perspective drawing. Bringing together two movable pieces of furniture complicates the visual coordination, since the way these two pieces will visually interact is not entirely predictable and will introduce a certain formal unpredictability in the way forms overlap. Tessenow illustrates this in *Hausbau und dergleichen* by drawing a table next to the chair. The way the chair and table visually interact is investigated in a diagrammatic perspective drawing of both pieces. According to Tessenow, their visual interaction immediately influences the design of both the chair and the table. Tessenow explores these visual interactions both in situations that suggest a concrete setting, such as the front door with bench and tree, but also in isolated settings with no apparent context: the perspective drawing allows him to easily switch from one mode to the other.

The visual coordination needed for the design of a single chair only increases when the chair is pushed under the table, and will increase further when other pieces of furniture or building elements

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<sup>429</sup> In sociological terms, *Bürgertum* contains all those classes and professions that do not fit into the categories nobility, clergy, farmers and workers: besides *Handwerk* also trade, liberal professions, entrepreneurs and civil servants. See: Rainer Lepsius, 'Zur Soziologie des Bürgertums und der Bürgerlichkeit', in: Kocka Jürgen (ed.), *Bürger Und Bürgerlichkeit Im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 79-100. For Tessenow's interest in contemporary *Handwerk* see also: Böll, *Heinrich Tessenow. Handwerk und Kleinstadt* (2013)

<sup>430</sup> See for *Sachlichkeit* in rural areas also: Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918*, (1998), 220

<sup>431</sup> In this case, visual interaction pertains to the perception of the interplay of the forms of two or more *Sachen*, both in a straightforward and in a more indirect way.

enter the scene. In his perspective drawings, Tessenow investigates how such a coordination can be applied in a domestic interior.

In order to do so, Tessenow creates 'sets' of the main *Sachen*, such as window, door, table, chair, bed and sideboard, in varying combinations. Each set consists of a limited number of building elements and pieces of furniture that are coordinated according to their position, often aligned or organized along a local symmetry axis in the limited space of a room in a *Kleinwohnung*. Each set is relatively independent of other sets, but often there are also formal gestures that appear in various *Sachen*, such as tapered legs and cornices, that tie them together.

When other elements, such as curtains and lampshades, introduce specific materials that appear in various sets, material congruency will also bind sets together.

Finally, Tessenow draws loose furnishings such as plants, bowls, pictures, utensils and books in these sets, not only to interrupt the strict formal orderings, but also to create immediate links between the sets. The drawings of a table and chair in a living room, shown in one of the previous paragraphs, show what these combinations of interrelated sets look like: not so much defined by the forms or dimensions of individual *Sachen*, but by careful visual interactions.

The perspective drawing plays an essential role here. Tessenow draws building elements, such as doors, windows and staircases, in exactly the same way as furniture pieces. This not only brings these *Sachen* closer to each other, but it also reinforces the formal similarities between the pieces of furniture and the building elements. The building elements become *Sachen* that immediately relate to the furniture pieces and, in a reversed way, furniture relates to the building elements.

In most cases, Tessenow gives these *Sachen* a *gewöhnliche* expression. This is partly based on a nostalgic longing for a timeless style, but also on a search for common types that can be produced in an industrial way.

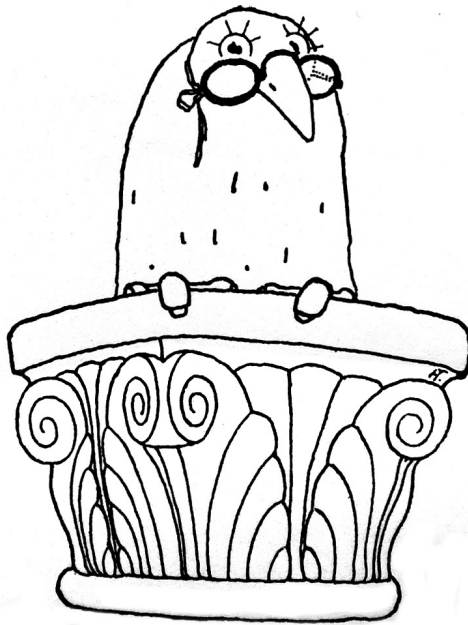
In his drawings, Tessenow also draws our attention to the smaller *Sachen*, to the loose furnishings and small objects that we find in all domestic interiors, such as the pots and spoons in the kitchen cupboard, the pictures on the wall, the plants on the windowsill, the doorbell, the slippers under the bedside table. All these things are drawn with at least the same amount, and sometimes with even more detail than the regular pieces of furniture, countering the abstract way in which these larger pieces are drawn. Even more than the pieces of furniture, the smaller *Sachen* support the idea of *Zweck* (use). In Tessenow's interior perspectives, the common rituals of *wohnen* find their expression in the *Zweckgesinnung* embedded in both the furniture and the carefully distributed smaller *Sachen*.<sup>432</sup> These common rituals also find their expression in the *Emfindung* evoked by the traces of use and inhabitation: the irregularly placed chair, the loose furnishings appearing on tables and sideboards, creases in curtains and impression in cushions.

These traces also point at the limits to the amount of visual coordination that can be applied to the perspective drawings of interiors where numerous *Sachen* come together. In order to convince the viewer, the 'shade' of a departed person needs to find its place in the drawing.

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<sup>432</sup> See '*Raum and Gewöhnlichkeit*' in the previous chapter on *Raum*





# 6

Conclusions: Tessenow's perspective drawings as a form of architectural thinking

The goal of this dissertation has been to investigate the meaning of the perspective drawings that Tessenow created between 1901 and 1926, and in particular their role in contributing to Tessenow's architectural thinking. In order to obtain an understanding of this role, first the publishing context of these drawings has been explored by taking a closer look at Tessenow's perspective drawings as they appeared in two particular German journals and in three of his books. Secondly, a selection of 66 perspective drawings has been subjected to an architectural analysis based on the iconographic aspects of the drawings. In order to make this analysis a systematic matrix was developed that allows for a comparison of the perspective drawings by grouping them in three thematic categories on the one hand, and in three epistemic notions on the other. In order to make a useful comparison between the drawings brought together in this matrix, they have been detached from both their publishing context and from the chronological order of their appearance. The relevance and value of analysing these detached perspective drawings as independent works has been demonstrated in this dissertation, as their analysis contributes to a deeper understanding not only of Tessenow's oeuvre but, more importantly, of the development of his architectural thinking. As such, this investigation also contributes to a recognition of architectural perspective drawings as theoretical statements.

The conclusions following from the investigation undertaken in this dissertation can be subdivided into three parts. The first part of the conclusions will focus on the publishing contexts and formats of Tessenow's drawings and their importance as contributions to German architecture discourse. These contributions can be found taking place in magazines and journals and his own books in the early years of his career. The specific role of these publishing contexts and formats in understanding the operative nature of Tessenow's drawings and their reciprocal relation with a public discourse will be highlighted here. A second set of conclusions will follow from the comparative analyses of Tessenow's perspective drawings, when considered as independent works. These conclusions are aimed more specifically at both the three thematic categories in which each of his perspectives operates, namely *Haus*, *Raum* and *Sache*, and at the three main epistemic notions that I consider characteristic of his works: *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit*. Finally, after having recognized the historiographical significance of Tessenow's perspective drawings, I would also like to make a few remarks on the continuing relevance of his drawings for contemporary architectural education and practice.

### **Starting a discourse: Tessenow's perspectives in journals and magazines from 1902 to 1906**

In the first decades of the twentieth century, architectural images such as photographs of buildings and models, but especially perspective drawings, played an essential role in the rapid dissemination of epistemic architectural notions and ideas via the many German architecture journals and magazines. A closer look at two of these journals (*Bautechnische Zeitschrift* and *Deutsche Bauhütte*) in which Tessenow published his drawings in the first decades of his career has revealed the following. In *Bautechnische Zeitschrift*, a number of Tessenow's perspective drawings were published as a response to questions by readers, the so-called *Gewünschte Skizzen* (requested sketches). These drawings served mainly to illustrate a brief written response to a highly specific question, often in combination with a floorplan, section or facade. In some cases, these perspectives also reappeared without this context in other journals and in Tessenow's own books, fully detached from the specific assignment that had generated them. A similar detachment is visible in the republication of Tessenow's perspective drawings from the section *Unsere Bilder* (our images) or *Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder* (our proposals and images). These drawings, initially linked to a specific project, also reappeared in other journals and in his own books, without referring to their origin and often with another title. This demonstrates, in my opinion, the importance of these perspectives for Tessenow and the crucial role they played in his architectural thinking. But at the same time, perspective

drawings were part and parcel of an emerging public discourse, being able to transcend a restricted disciplinary discourse and involve a wider audience.

Another journal in which Tessenow published regularly at the beginning of his career is *Deutsche Bauhütte*. This magazine had clear interdisciplinary ambitions, addressing not only architects, artists and craftsmen, but also manufacturers and suppliers of building materials. In this magazine, the interaction between drawing and text surpassed the relative simple and straightforward approach of the *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* and its reader's questions. *Deutsche Bauhütte* invited writers on architecture, both architects and art historians, to respond to specific perspective drawings. My investigation of a number of these written responses has made clear how the brief texts that were published along with Tessenow's perspectives initiated a dialogue between text and image that disclosed the epistemological potentials of his perspective drawings. These potentials can be discerned in Tessenow's own architectural thinking, but at the same time they also affected broader ideas that had emerged in the architecture culture of German speaking countries at that time. In the written responses to Tessenow's drawings by the various authors invited by *Deutsche Bauhütte*, it is essential to keep in mind that the drawings did not illustrate the texts, but that the texts actually aided in reading the drawings, thus prioritizing the drawing over the text. In that sense, the texts offered both the readers of *Deutsche Bauhütte* and Tessenow himself a series of lenses that allowed these drawings to be interpreted not only as architectural expressions, but as explorations in a specific architecture-theoretical field. There is no account of Tessenow ever formulating an immediate written reply to the texts published in *Deutsche Bauhütte*, but his real response, in my opinion, is visible in the perspective drawings that he subsequently published in the journals and magazines, and more importantly, in the books he made in later years. In that sense the written texts that accompanied his drawings helped Tessenow to develop his perspectives from three-dimensional representations of an architectural project into highly imaginative, and at the same time highly realistic, propositional and theoretical statements.

### **Editorial control: Tessenow's perspective drawings in his books from 1907 to 1916**

Strengthened by the many responses to his drawings that had been published in journals and magazines, Tessenow soon gained the confidence to publish his own books, allowing him more editorial control over the selection and publication of his drawings and a stronger curatorial role in defining the relation between image and text. Viewing the three consecutive books that he published between 1907 and 1916 (*Zimmermannsarbeiten*, *Der Wohnhausbau* and *Hausbau und dergleichen*), a development of increasing control is visible. This control is aimed both at the content of the publication, but also at the publication format and, more in particular, the shifting role assigned to his perspective drawings in this format. At the same time, the three books also show a continuation of a basic editorial format. This format consists of a text, or a number of texts, at the beginning of the book, followed by a series of images, mostly drawings. While in his first publication the number of perspective drawings compared with the total number of all drawings is relatively low, the share of this type of drawings will increase in the books that follow. Besides that, the role of the perspective drawing will also change: from detailed drawn perspectives, providing an overview of a scheme already shown in plans, sections and elevations, they develop into more propositional drawings that also provide an architectural statement.

In architecture journals and magazines, Tessenow's perspective drawings were often published as a separate *Beilage* (supplement). In his first book *Zimmermannsarbeiten* (1907), this detached nature of the perspective is reinforced by using the publishing format of the portfolio, as a set of loose

drawings in a case.<sup>433</sup> This format, well established for publishing architectural drawings throughout the nineteenth century, not only separated the drawings from the introductory texts, but also literally turned each plate into an independent image.<sup>434</sup> Unlike the fixed linear structure of a text with illustrations, the portfolio thus offered a much freer arrangement, in which the reader was able to literally pick up one drawing and compare it with another. The portfolio format, with the related autonomy of its plates, proved to be quite important for Tessenow, not only when publishing his first books, but also for the conceptual interpretation of his perspective drawings. Even when in later editions the somewhat outmoded format of the portfolio was abandoned, the autonomy of the perspective drawings, collected in a separate section, remained in place.

Besides the portfolio format, another important editorial characteristic defines the kind of drawings brought together in *Zimmermannsarbeiten*. The perspective drawings assembled by Tessenow in this publication showed both existing houses and building elements, and new proposals for such structures, without making a clear distinction between existing and new in the structure of the book. By obscuring this distinction, the drawings of traditional and new architectural elements begin to mingle, suggesting to the reader that contemporary and traditional architecture and design are not so much opposed, but in fact closely connected. The portfolio format of this publication literally detaches the drawings from the accompanying text and thus reinforces a mingling of traditional and modern and avoids the kind of polemic juxtaposition of 'good' versus 'bad' examples that Paul Schultze-Naumburg had applied in his *Kulturarbeiten* a few years earlier.<sup>435</sup> While the historicist architectural language in these drawings clearly diminishes the distinction between modern and traditional in *Zimmermannsarbeiten*, the continuous search for inspiration in vernacular architecture will remain with Tessenow, even when his architectural language becomes more abstract. The other important characteristic of the drawings in *Zimmermannsarbeiten* follows from the kind of perspectival constructions applied in these, both by Tessenow and by his colleagues. Looking more closely at these constructions, it is striking that all of the perspectives not only provide a spatial overview of the building or building element, already defined by orthogonal plan drawings and details, but also give a wilfully directed evocation of the visual perception of the user or visitor. Viewpoints are consequently placed at eye-level, even when the dormers and bay windows of raised floors are shown, giving an impression of a view from below. In other cases, oblique views towards arbours and entrance gates reinforce the impression of movement and approach. With this emphasis on the visual perception of the user or visitor, the drawings not only emphasize the crucial role of perception in the experience of architectural forms, but also relate the building or building element immediately to the human scale.

While Tessenow's own drawings in *Zimmermannsarbeiten* still have a more conventional nature, often using a central perspective and focussing on a careful depiction of materials and shadows, they are now confronted with more innovative perspective drawings made by architects such as Richard Berndl and Theodor Becker, invited by Tessenow to contribute to this publication.<sup>436</sup> The effects of this confrontation already speaks from the perspective drawings in his second book *Der Wohnhausbau*. With all perspectives in this book drawn by Tessenow, they now not only form his main communicative tool, but in fact work as his theoretical propositions, since the texts in *Der Wohnhausbau* remain subordinate to the drawings. While these texts take apart the phenomenon of *wohnen* in a pragmatic description of the various rooms, pieces of furniture and building elements, summing up the related requirements and demands, the perspective drawings express the broader

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<sup>433</sup> The first edition of *Zimmermanns-Arbeiten* was published in 1907 by Verlag Paul Waetzel in Freiburg in four separate issues. A second edition appeared in 1921 with Georg D.W. Callway in Munich. See the introduction by Gerd Weiss in: Tessenow, *Zimmermanns-Arbeiten*, (1907, reprinted 1994), 5.

<sup>434</sup> See: Alan Powers, 'The architectural book. Image and accident' in: Kester Rattenbury (ed.), *This Is Not Architecture. Media Constructions* (London: Routledge, 2002), 157-173.

<sup>435</sup> See for Schultze-Naumburg's use of images also chapter 2.

<sup>436</sup> See the section on *Zimmermannsarbeiten* in chapter 2.

cultural meaning of *wohnen* and show the reconciliation of the various building elements and spaces in and around the *Wohnung*. As such, *Der Wohnhausbau* is an attempt to grasp the phenomenon of *wohnen* in its complex totality of uses and rituals. For Tessenow, perspective drawings formed the most appropriate medium with which to investigate one of the essential questions he faced as an architect in the first quarter of the twentieth century, namely how to unite the broad idea of *wohnen* with the situation of the *Kleinwohnung* in the urban conditions of the *Kleinstadt*. Contrary to the more abstract and static plan drawings, the perspective drawing proved to be much more suitable for rethinking the individual house and its transformation. The perspective gives an immediately understandable spatial impression from the point of view, in its most literal sense, of the user or visitor. At the same time this type of drawing makes it possible to easily jump through various scales.

His next book, *Hausbau und dergleichen*, more specifically focuses on the design ideas behind the architectural appearance of the *Kleinwohnung*. While the text of this book mainly focuses on architectural themes such as the joining of parts, the composition of façades and the use of symmetry, there now appears in Tessenow's drawings a tension between, on the one hand a strong purification and reduction and, on the other, the broader idea of *wohnen*, with all the life and informality implied in it. Compared with the perspectives published in the preceding publication *Der Wohnhausbau*, the ones in *Hausbau und dergleichen* show a higher degree of repose. A careful look at them reveals how most life around the house has now disappeared, and how nature is no longer depicted in a figurative way, expressing the vital force of life. Instead, the drawings in *Hausbau und dergleichen* show a stronger focus on formal representation, for instance in the depiction of a house entrance with a solitary tree next to a front door. Most gardens are now drawn as if in a situation of winter or early spring. The resulting lack of life in these drawings does not simply reflect the conditions that Tessenow faced in those years, such as the First World War, but an ongoing reflection on and reconsideration of the limits of architectural expression of the *Kleinwohnung*. With substantially more photographs published in *Hausbau und dergleichen*, the perspective drawings in this book make an effort to distinguish themselves from these photographs either by suggesting a kind of ethereal dematerialized stillness, with thin lines, dots and dashes, or by offering an almost diagrammatic clarity by using clear abstracted outlines.

*Hausbau und dergleichen* demarcates a subtle shift in Tessenow's use of the perspective drawing. With their extreme reduction of forms and their dry but subtle drawing technique, the drawings mainly show a background for *wohnen* without literally depicting it. And in that sense they are closest to his realized buildings that also offer a similar restrained background for living or use. The perspective drawings in *Hausbau und dergleichen* thus seem to have arrived at a point where a sublimated form of ordinariness, or *Gewöhnlichkeit*, merges with a realism that is also visible in Tessenow's architecture.

### **Exploring the scales and themes of the *Kleinwohnung***

Tessenow's over 200 perspectives show an incredible consistency, both in drawing technique and in content, where a continuous recurrence of architectural motives and subjects is visible. At the same time, the totality of these perspective drawings also gives an insight into Tessenow's serious and ongoing quest for the transformation of what he considered the most important early-twentieth-century architectural, social and cultural phenomenon: the *Kleinwohnung*. In this dissertation I have demonstrated that most of Tessenow's perspective drawings should be considered as tools that investigate the *Kleinwohnung* in a very broad sense. Without denying the importance of their original historical and publishing context, this dissertation has offered a contemporary analysis or 'close-reading' of these drawings by rearranging them into three thematic and scale-related categories. These categories, distilled from writings by Heinrich Tessenow and his contemporaries, are *Haus*, *Raum* and *Sache* (house, space and object).



**Haus:** in the first category, all of Tessenow's drawings are brought together that predominantly show the outside appearance of the house. One of the findings that follow from the applied analysis of Tessenow's *Haus* drawings, is the gradual transformation that the house undergoes when it moves as a freestanding single-family house from the countryside to the more urban environment of the *Kleinstadt*, where it transforms into a row house. The comparative analysis has demonstrated how, during this transformation, Tessenow continuously refers in his perspective drawings to both the tradition of the *Bürgerhaus*, in which civil representation dominates, and the tradition of the *Bauernhaus*, which is more closely linked to labour and production. This outcome of the analyses, supported by the writings of Tessenow and contemporaries, reinforces the idea that the *bürgerliche* architectural tradition is supposed to focus predominantly on formal notions such as symmetry, and a restrained use of a subdued architectural language including motives such as cornices and frontons. Tessenow's drawings make clear how the *bäuerliche* tradition counters this dominance of representation by introducing a certain informality and a focus on the independent character of various parts of the house, which are immediately linked to their use. While the influence of the *bürgerliche* tradition is therefore mainly visible in the front façade of the *Kleinwohnung*, with representational gestures linked to its entrance, the strong effects of the *Bauernhaus* speak more of the immediate links between the *Kleinwohnung* and its back garden. Although these two traditions have thus left their traces, Tessenow's modern *Kleinwohnung* transcends both traditions when situated in the contemporary environment of the *Kleinstadt*. Overseeing the various perspectives arranged under *Haus*, it becomes clear that the individual *Wohnung* finds its representation within the collective form of the housing row through just a few building elements, such as front door, window and dormer. When the detached house transformed into a row house, the *Haus* as a separate entity began to dissolve, shifting the attention of the inhabitant of the *Kleinstadt* from the single building to urban spaces such as streets, squares and gardens.

**Raum:** the category of *Raum* contains those drawings that depict not so much a single building or object, but a space (*Raum*) such as a courtyard, a hall (*Diele*) or a room. Fundamental in developing Tessenow's architectural thinking through his perspectives, this category is explored by him in a variety of scales and conditions. In some cases, Tessenow depicts a seemingly infinite space, such as a forest of trees or a gridded structure, but it is immediately clear that his focus, even in these drawings, is on the physical structures that demarcate a *Raum* within the infinite space. As is clear from the various comparative analyses of the drawings, the perspective construction in itself is immediately connected to *Raum*, or better, to the illusion of *Raumwahrnehmung* (perception of space).<sup>437</sup> But not only does the perspective as such evoke a spatial illusion, by manipulating viewpoint and view direction, the attention of the viewer can be steered towards what matters most. Interestingly, the various analyses make clear that Tessenow's real interest is not so much the *Raum* itself, but rather its periphery. The analyses brought together in the category of *Raum* show how spatial peripheries can be discerned in his drawings in different scales and settings. They pertain to the façades of the house, with bay windows, pergolas and raised platforms; to the borders and edges of streets, squares and gardens, with fences, gates, trees and hedges; but also to the walls of a room. Moving away from *Raum* itself and increasingly focusing on its periphery, the building elements and objects positioned in this periphery now become important. Parallel to that, in Tessenow's representations of *Räume* there is no longer a preoccupation with *Stimmung* through carefully representing daylight and shadows, or the depiction of material expressions, but instead a growing concern for the *Sachen* and their *Sachlichkeit*, in their most literal meaning of 'thing-like-ness'. This then brings us to the *Sache*, the third category in the comparative analysis of Tessenow's perspectives.

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<sup>437</sup> See for *Raumwahrnehmung* the remarks on Schmarsow in the chapter on *Raum*

**Sache:** the thematic category of *Sache* contains all the smaller objects such as furniture, building elements and loose furnishings related to the *Kleinwohnung*. The comparative analyses of the drawings brought together here make clear that *Sachen* gradually begin to dominate not only Tessenow's perspective drawings in the years 1901 to 1926, but that they also gain a central place in his architectural thinking. Similar to *Haus*, the drawings in this category also introduce the earlier mentioned *bürgerliche* and the *bäuerliche* traditions, as is visible, for instance, in Tessenow's perspective drawings of chairs. And similar to *Haus*, *Sache* also sees the *bürgerliche* tradition mainly focussing on the aspect of representation, while the *bäuerliche* tradition brings in a notion that Tessenow described as *Gewerblichkeit* (craft industry), closely linked to labour and production similar to way the *bäuerliche* tradition affected the category of *Haus*. According to Tessenow, the modern *Sache* will emerge out of the *bürgerliche* and the *bäuerliche* traditions while at the same time being affected by industrial developments such as standardization and mechanization. The importance of the *Sache* in this development also speaks from the broader term *Sachlichkeit* (thing-like-ness).<sup>438</sup> The close relation between *Sache* and *Zweck* (purpose) is of particular interest for the investigations that Tessenow undertakes in his perspective drawings. In his perspective drawings the various uses that one finds around and in the *Kleinwohnung* are all represented by *Sachen*. Especially in the drawings where these *Sachen* come together in an interior, their close proximity leads to a careful investigation. This juxtaposition of various *Sachen* needs to be coordinated and the comparative analyses make clear that Tessenow applied two strategies here. First of all, he creates visual congruency by carefully adjusting the formal aspects of the *Sachen*, while at the same time maintaining their independency, and second, he applies a visual coordination in the interior of the room by aligning 'sets' of two or more *Sachen*.

Finally, a careful study of Tessenow's perspectives has also revealed a particular kind of *Sachen* that are easily overlooked: the loose furnishings. Because of their smaller size, they differ from the main *Sachen*, like the pieces of furniture or building elements. Tessenow's perspectives disrupt the conventional hierarchical view on these *Sachen* by especially accentuating these ephemeral smaller objects, such as small writing implements on the desk, pictures on the wall, plants in the windowsill, or a cushion with slight impressions. In the analyses of the *Sache* perspectives these are often described as the traces that *wohnen* has left behind. With his depictions of the smaller *Sachen* in his perspectives, Tessenow tries to represent the seemingly unrepresentable essence of *wohnen*.

### Exploring three epistemic notions

Parallel to the investigation of the drawings in the categories *Haus*, *Raum* and *Sache*, the three notions *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit*, explored by Tessenow through his perspective drawings, are also studied fragmentarily in this dissertation. In hindsight, it is now possible to formulate three overarching interpretative descriptions of these notions. Together, these descriptions offer a speculative reconstruction of an architectural thinking that is not only applicable to Tessenow, but to an important strand in German architecture culture in the first decades of the twentieth century. And again, what is most striking here is the fact that these notions are developed in Tessenow's perspectives.

#### ***Empfindung*: the interaction of perception and sensitivity**

In regard to the architectural perspective drawing, the German term *Empfindung* has a triple meaning: it either refers to the sensual, or better, *visual* perception of the viewer, to the sensitivity visible in the content of the drawing, or to the sensitivity regarding the drawing technique. In most of Tessenow's perspective drawings that are brought together here in the categories of *Haus*, *Raum* and *Sache*, both the simulation of the viewer's visual perception and the sensitivity of the drawing's form and content are addressed simultaneously. For that reason, instead of using the words

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<sup>438</sup> See also: Mallgrave, 'From Realism to *Sachlichkeit*' (1993), 281-321

sensitivity and perception, I have chosen to apply in my dissertation the German term *Empfindung*. It is clear that *Empfindung* in its meaning of a viewer's perception is immediately connected to the perspectival construction. However, perception not only forms the core of Tessenow's perspective drawings but also permeates his texts, most clearly in his book *Hausbau und dergleichen*, as has already been discussed.<sup>439</sup> *Empfindung*, originating from the perspectival construction as such, thus extends its influence to the content of the drawing, while at the same time this content, in turn, is made visible again in that same perspective drawing.

Examining his perspectives, the instrumentality of the drawings in expressing Tessenow's ideas about architecture becomes clear. In the case of his *Raum* drawings, Tessenow carefully manipulates viewpoint and view direction so that the attention of the viewer moves to the periphery of the *Raum*. At the same moment, *Raum* as such seems to have dissolved, not only because Tessenow no longer depicts the material expression of its surfaces, but also because he removes light and shadows from his drawings and, as a final step, also the delineations of the *Raum*. As a result, he deliberately leaves the viewer with a diminished perception, thus drawing attention to the *Sachen* that are contained in the *Raum*. Another characteristic of his drawings that also affects their perception, is the absence of any human figures. In the same way that the dissolution of the spatial delineations reinforces the presence of the *Sachen* in the room, the absence of the human figure, paradoxically enough, reinforces the suggestion of inhabitation and use. By wilfully leaving out any people, Tessenow manipulates our perception so that we 'sense' their presence. This 'shade of a departed person', as Schmarsow described it, immediately invokes a certain intimacy in the perception of the drawing.<sup>440</sup> The nature of this departed person remains ambiguous: it could either be the inhabitant, which leaves the viewer in the somewhat embarrassing position of voyeur or intruder; or it could be the viewer, identifying with that missing person and thus immediately becoming involved in the depicted scene. This identification becomes stronger when the suggested distance between the viewer and the scene is diminished by the perspectival composition, and also depends on the position of the viewpoint and on the view angle: an oblique view and a shorter distance between viewer and scene reinforces the intimacy.

The third and final meaning of *Empfindung* relates to the sensitivity contained in the drawing technique. Although Tessenow's way of drawing is quite recognizable and apparently simple, a closer look reveals its complexity. Most of the time two almost contradictory drawing strategies are applied: one that leaves out as much as possible from the drawing, cleverly making use of the suggestive power of dots and dashes to create an illusionistic impression; and another one that focuses on the outlines of spaces and things, emphasizing their clear-cut character as concrete, measurable things. Tessenow's perspective drawings continuously explore these two complementary strategies, at times even in one and the same drawing. All these different, but also closely related meanings of *Empfindung* work together, and thus evoke a specific response to Tessenow's drawings, following from both the perspectival construction, the content of the drawing and the drawing technique. Most important for Tessenow, however, is how *Empfindung* works as a prerequisite for that other epistemic notion that dominates his works: *Abstraktion*.

### ***Abstraktion: merging formal restraint and traditional ordinariness***

Because of their shared etymological roots, the meaning of the German word *Abstraktion* and its English equivalent 'abstraction' overlap, referring to the extraction of some sort of ideal essence out of variegated and concrete complexity.<sup>441</sup> However, in this dissertation the German term is consistently used to refer to the notion that gained a particular meaning in relation with architecture and art, especially in German-speaking countries around 1900. Even though Tessenow hardly used the word *Abstraktion*, the notion itself permeated all of his work. *Abstraktion* has both a spiritual

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<sup>439</sup> See chapter 2.

<sup>440</sup> See the previous chapter on *Raum*.

<sup>441</sup> See: Paul-Alan Jones, *The Theory of Architecture. Concepts, Themes, & Practices* (1994), 331-335

meaning, evoking a desire for purity and cleanliness and a closely related aesthetical meaning in which the most natural and simple forms are regarded as superior to more complex and artificial ones. Both the ethical and the aesthetical sides of *Abstraktion* have had a dominant effect on Tessenow's architecture and, more in particular, on its representation in drawings. In his perspectives, he increasingly reduces houses, rooms, furniture and building elements to their essential forms. Tessenow considers the resulting *Formenarmut* (poverty of forms) as the highest achievement of modern art and architecture.<sup>442</sup> His emphasis on a reduction to elementary forms and to formal restraint, rejecting not only superfluous ornamentation but also 'impure' residual forms as a result of the intersection of elementary forms, can be found in his writings, but much more convincingly in his drawings, where all three categories of *Haus*, *Raum* and *Sache* are addressed.<sup>443</sup>

With regards to the issue of representation, it is important to realize that architectural drawings always imply an abstraction of the building or artefact, with the orthogonal plan drawings as the clearest examples of this. Perspective drawings escape this inherent abstraction by introducing a highly figurative image. Most of the time, Tessenow's perspectives contain an element of *Abstraktion* that counters this explicit figuration. By balancing the inevitable figuration of the perspective drawing with a deliberate abstraction in its representation, Tessenow not only makes the drawing more architectural, but also introduces a degree of openness, by literally leaving room for the viewer's interpretation.

In his perspectives, *Abstraktion* also shifts the focus from *Raum* to *Sache*. Tessenow explores in his drawings a suppression of the spatial illusion, often by eliminating the delineations of the room, thus moving the attention away from the *Raum* and redirecting it instead towards the *Sachen* situated in it.

It is important to distinguish Tessenow's *Abstraktion* from the artistic idea of 'abstraction' that began to dominate art and architecture in the 1920s, especially in Germany. While this 'abstraction' regarded itself as an autonomous artistic operation, aimed at a revolutionary subversion of conventional art and architecture, the *Abstraktion* explored by Tessenow in and through his drawings was embedded in specific traditions in architecture and design. Through these traditions, Tessenow was able to find a form of ordinariness that had the potential to relate modernity to *wohnen*. Only then is Tessenow able to arrive at the notion that turns out to be most important for him: *Gewöhnlichkeit*.

### ***Gewöhnlichkeit*: modernity based on a *bürgerliche* and a *bäuerliche* tradition**

In the German language the etymological ties between *wohnen* (dwelling) and *gewöhnen* (getting used to) and, similarly, between *Wohnlichkeit* (being comfortable and cosy) and *Gewöhnlichkeit* (ordinariness) are evident and also explicitly described by Tessenow.<sup>444</sup> To maintain all these ties, the German term *Gewöhnlichkeit* is used throughout this dissertation to describe a specific form of ordinariness that Tessenow explored in his drawings. This notion of *Gewöhnlichkeit* follows from both *Empfindung* and *Abstraktion* and gradually gains a central place in Tessenow's perspectives in the early years of his career and returns in his writings rather implicitly.

For Tessenow, the notion of *Gewöhnlichkeit* is essential for arriving at a modern interpretation of *wohnen*. The search for the roots of this notion is important to Tessenow, as his drawings make clear. Here he is able to evoke both the *bürgerliche* and the *bäuerliche* traditions of *wohnen*. Regarding the *bürgerliche* culture it should be noted that both for Tessenow and for many of his contemporaries, the so-called culture of *Biedermeier*, dominant in German-speaking countries in the beginning of the nineteenth century, formed an important reference, as is visible in his drawings of traditional chairs

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<sup>442</sup> See the chapter on *Haus*.

<sup>443</sup> See also: Böll (ed.), *Heinrich Tessenow. Hausbau und dergleichen* (2011), 59-63

<sup>444</sup> See the previous chapter on *Haus*.

and houses. *Biedermeier* culture was not considered as simply a *bürgerliche* aesthetic tradition, but as a broader cultural frame in which *bürgerliche* traditions were associated with values such as order, diligence and thrift. Since later in the nineteenth century the dominant *bürgerliche* culture had done away with these values, Tessenow and a number of other architects and artists wanted to revive the original *Bürgerlichkeit* in order to transform it into what they regarded as a foundation for modern architecture and design. In Tessenow's opinion, the input of another tradition, the *bäuerliche* culture, was therefore needed. The *Bauernhaus* and its interior, studied and documented in drawings by Tessenow on his early *Wanderungen* in the German countryside, confronted him with the idea of *Gerwerblichkeit* (craft industry). This idea pertains to a particular industry in which houses, spaces and objects are immediately derived from vocational activities and labour-related enterprises. Tessenow rejects the nostalgic connotations related to the *bäuerliche* tradition, but adopts it as a model for introducing a certain informality that is immediately linked to *wohnen*. Similar to the *bürgerliche* tradition, the *bäuerliche* tradition represented to Tessenow not so much a typological or stylistic, but a predominantly moral model, based on the ethos of labour and autarchy. In order to inject the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century *bürgerliche* culture with values and forms that pertain to the kind of vernacular ordinariness necessary for a truly modern interpretation of the *Kleinwohnung*, Tessenow again makes use of the explorative potentials of his perspective drawings. In these drawings, both the *bürgerliche* and the *bäuerliche* tradition are investigated by drawing out existing houses, spaces and objects in which these traditions are visible, and by proposing new designs of houses, spaces and objects that have digested these traditions in order to attain a sense of *Gewöhnlichkeit*.

But *Gewöhnlichkeit* does not simply follow from traditions, and Tessenow is fully aware of that. He believes that contemporary buildings or artefacts, whether building elements, pieces of furniture or loose furnishings, will necessarily be subjected to both the demands of *Zweck* (purpose) but also of uniformity and typification. In their exploration of the notion of *Gewöhnlichkeit*, Tessenow's perspectives put an emphasis on those contemporary *Sachen* that have digested both the *bürgerliche* and the *bäuerliche* tradition to arrive at a *gewöhnliche* modernity. Essential for the forms of these *Sachen* is the central role of *Zweck*. For Tessenow this is not simply a matter of form follows function, especially not in the case of *wohnen*. Only if the *Sachen* constitute a *Gesinnung*, a so-called *Zweckgesinnung* (purposive intent), is *wohnen* able to find a proper architectural expression.<sup>445</sup> To visualize this expression, Tessenow relies on his perspective drawings, especially those that depict the *Kleinwohnung* and all the *Sachen* that one finds around and inside it. Here, both the forms of each *Sache*, the mutual interaction of various *Sachen* in sets, and the symbolic meaning assigned to the smaller *Sachen* will play a crucial role. The perspectives of the *Kleinwohnung* show that the window, the table, the chair, the tree outside, the cupboard, but also the curtains, the potted plants in the windowsill, the dented cushion in the chair and the writing gear on the table all contribute to the evocation of the *gewöhnliche Zweckgesinnung*.

Looking back at the three main notions that constitute Tessenow's perspective drawings, a number of conclusions can be drawn. First, it should be noted that the three notions *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit*, although each having quite a different character, are closely related and often difficult to disentangle in Tessenow's drawings. *Empfindung* is related both to the senses and to feelings and has an immediate relation to the perception of the drawing, or, to be more precise, to its subjective perception. *Abstraktion* is a notion that imbues all of Tessenow's works, affecting both their formal elaboration and their representation in his drawings. While in Tessenow's view *Empfindung* works as a prerequisite for *Abstraktion*, this later notion in its turn is needed to arrive at *Gewöhnlichkeit*, the notion that is closest related to the ordinariness of *wohnen*. Zooming in on the architectural expression of the *Kleinwohnung*, *Gewöhnlichkeit* also offers a possibility to mediate between the sensitivity of *Empfindung* and the formal restraint of *Abstraktion* by offering a combination of naturalness and informality. While the notions of *Empfindung* and *Abstraktion* have

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<sup>445</sup> For *Zweckgesinnung* (purposive intent) see the chapter on *Raum*

pertained to Tessenow's drawings from the very beginning of his career, *Gewöhnlichkeit*, or better, the expression of *Gewöhnlichkeit*, has gradually developed in his work and is more difficult to distinguish, since it is also tied to various paradoxical limitations connected to it. As architect and designer, Tessenow cannot avoid aestheticizing the inherent non-aesthetical *gewöhnliche* artefacts. Tessenow's *Gewöhnlichkeit* is therefore based on a rigorous *Abstraktion* that subjects the building elements, furniture and other *Sachen* to a strong visual coordination and brings them back to their basic, but recognizable forms, carefully dimensioned and positioned in relation to each other. The investigation of Tessenow's perspective drawings has proven that *Abstraktion*, in the end, is needed to transform *Gewöhnlichkeit* into a notion that aligns with the kind of modernity that Tessenow projects onto both the *Kleinwohnung* and the *Kleinstadt*. *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit* are not complementary, since they belong to different epistemic spheres. Still, they interact and Tessenow, in his perspective drawings, seems fully aware of this. More than anything else, it is the representation of *wohnen* in the perspective drawing that offers Tessenow the possibility to balance these three epistemic notions.

### **New perspectives on Tessenow and some contemporary prospects**

The aesthetic qualities of Tessenow's perspective drawings continue to attract a small but dedicated group of architects. Yet, their value as an investigative tool has hitherto mainly been disregarded in the available literature. This dissertation has demonstrated that this value lies in principal on two main levels. First of all, it is obvious that Tessenow's perspective drawings play a central role in his own practice. They allow him to document traditional buildings and furniture in an operative way, but also explore the appearance and spatial elaboration of new buildings and artefacts. The comparative analyses applied to a selection of these drawings makes clear how the perspectives thus allowed him to investigate in detail the many architectural implication of the *Kleinwohnung*, both in regard to its interior and furnishing, the architectural expression of its exterior and its situation in the *Kleinstadt*. In that sense, Tessenow's perspective drawings form as much a source for historical research as his writings or his buildings. The second level on which the value of his perspective drawings can be discerned is immediately related to the wider architecture culture in which they operated. Tessenow was able to take a position in a lively theoretical discourse on the architecture of the *Kleinwohnung* and *Kleinstadt*, not so much through his writings, but effectively through his perspective drawings. These drawings allowed him to communicate with colleagues and others engaged in the discipline of architecture, but also with laymen. The investigation of Tessenow's perspective drawings has made clear that these drawings were much more than just visual representations of projects predominantly defined in orthogonal projections of plans, sections and elevations. A perspective is able to bring together different scales, different architectural elements, different contexts and different atmospheres in one and the same visual representation. More importantly, this kind of drawing forms a way of architectural thinking in itself, which could also be described as a form of theory, since it is not simply a personal reflection or consideration of one particular architect, but able to engage a wider audience in a public discourse.

Tessenow's incredible capacity to fully use the perspective drawing as such a theoretical tool also makes his drawings relevant beyond their clear historical value. This relevance also concerns the notions that are addressed. And although the conditions and circumstances today differ substantially from the early decades of the twentieth century, the three notions *Empfindung*, *Abstraktion* and *Gewöhnlichkeit* are as relevant today as they were in Tessenow's day.

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Zeinstra, Jurjen, 'A View without Scenery: Amsterdam Nieuw-West Drawn by Van Eesteren'. In *Amsterdam Places. Interiors, Buildings and Cities*, edited by Jurjen Zeinstra, 185-195. Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 2013

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## Curriculum Vitae

Jurjen Zeinstra studied architecture at the Faculty of Architecture of the Delft University of Technology and the Hochschule der Künste Berlin. He was editor of the architecture journals *OASE* and *Forum* and worked as a guest teacher at the Academies of Architecture in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. With Mikel van Gelderen, he founded the practice Zeinstra van Gelderen architecten, which has successfully realized building projects on various scales, such as IJdock housing and offices in Amsterdam, student housing in Almere, Tumblehouse, Rubberhouse and Bushuis. He now works at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment of the Delft University of Technology as an acting associate professor in the teaching group *Interiors Buildings Cities*. As a teacher, he has initiated several student projects, events and exhibitions focussing on Heinrich Tessenow, such as 'Inside Tessenow' that travelled to Maastricht, Steinhorst and Braunschweig; 'Heinrich Tessenow and the Hellerau experiment' at the Festspielhaus in Hellerau and the exhibition 'Learning from Models' at the TU Delft.

He writes on architecture on various occasions and is part of the editorial team of *Delft Architectural Studies on Housing*.

### Awards, grants & scholarships:

2017-2018:	NOW-KIEM research grant for 'New Light on the Festspielhaus, Hellerau', (with H. van Bergeijk)
2014	Nominated for Amsterdamse Publieksprijs 2014 (with M. van Gelderen)
2013	Nominated for Zuiderkerkprijs 2013 (with M. van Gelderen)
2012	Researcher in residence New York, Fund BKVB Amsterdam
2010	Grant Netherlands Foundation for Visual Arts, Design & Architecture (with M. van Gelderen)
1999	Honourable mention Bauwelt Preis 1999 (with M. van Gelderen and I. Koers)
1999	Nominated for Design-prize Rotterdam (Tumble House, with M. van Gelderen and I. Koers)
1998	Charlotte Köhler Prize for Architecture, Amsterdam (with M. van Gelderen and I. Koers)
1996	First Prize European 4-competition, Emmen (with M. van Gelderen and I. Koers)

### Selected publications & editorship:

2022	'Room and things. Heinrich Tessenow's Interior Perspectives' in: M. Boesch (ed.) <i>Heinrich Tessenow: Annäherungen und ikonische Projekte</i> . Zürich, 2022
2021	'Boxed houses and a textile volume: investigating Tessenow's architecture with sectional models' in: <i>STOA. Tools for Teaching Architecture #1</i>
2020	'Rooms and Things: Heinrich Tessenow's Interior Perspectives' in: <i>OASE 105 Practices of Drawing</i> , p.49-58
2019	'Tessenow's interieurperspectieven en onze drang om maquettes te maken' in: <i>OverHolland 20</i> , p 187-198
2019	'Tegelkachelofen' in: <i>Forum #3, 52</i> , p. 87-94
2018	'Misunderstanding Semper. Thoughts on how theory feeds architecture' in: E, Schreurs (ed.), <i>City of Stone</i> , Delft, p. 23-34
2018	editor <i>Teachings of Tessenow: Contemporary Relevance of an Architectural Oeuvre</i> , Delft, 2018,

- 2018 'Tessenow's interior perspectives and why we continue building models' in: Jurjen Zeinstra (ed.), *Teachings of Tessenow: Contemporary Relevance of an Architectural Oeuvre*, Delft, 2018, p. 135-153
- 2018 'In search of harmony and balance: Interview with Marie-Jose Van Hee' in: Jurjen Zeinstra (ed.), *Teachings of Tessenow: Contemporary Relevance of an Architectural Oeuvre*, Delft, 2018, p. 89-99
- 2018 'Exhibition Learning from Models: How three architecture schools investigate interior sensibility in early works of Heinrich Tessenow' in: Jurjen Zeinstra (ed.), *Teachings of Tessenow: Contemporary Relevance of an Architectural Oeuvre*, Delft, 2018, p. 155-163
- 2015 co-editor *DASH#11 'Stijlkamers / Interiors on Display'* (with H. Teerds)
- 2015 'In welchem Styl sollen wir wohnen?' in *Stijlkamers / Interiors on Display DASH#11*, p. 18-31
- 2015 'Het wonen en de dingen / Living and things; interview met/with Louise Schouwenberg' in *Stijlkamers / Interiors on Display DASH#11*, p. 76-84
- 2015 'Wohnzimmereinrichtung / H.P. Berlage' (with Julia Hegenwald) in *Stijlkamers / Interiors on Display DASH#11*, p. 92-95
- 2015 'Glasraum / Lilly Reich & Ludwig Mies van der Rohe' in: *Stijlkamers / Interiors on Display DASH#11*, p. 100-103
- 2015 'Some New Items for the Home – Part 1 / Jasper Morrison' in: *Stijlkamers / Interiors on Display DASH#11*, p. 142-145
- 2015 'In welchem Style sollen wir wohnen?' on Archined.nl
- 2014 'Maison de l'Iran, Parijs' in: *DASH: Studentenhuisvesting / Housing the Student*, nr. 10, p. 132-139
- 2013 editor *Amsterdam Places; Interiors, Buildings and Cities*, Amsterdam, 2013
- 2013 'Introduction' (with C. Grafe) in: J. Zeinstra (ed) *Amsterdam Places; Interiors, Buildings and Cities*, Amsterdam, 2013, p. 9-22
- 2013 'Reflections over the IJ; interview with Jan de Vylder' in: J. Zeinstra (ed) *Amsterdam Places; Interiors, Buildings and Cities*, Amsterdam 2013, p.123-133
- 2013 'A View without Scenery; Amsterdam Nieuw-West drawn by Van Eesteren' in: J. Zeinstra (ed) *Amsterdam Places; Interiors, Buildings and Cities*, Amsterdam 2013, p.185-196
- 2013 'Shops and Stores in Slotermeer; Planning the Public Domain in a Modernist District' in: J. Zeinstra (ed) *Amsterdam Places; Interiors, Buildings and Cities*, Amsterdam 2013, p.217-236
- 2013 editor publication *Amsterdam Places; Interiors, Buildings and Cities*, Amsterdam 2013
- 2008 'Houses of the Future' in *OASE 75*, (English translation)
- 2007 'Niban Kan, Tokyo (1970)' in C. Grafe and F. Bollerey (ed) *Cafes and Bars, The Architecture of Public Display*
- 2005 'Landhuis Wijnands, 1919, Heerlen' in W. Wilms Floet (ed.) *Het ontwerp van het kleine woonhuis: een plandocumentatie*, Amsterdam, p. 164-167
- 1999 'Zelfbouw: collectiviteit, techniek en dichtheid' (with M. van Gelderen en I. Koers), in: M. Milanović, M. Oostenbrink, T. van der Pol, M. Weber (eds.), *Eigenwijs wonen: bouwen in eigen beheer op het Steigereiland*, Amsterdam, p. 64-76

- 1999 'Stolphuis' in: R. van Wingerden, STAWON (ed.), *Ontspannen wonen: individuele bouw- en wooncultuur als collectieve ontwerpopgave* Groningen, p. 102-103
- 1997 'Mobile homes & steady hearts' in A. Reijndorp, V. Kompier, L. de Haas (eds.), *Leefstijlen. Wonen in de 21ste eeuw*, Rotterdam, p. 27-35
- 1996 'Tellen en tekenen: Ontwerponderzoek aan de Academie van Bouwkunst te Amsterdam' in: B. Goldhoorn (ed.), *Architectuur als discipline*, NAI Rotterdam, 1996, 166-175
- 1994 'Het wereldbewustzijn van Richard Buckminster Fuller', OASE 41 (Wereldontwerp), Nijmegen
- 1992 'Houses of the Future', OASE 32 (The sixties), Nijmegen
- 1989 *Functioneel ontwerpen: ontwikkeling en toepassing van het doelmatigheidsbeginsel in de architectuur'* (co-editor with L. van Duin, W. Wilms Floet), Delft
- 1988 'Het rode laboratorium', OASE 22 (Architectural education), Delft
- 1985 *De invloed van de Amsterdamse School in Friesland*, Stichting Moderne architectuur Friesland, Leeuwarden

## Summary

An architectural perspective drawing gives a naturalistic spatial representation of an architectural project, which is usually represented in orthographic drawings, such as floorplans, sections, and elevations. However, that same perspective drawing can also express theoretical architectural concepts and ideas in a non-verbal, but highly communicative way. To investigate that particular quality, this dissertation takes a systematic look at the historical case of the perspective drawings made by the German architect Heinrich Tessenow (1876-1950), focusing on the period between 1901 and 1926. Tessenow, one of the key figures in early twentieth-century German architecture, was mostly interested in the *Kleinwohnung* (small workers' and lower-middle-class house) and the *Kleinstadt* (small town).

Initially, Tessenow's perspectives appeared in various well-read architectural journals, such as *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* and *Deutsche Bauhütte*. These journals not only offered the drawings (and their maker) a publishing platform but also actively invited various writers to respond to them, thus contributing to a lively public discourse on architecture. As a consequence, perspective drawings played a major role in Tessenow's first three publications, *Zimmermannsarbeiten* (1907), *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909) and *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916). In all three books, perspective drawings were much more than illustrations or building visualisations to his texts: they actively contributed to Tessenow's architectural thinking and his emerging visual theory of architecture.

This dissertation wants to address some basic questions that relate to this: what is the meaning of these perspectives in Tessenow's visual theory of architecture and what role did they play in the development of his thinking on the *Kleinwohnung*?

To answer these questions, a great number of perspective drawings are collected from various sources. Quite deliberately, these drawings are detached from their immediate context, regarding the projects they depict, the media in which they appeared and their chronological order. This collection of detached drawings is then subdivided into three main thematic categories that summarize Tessenow's oeuvre in these years and all relate to the *Kleinwohnung*: *Haus* (house); *Raum* (room or space) and *Sache* (thing or object).

To relate Tessenow's perspective drawings to his architectural thinking, three epistemic architectural notions are distilled from writings by both Tessenow and some of his contemporaries. These notions are *Empfindung* (sensitivity), *Abstraktion* (abstraction) and *Gewöhnlichkeit* (ordinariness) and their epistemic character follows from the fact that they not only define Tessenow's architectural thinking but relate to a broader German architectural culture.

By intersecting these notions with the drawings arranged in the categories of *Haus*, *Raum* and *Sache*, it becomes possible to select more than 20 sets of related drawings that are then subjected to a comparative iconographic architectural analysis, in which the typological organization of building, space or object; and the formal composition of its appearance are linked to aspects such as its immediate setting, spatial delineations and material expression. The method of juxtaposing perspective drawings with a similar subject and subsequently comparing these drawings makes it possible to reveal general patterns and qualities related to the depicted subject beyond the individual case. Together, these analyses form the basis of a series of speculative reconstructions of Tessenow's inquiries into several relevant topics related to the *Kleinwohnung*.

Besides the historical significance of Tessenow's case, the analyses presented in this dissertation also demonstrate the significance of perspective drawing. They make clear that this kind of drawing was, and is, able to bring together different scales, elements and atmospheres in one image, which is immediately understandable to both architects and to all the others involved in architecture and building. They also show how perspective drawing can contribute to architectural thinking and thus forms an important theoretical tool that continues to be relevant in the present day.



## Samenvatting

Een bouwkundige perspectieftekening geeft een natuurgetrouwe ruimtelijke weergave van een bouwproject, dat gewoonlijk wordt weergegeven door vlakke projecties, zoals plattegronden, doorsneden en aanzichten. Diezelfde perspectieftekening kan echter ook, op een non-verbale, maar uiterst communicatieve wijze, theoretische architectuurconcepten uitdrukken. Om die specifieke kwaliteiten van de perspectieftekening te onderzoeken, wordt in dit proefschrift op systematische wijze gekeken naar de historische casus van de perspectieftekeningen van de Duitse architect Heinrich Tessenow (1876-1950), met name in de periode tussen 1901 en 1926. Tessenow, een van de sleutelfiguren in de Duitse architectuur van het begin van de 20<sup>e</sup> eeuw, was met name geïnteresseerd in de *Kleinwohnung* (kleine arbeiders- en middenstandswoning) en de *KleinStadt* (provinciestad).

Aanvankelijk verschenen de perspectieven van Tessenow in verschillende, goed gelezen bouwkundige vakbladen zoals *Bautechnische Zeitschrift* en *Deutsche Bauhütte*. Deze bladen boden niet alleen een publicitair podium aan de tekeningen (en hun maker), maar nodigden ook actief schrijvers uit om op de tekeningen te reageren en droegen zo bij aan een levendig publiek debat over architectuur. Dit leidde er dan ook toe dat perspectieftekeningen een belangrijke rol spelen in de eerste drie boeken die Tessenow schreef: *Zimmermannsarbeiten* (1907), *Der Wohnhausbau* (1909) en *Hausbau und dergleichen* (1916). In alle drie de boeken zijn de perspectieftekeningen veel meer dan illustraties, of visuele weergaven van gebouwen, bij zijn teksten: ze dragen actief bij aan het architectonische denken van Tessenow en aan zijn ontlukende visuele architectuurtheorie. Dit proefschrift wil ingaan op enkele fundamentele vragen die hiermee samenhangen: wat is de betekenis van deze perspectieven binnen Tessenow's visuele architectuurleer en welke rol speelden ze in de ontwikkeling van zijn denken over de *Kleinwohnung*?

Om deze vragen te kunnen beantwoorden is een groot aantal tekeningen verzameld uit verschillende bronnen. Welbewust zijn de tekeningen los gekoppeld van hun directe context, zowel wat betreft de bouwprojecten die ze verbeelden, de media waarin ze verschenen en de chronologische volgorde. Deze verzameling van losse tekeningen is vervolgens onderverdeeld in drie thematische hoofdcategorieën die Tessenow's oeuvre van destijds omvatten en alle drie betrekking hebben op de *Kleinwohnung*: *Haus* (huis), *Raum* (kamer of ruimte) en *Sache* (zaak of ding). Om Tessenow's perspectieftekeningen te kunnen verbinden met zijn architectonische denken zijn er drie epistemologische architectonische begrippen gedestilleerd uit de geschriften van zowel Tessenow als enkele van zijn tijdgenoten. Deze begrippen zijn *Empfindung* (gevoel, waarneming), *Abstraktion* (abstractie) en *Gewöhnlichkeit* (alledaagsheid) en hun epistemologische karakter komt voort uit het feit dat zij niet alleen Tessenow's architectonische denken hebben bepaald, maar betrekking hebben op een ruimere Duitse architectuurcultuur.

















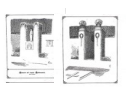


Door deze begrippen vervolgens te kruisen met de tekeningen die in de categorieën *Haus*, *Raum* en *Sache* zijn ingedeeld, is het mogelijk om 20 sets van verwante tekeningen die op hun beurt onderworpen worden aan een vergelijkende iconografische architectuuranalyse, waarbij de typologische organisatie van gebouw, ruimte of object en de formele compositie van de verschijningsvorm worden gekoppeld aan aspecten zoals de directe omgeving, de ruimtelijke begrenzingen en de materiële expressie. De methode van het naast elkaar plaatsen van perspectieftekeningen die eenzelfde onderwerp delen om deze vervolgens te vergelijken maakt het mogelijk om, met betrekking tot het afgebeelde onderwerp, algemene patronen en eigenschappen bloot te leggen die het individuele geval overstijgen. Samen vormen deze analyses de basis voor een reeks speculatieve reconstructies van Tessenow's onderzoek naar verschillende relevante thema's die betrekking hebben op de *Kleinwohnung*.

Naast de historische betekenis van Tessenow's casus, demonstreren de analyses die in dit proefschrift gepresenteerd worden ook de betekenis van het perspectieftekenen. Ze maken duidelijk dat deze vorm van tekenen in staat was, en is, om verschillende schaalniveaus, onderdelen en sferen samen te brengen in één beeld dat onmiddellijk begrijpelijk is voor zowel architecten als voor alle anderen die bij architectuur en bouwen betrokken zijn. Ze laten ook zien hoe perspectieftekeningen kunnen bijdragen aan het architectonische denken en zo een belangrijk theoretisch instrument vormen dat ook in de huidige tijd relevant blijft.

## **Appendix: list of Tessenow's perspective drawings**



















The appendix contains a list of perspective drawings made by Heinrich Tessenow in the years 1901-1926. For each drawing the following is listed:




- title: if possible, the caption by Tessenow is used. In other cases the title used by Strey (1981) or De Michelis (1991) is used
- year: dating of the drawing: c. means circa; b. means before
- source: the publication in which the drawing first appeared
- Tessenow Archiv: coding of the drawing or its photocopy in the Heinrich Tessenow Archiv / Kunstbibliothek Berlin
- De Michelis: catalogue number of the project to which the drawing belongs, according to De Michelis (1991)
- Wangerin Weiss: work number of the project to which the drawing belongs, according to Wangerin Weiss (1976)
- Strey: catalogue number of the drawing in the Tessenow Archiv, according to Strey (1981). In many cases also the size of the drawing and the image it contains are given in mm (width x height)
- referenced: page number in this dissertation where the drawing appears

	drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
	Bauernhaus am Aachensee (Tirol)	1901	Zimmermansarbeiten Heft 2					p. 54
	Entwurf zu einem Gartenhäuschen	1902	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XVII (1902) Nr. 27, Beilage	photocopy II.2.3 (4) TA Nr fehlt	1902/2	E 50 (2)		p. 36
	Wohnhaus des Architekten am Sternberger See, Sternberg	1902	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XVII (1902) Nr. 32, Beilage	photocopy II.2.3 (2) TA 71	1902/3	Wo 135 (4)		p. 40
	Studie für ein Pfarrhaus	1902	Deutsche Bauhütte VI (1902), p. 362, 365; M. Winter, 'Vom Mute zur Einfachheit in der Bauweise'		1902/5	Z2/27 (1)		p. 43
	Studie für einen Hauseingang	1902	Deutsche Bauhütte VII (1903), Nr. 8, 'Architektonische Details'		1902/6			p. 120, top
	Diele mit Spülplatz Hannoverschen Wendland	1903	Leipziger Bauzeitung Jg 1906, Nr. 11, p. 85-88	Z 5/33 (TA 28)		Z 5	Kat. Nr. 155, 310 x 256	p. 112, top
	Giebel aus Luebeln im Hannoverschen Wendland	1903	Leipziger Bauzeitung Jg 1906, Nr. 11	TA 28				
	Innenraum mit Herdstelle aus einem hannoverschen Bauernhaus	1903		Z 5/33			Kat. Nr. 155, 310 x 256	
	Brautstuhl (aus dem hannoverschen Wendlande)	1903	Tessenow, 'Das Bauerndorf im hannoverschen Wendland' in: Leipziger Bauzeitung Jg 1906, Nr. 11	Z 1/14		Z 1/14	Kat. Nr. 156, 128 x 189	p. 140, middle
	Türming und Holzschnitzerei	1903	Der Bauzeichner VII (1909), Nr. 8, p. 79	Z 1/13; photocopy II.2.3.56			Kat. Nr. 157, 183 x 262	
	Mansarddach	c. 1905		Z 5/35			Kat. Nr. 171, 124 x 171	
	Studie für eine Dorfkirche	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VIII (1904), p. 166-168 / 172; A.L. Plehn, 'Eine alte Dorfkirche'	Z 2/21 photocopy II.2.3 (15)	1903/1	E 36 (2)		p. 47
	Bismarckturm	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VII (1903), Nr. 11, p. 72; M. Winter, 'Wandfläche und Baustein'	photocopy II.2.3 (11)	1903/2	E 16 (1)		p. 45
	Torabschluß für ein Pfarrhaus	1903	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XVIII (1903) Nr. 15, p. 119; H. Tessenow, 'Fragen und Antworten. Antwort 94'	photocopy II.2.3 (17)	1903/3	E 47 (3)/TA 85		
	Häusergruppe für vier Familien	1903	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XVIII (1903) Nr. 16, Beilage 'Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder. Eine Häusergruppe für 4 Familien'	photocopy II.2.3 (6) ph	1903/4	Wo 94 (2)/TA 75		
	Doppelhaus für die Vorstadt	1903	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XVIII (1903) Nr. 26, Beilage	photocopy II.2.3 (5)	1903/6	Wo 93 (2)		
	Gemauerte und verputzte Grabmonumente	1903	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XVIII (1903) Nr. 41, Beilage; H. Tessenow, 'Fragen und Antworten. Antwort 249'	photocopy II.2.3 (14)	1903/8	E 28 (2)/TA 86		
	Gartenansicht Reihenhäuser für Kleinbürger und Arbeiter	1903	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XIX (1904) Nr. 20, p. 155-159 & Beilage; 'Unsere Vorlagen und Bilder'	photocopy II.2.3 (7) TA 93	1903/10 p. 42	Wo 95 (12)/TA 93		p. 92, top
	Eingang ins Haus II		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XIX (1904) Nr. 20, p. 155		1903/10 p. 42			




















drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
 Elternschlafzimmer im Dachgeschoss, Haus IV		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XIX (1904) Nr. 20, p. 157		1903/10 p. 42			
 Eingang ins Haus IV		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XIX (1904) Nr. 20, p. 157		1903/10 p. 42			
 Zimmer im Hause IV		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XIX (1904) Nr. 20, p. 159		1903/10 p. 42			p. 114, top
 Zimmer im Hause IV		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XIX (1904) Nr. 20, p. 158		1903/10 p. 42			p. 148, top
 Elternschlafzimmer, Haus III				1903/10 p. 42			
 Zimmer in Haus I				1903/10 p. 42			
 Flur im Dachgeschoß, Haus VI			photocopy II.2.3 (7) TA 93				
 Haus am See	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VII (1903), Nr. 11, p. 72; M. Winter, 'Wandfläche und Baustein'	photocopy II.2.3 (11)	1903/12	Z2/19 (1)		p. 45
 Studie für ein Haus im Gebirge	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VII (1903), Nr. 11, p. 72; M. Winter, 'Wandfläche und Baustein'	photocopy II.2.3 (11)	1903/13			p. 45
 Studie für ein Kleinstadthaus	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VII (1903), Nr. 20, Beilage 'Architektonische Details'; Nr. 22 p. 139 Beilage 'Architektonische Details'; Sonderbeilage bei: Franz Geiger, 'Kleinstadt-Architektur (II)'		1903/14	Z2/11 (1)		
 Pförtnerhäuschen	1903	Zentralblatt für das deutsche Baugewerbe, II (1903), Nr 92, p. 740 - 741; 'Haus am Berge und Pförtnerhäuschen';	photocopy II.2.3 (18)	1903/15			
 Hauseingang	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VII (1903), Nr. 48, p. 335, 337; F.R. Vogel, 'Haus- und Garten-Eingänge' & Beilage 'Architektonische Details'		1903/16	Z4/17 (p. 15)		p. 122, middle
 Garteneingang	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VII (1903), Nr. 48, p. 335, 337; F.R. Vogel, 'Haus- und Garten-Eingänge' & Beilage 'Architektonische Details'		1903/16	Z4/17 (p. 15)		
 Studie für ein Pförtnerhäuschen	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VII (1903), Nr. 48, Beilage 'Architektonische Details'		1903/17	Z2/26 (1)		
 Straße in einer Kleinstadt	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VIII (1904), Nr. 1, p. 2; Albrecht Haupt, 'Kleinstadt-Architektur'	photocopy II.2.3 (16)	1903/18			p. 48
 Studie für ein Einfamilienhaus	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VIII (1904), Nr. 1, p. 3; Albrecht Haupt, 'Kleinstadt-Architektur'	photocopy II.2.3 (16)	1903/19	Z2/23 (1)		p. 48
 Studie für ein Kleinstadtrathaus	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VIII (1904), Nr. 1, p. 3; Albrecht Haupt, 'Kleinstadt-Architektur'	photocopy II.2.3 (16)	1903/20	E37 (1)		p. 48
 Projekt zu einem Landgasthause	1903	Deutsche Bauhütte VIII (1904), Nr. 40, p. 275-277; Erich Schwinghammer, 'Über Landgasthäuser'	photocopy II.2.3 (12)	1903/21	E17 (6)		p.46
 Eingang		Deutsche Bauhütte VIII (1904), Nr. 40, p. 275-277; Erich Schwinghammer, 'Über Landgasthäuser'		1903/21			p.46



















drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
		Deutsche Bauhütte VIII (1904), Nr. 40, p. 275-277; Erich Schwinghammer, 'Über Landgasthäuser'					p.46
		Deutsche Bauhütte VIII (1904), Nr. 40, p. 275-277; Erich Schwinghammer, 'Über Landgasthäuser'					p.46
		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII (1907) Nr. 46, p. 368	photocopy II.2.3 (13)				p.46
	1903-1904	Zentralblatt für das deutsche Baugewerbe, II (1903), Nr 92, p. 741; 'Haus am Berge und Pförtnerhäuschen'	photocopy II.2.3 (18)	1903/22	Wo 90 (5)		
		Deutsche Bauhütte VII (1903), Nr. 32, p. 208; Markward Winter, 'Eine ländliche Wohndiele' & Beilage 'Architektonische Details'					
							
							
		Deutsche Bauhütte IX (1905), Nr. 7, p. 56; Gustav Eberhardt, 'Über ländliche Bauweise'	photocopy II.2.3 (19)	1903/22	Wo 90 (5)		p. 49
							p. 49
							p. 49
		Wilhelm Bode	1988.31 AOZ Z	p. 60			p. 70
	b. 1905	Wilhelm Bode, Stunden mit Goethe, Berlin 1905	Z 1988.25 AOZ				
		Wilhelm Bode, Stunden mit Goethe, Berlin 1905, p. 269					
		Wilhelm Bode, Stunden mit Goethe, Berlin 1905, p. 269					
		Wilhelm Bode, Stunden mit Goethe, Berlin 1905					
		Wilhelm Bode, Stunden mit Goethe, Berlin 1905					
	c. 1905	Wilhelm Bode	Z 1988.30 AOZ	p. 101			p. 100
	c. 1905	Wilhelm Bode		p. 101			p. 128
	1904	Deutsche Bauhütte, VIII (1904), Nr. 13, Beilage					
	1904	Deutsche Bauhütte X (1905), Nr. 1, p. 10; 'Vom Poetischen in der Baukunst'		1904/1			
	1904	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXI (1906) Nr. 15, p. 116		1904/2			



















drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
 Gartenhaus		Deutsche Bauhütte X (1905), Nr. 7, p. 56; 'Über ländliche Bauweise'		1904/3	E 49 (2)		p. 49
 Zweifamilienwohnhaus	1904	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XIX (1904) Nr. 51, p. 406 Beilage; 'Zweifamilien-Wohnhaus. Zwei Lösungen der gleichen Aufgabe. I. Entwurf der H. Tessenow'	photocopy II.2.3.22	1904/4	Wo 133 (6)/TA 94		p. 86, top
 Erbbegräbnis	1904	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XX (1905) Nr. 1, p. 6; Gewünschte Skizzen. 2. Erbbegräbnis	photocopy II.2.3.23	1904/5	E 27 (1)/TA 87		p. 39
 Haus auf der Höhe	1904	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XX (1905) Nr. 3, Beilage; H. Tessenow, 'Haus auf der Höhe'	photocopy II.2.3.20	1904/6	Wo 129 (4)		p. 82, middle
 Haus auf der Höhe (Interieur)		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XX (1905) Nr. 3, Beilage; H. Tessenow, 'Haus auf der Höhe'					
 Haus auf der Höhe, Eingang		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XX (1905) Nr. 3, Beilage; H. Tessenow, 'Haus auf der Höhe'	photocopy II.2.3.20				p. 146, top
 Studie für ein Landhaus	c. 1904	Deutsche Bauhütte IX (1905), Nr. 7, p. 56; Gust(av) Eberhardt, 'Über ländliche Bauweise'	photocopy II.2.3.24	1904/8	Wo 92 (2)		p. 49
 Landhaus	c. 1904	Deutsche Bauhütte VIII (1904), p. 362; 'Gartenseite eines Landhauses'		1904/9	Wo 122 (1)		
 Gartenstühle mit Tisch	1905	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 28	M 7/29			Kat. Nr. 236, 222 x 112	p. 150, top
 Hauseingang und Holzbank	1905	Der Bauzeichner VII (1908), Nr. 40, 1908, Beilage; H. Tessenow, 'Hauseingang und Holzbank'	photocopy II.2.3.77				p. 146, bottom
 Haushuer v. ein Bauernhause in Hohenfels i.d. Eifel	1905	Deutsche Bauhütte, XI (1907), p. 271; 'Alte Handwerkskunst (Zu den Aufnahmen von Arch. H. Tessenow)'					
 Gartenhaus in Pallien b/Trier	1905	Deutsche Bauhütte, XI (1907), p. 271; 'Alte Handwerkskunst (Zu den Aufnahmen von Arch. H. Tessenow)'					
 Haushuer an einem Bauernhause in d. Eifel	1905	Deutsche Bauhütte, XI (1907), p. 271; 'Alte Handwerkskunst (Zu den Aufnahmen von Arch. H. Tessenow)'					
 Zusammengebaute Einfamilienhäuser für die Landhauskolonie Neu-Dörlau b. Halle a. S.	1905	Süddeutsche Bauhütte VIII (1907), Nr. 8, p. 60; 'Unsere Bilder'; Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 22		1905/1	Wo 74 (3)		
 Wohnzimmer		Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 24					
 Zwei Einfamilien-Wohnhäuser für die Landhauskolonie Neu-Dörlau		Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 23			Wo 74 (3)		
 Einfamilienhäuser mit Laubengang. Landhauskolonie Neu-Dörlau b. Halle a. S.		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII (1907) Nr. 34, p. 268	photocopy II.2.3.26b		Wo 141 (1)		
 Zwei Einfamilienhäuser, Landhauskolonie Neu-Dörlau bei Halle a. S.	1904-1905	Der Baumeister, IV (1906) Nr. 6, Tafel 46; Tessenow, 'Zwei Einfamilien-wohnhäuser für die Landhauskolonie Neu-Dörlau b. Halle a. S.'	photocopy II.2.3.26a	1905/2	Wo 96 (8)/TA 83 /TA 17		






















	drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
	<b>Gartenhaus für freistehendes Einfamilienhaus J. Becker Neu-Döllau</b>		Der Baumeister, IV (1906) Nr. 6, Tafel 46	photocopy II.2.3.26				
	<b>Treppe für freistehendes Einfamilienhaus J. Becker Neu-Döllau</b>		Der Baumeister, IV (1906) Nr. 6, Tafel 46	photocopy II.2.3.26				p. 148, middle
	<b>Gartenwohnung für eine Dame, Döllau bei Halle a.d. Saale</b>	1905	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 43		1905/3	Wo 75 (1)		
	<b>Vier Arbeiterwohnhäusern als Reihenhäuser</b>	1905	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XX (1905) Nr. 43, p. 340; H. Tessenow, 'Entwurf zu vier Arbeiterwohnhäusern als Reihenhäusern'	photocopy II.2.3.27	1905/4	Wo 57 (9)		p. 90, top
	<b>Grabstätte im Walde</b>	1905	Das Werk, I (1909), Nr. 1, p. 5	photocopy II.2.3.41	1905/6	E 41(1)		p. 108, top
	<b>Freistehendes Einfamilienhaus in Backsteinrohbau</b>	1905 (1904)	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XX (1905) Nr. 15, p. 118-119 Beilage; Gewünschte Skizzen. 20. Freistehendes Einfamilienhaus	photocopy II.2.3.25	1905/7	Wo 144 (4) / TA 77		
	<b>Entwurf zu einem bürgerlichen Wohnhause an einem Abhang</b>	1905	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XX (1905) Nr. 37, p. 295 Beilage; Gewünschte Skizzen. 37.; De Wohnhausbau Tafel 25	photocopy II.2.3.33	1905/9	Wo 76 (3) / TA 78		p. 86, middle
	<b>Landhaus in der Ebene, Saratoff (Südrubland)</b>	1905	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXI (1906) Nr. 7, Beilage; Gewünschte Skizzen. 5. Villa in Südrubland	photocopy II.2.3.36	1905/10	Wo 130 (2) / TA 95		
	<b>Landhaus am Berghang, Saratoff (Südrubland)</b>	1905	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXI (1906) Nr. 7, Beilage; Gewünschte Skizzen. 5. Villa in Südrubland			Wo 131 (2) / TA 95		p. 84, middle
	<b>Zweifamilienhaus 'Einsiedelei'</b>	1905	Trierisches Jahrbuch für ästhetische Kultur, (1908), p. 119; Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 19		1905/14	Wo 82 (5)		p. 84, top
	<b>Skizzen zu einem ländlichen Zweifamilienhause</b>		J(ohannes) M(umbauer), 'Einsiedelei', Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXI (1906) Nr. 1, Beilage	photocopy II.2.3.34				
	<b>Kleine Landhäuser fuer Weiden bei Köln</b>	1905	Deutsche Bauhütte X (1906), Nr. 22, Beilage & p. 176, 178, 180; M(etus) Heeren, 'Vom Einfamilien-Reihenhaus'	photocopy and clip II.2.3.35	1905/15	Wo 89 (2)		
	<b>Häusergruppe, Bad Brösen bei Danzig</b>	1905	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII (1907) Nr. 40, p. 313 'Unsre Bilder. Häusergruppe für Bad Brösen bei Danzig'	photocopy II.2.3.37	1905/16	Wo 136 (1)		
		1905	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII (1907) Nr. 40, p. 318 'Unsre Bilder. Häusergruppe für Bad Brösen bei Danzig'					
	<b>Arbeiterwohnhaus für vier Familien</b>	1905	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII (1907) Nr. 40, p. 316, 318 'Entwurf Skizze zu einem freistehenden Arbeiterwohnhaus für 4 Familien'	photocopy	1905/17	Wo 137 (2)		p. 118, middle
	<b>Skizze zu einem Landhause</b>	1905	Der Bauzeichner VII (1908) Nr. 21, p. 229; H. Tessenow, 'Skizze zu einem Landhause'	photocopy II.2.3.28 TA 98	1905/18	Wo 61 (2)		
	<b>Aus dem Inneren der zusammengebauten ländliches Arbeiter-Einfamilienhäuser</b>		Der Bauzeichner VII (1908) Nr. 50, p. 543; H. Tessenow, 'Zwei zusammengebaute ländliche Arbeiter-Einfamilienhäuser'	photocopy II.2.3.40	1905/19	Wo 153		
	<b>Entwurf zu einem Arbeiterwohnhaus an einem Berg-Abhang bei Mülheim a. Ruhr</b>	1905	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 6	photocopy II.2.3.29	1905/20	Wo 71 (2)		








































	drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
	Eingangspergola für ein bürgerliches Haus	1905	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 29		1905/21			p. 118, top
	Studie für einen Hauseingang (Gartenhalle)	c. 1905	Undatierte Originalzeichnung in KB/TN		1905/22			p. 120, middle
	Zwei zusammengebaute Einfamilienhäuser	1905	Erich Haenel/Heinrich Tscharmann, Das Einzelwohnhaus der Neuzeit, 1907, p. 63-65	photocopy II.2.3.54 (1905 datierte Gesamtansicht in KB/TN)	1905/23	Wo 109 (2)		p. 88, top
	Sommerhaus in Vorpommern	1906/1907	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXIII (1908) nr. 1, p. 4-6; 'Unsere Bilder'	photocopy II.2.3.63	1906/1	Wo 108 (7)		
	Skizzen zu einem freistehenden Wohnhause/ Wohnhaus für drei Familien	1906	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXI (1906) Nr. 51, 406-408; 'Gewünschte Skizzen. 35. Freistehendes Wohnhaus'	photocopy II.2.3. TA 80	1906/2	Wo 134 (6)		
	3 Vierfamilienhäuser für die Schaffner der Städtischen Elektrizitätswerke Trier, Werner Siemens Straße	1906	Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 10		1906/3	Wo 79 (9)		
	Schaffnerwohnungen Elektrizitätswerk Trier, Wohnzimmer	1907	Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 16					p. 114, middle
	Veranda		Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 15					
	Koch- und Spülplatz, Speisenschrank, Kammer fuer Eimer, Besen u. dgl.	1909	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, p. 19					p. 55
	Küchenarbeitsstisch und Geschirrschrank	1909	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, p. 19					p. 55
		1909	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, p. 19					p. 55
	Brunnen für den Marktplatz einer Kleinstadt	1906	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXI (1906), Nr 36, p. 282; O. V(oe)pel, 'Unsere Bilder'; Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 22	photocopy II.2.3.58	1906/04	E32 (1)		
	Zwillinghäuser für 4 Familien	c. 1906	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXI (1906), Nr 38, p. 300	photocopy II.2.3.56 a	1906/5	Wo 140 (3)		p. 88, bottom
	Hauseingang	c. 1906	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXI (1906), Nr 38, p. 303		1906/6			
	Laubenartiger Vorbau eines Hauseinganges	c. 1906	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 1		1906/07	E14 (2)		
	Musikpavillon	c. 1906	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 2		1906/8	E15 (2)		
	Gartenlaube	1906	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 38		1906/9	E52 (2)		p. 52; p. 116, middle-top
	Bretterzäune und Thore	c. 1906	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 39		1906/10			
	Gartenzaun und Dachfenster mit Blumenbrett	c. 1906	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 40		1906/11			p. 52


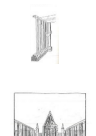












drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
 Hauseingang	1906	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 30		1906/12			p. 122, top
 Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser	1906	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 15	photocopy II.2.3.52	1906/13	Wo 78 (2)		
 Einfamilien-Wohnhaus	1906	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 14		1906/14	Wo 88 (2)		
 Landhaus an der Ruhr, Ruhrtal	1906	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, p. 37-39		1906/15	Wo 15 (3)		p. 84, bottom
 Landhaus an der Ruhr / Landhaus Saartal (Umgebung Trier)	1906	Trierisches Jahrbuch für ästhetische Kultur, Trier, Verlag Fr. Lintz 1908, p. 83, 121, 181; J(ohannes)M(umbauer), Vom 'Landhause'	photocopy II.2.3.47	1906/16	Wo 14 (5)		
 Skizze zu einem Landhaus an der Ruhr	1906	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 40		1906/17	Wo 16 (1)		
 Projekt zu einem Landhaus an der Ruhr	1906	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 41		1906/18	Wo 17 (1)		
 Gartenhaus zu dem Landhaus an der Ruhr	c. 1906	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, p. 42	photocopy II.2.3.48 a	1906/19	E51 (1)		
		Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, p. 42					
 Handwerkerhaus, Mintard bei Mülheim a.d. Ruhr	1906	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 7		1906/20	Wo 72 (2)		
 Doppelwohnhaus für 12 Arbeiterfamilien	1906	Neudeutsche Bauzeitung IV (1908), Nr. 7, p. 52; B. Hanftmann, 'Reihen-Doppelhaus für 12 Kleinfamilien. Zum Entwurf von H. Tessenow'; Wohnhausbau 1909, Tafel 18	photocopy II.2.3.50	1906/21	Wo 73 (2)		p. 94, top
 Erker, darunter: Sitznische	1906	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 14		1906/22	Wo 88 (?)		
 Projekt zu einem Landhaus an der Ruhr. (Links: Altes Bauernhaus)		Leipziger Bauzeitung II (1906), Nr. 39, p. 320-322; Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 39	photocopy II.2.3.48				
 Wohnzimmer		Leipziger Bauzeitung II (1906), Nr. 39, p. 322	photocopy II.2.3.48				
 Eingang zu einem ländlichen Wohnhause / Landhaus an der Ruhr	1906	JM, Vom 'Landhause', p. 83, 121, 181; Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 36	photocopy II.2.3.47				p. 146, middle
 Erker, darunter: Sitznische	1906	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 14		1906/22	Wo 88?		
 Loggienartiger Dachausbau und Variante		Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 17		1906/23			
 Zwei Dachausbauten	c. 1906	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 40		1906/23			p. 52






















drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
 Skizze zu einem Wohnhaus in der Eifel	1906	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 20		1906/24	Wo 83 (1)		
 Einfamilienreihenhäuser, Bad Brösen bei Danzig	1906-1907	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 32		1906/25	Wo 77 (2)		
 Einfamilien-Wohnhäuser für Bad Brösen Wohnzimmer	1907	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 34					
 Einfamilien-Wohnhäuser für Bad Brösen	1907	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 34					
 Häuserreihe am Marktplatz in Friedland (Westpreußen)	b. 1908			p. 98			
 Aus einem Patrizierhause in Weimar	1904	Tessenow, 'Die Ausbildung der Treppe und das Treppenhaus' in: Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, unnumbered page					p. 142, top
 Aus einem thüringischen Bauernhause		Tessenow, 'Die Ausbildung der Treppe und das Treppenhaus' in: Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, unnumbered page					p. 142, middle
 Treppenhaus		Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 22					
 Treppenhaus zu einem Einfamilienhaus für Bad Brösen	1905	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 22					
 Typisches ländliches Wohnhaus aus Westpreußen	c. 1907	Zimmermannsarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 31					p. 51
 Säulenfuß	c. 1907		Z 2/5			Kat. Nr. 209, 163 x 406	
 Perspektivische Ansicht einer Raumecke mit Kommode und Uhr	c. 1907	Neudeutsche Bauzeitung, VI 1910, Nr 7, p. 79-87; Martin Wagner, 'Gartenstadthäuser'	M 6/8			Kat. Nr. 238, 170 x 172	
 Alte Schlosserarbeiten (Messingdruecker aus einem Wohnhause in Weimar / Schmiedeis. Schl. Aus ein Bauernhaus in d. Eifel)	1907	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII, 1907, Nr. 34, p. 271					
 Alte Schlosserarbeiten (Schmiedeisener Druecker aus eiem Arbeiter-Wohnhaus in Trier)							
 Einfamilienhaus Öhrenstraße Trier	1907	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXIII, 1908, Nr. 17, p. 133; 'Entwurf zu einer Gruppe eingebauter Einfamilienhäuser in Trier'	photocopy II.2.3.64	1907/1	Wo 125 (2)		
 Dorfschulhaus mit Lehrerwohnung	1907	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXIII, 1908, Nr. 17, p. 132; 'Skizze zu einer einklassigen Dorf-Schule mit Lehrerwohnung'	photocopy II.2.3.67 / II.2.3.68	1907/2	E 33 (2)		
 Entwurf zu einem Muttergottes-Häuschen für das Saartal	1907	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXIV (1909), Nr. 40, p. 320	photocopy II.2.3.69	1907/3	E 35 (1)		
 Entwurf zu einem Pfarrhause. Projekt 1 (1907) / Entwurf zu einem freistehenden Wohnhause (1909)	1907	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII, 1907, Nr. 11, p. 85; 'Gewünschte Skizzen. Pfarrhaus'; Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 27	photocopy II.2.3.62	1907/4	Wo 81 (6)		

	drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
	Entwurf zu einem Pfarrhause. Projekt 2		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII, 1907, Nr. 11, p. 86; 'Gewünschte Skizzen. Pfarrhaus'		1907/4			
	Projekt zu einem Gartenhaeuschen an der Ruhr	c. 1907	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII, 1907, Nr. 34, Beilage 'Unsere Bilder'.	photocopy II.2.3.59 / II.2.3.66	1907/5	E 46 (4)		
			Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII, 1907, Nr. 34, Beilage 'Unsere Bilder'.		1907/5			
	Sitze zu einem Gartenhaeuschen an der Ruhr		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII, 1907, Nr. 34, p. 267	photocopy II.2.3.59				
	Gartenhaus		Der Bauzeichner VIII (1909), Nr. 10, p. 105	photocopy II.2.3.65				
	Gartentisch		Der Bauzeichner VIII (1909), Nr. 10, p. 106	photocopy II.2.3.65				
	Ländliches Einfamilienwohnhaus	c. 1907	Der Bauzeichner, VII (1908) Nr. 36, p. 400; 'Kleines ländliches Einfamilien-Wohnhaus'	photocopy II.2.3.65a	1907/6	Wo 152 (5)		p. 82, bottom
	Schlafzimmer im Obergeschoß	1907	Der Bauzeichner, VII (1908) Nr. 36, p. 401; 'Kleines ländliches Einfamilien-Wohnhaus'	photocopy II.2.3.65a				
	Treppenstudie	1907	Zimmermansarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 21		1907/7			p. 148, bottom
	Podesttreppe	1907	Zimmermansarbeiten, 1907, Blatt 21		1907/8			
	Eingebaute Kleinbürgerwohnungen (Straßenbild)	1907	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, p. 5		1907/9	Wo 41		
	Eingebaute Kleinbürgerwohnungen (Ladenfenster Bäckermeister)		Der Wohnhausbau, 1909; 32					
	Eingebaute Kleinbürgerwohnung (Hof)	1907	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909; 28			Wo 41 (3)		
	Eingebaute Kleinbürgerwohnung (Wohnzimmer)		Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 3	M 1/1				Kat. Nr. 237, 234 x 258 (185 x 203)
	Eingebaute Kleinbürgerwohnung. Koch- u. Speiseraum		Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, 20					
			Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, 21					
	Eingebaute Kleinbürgerwohnung (oberer Flur, Treppenhaus)		Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, 23					
	Eingebaute Kleinbürgerwohnung (Schlafzimmer)		Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, 25					
	Zwei zusammengebaute Arbeiter-Einfamilienhäuser	1907-1908	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909; Tafel 1		1907/10	Wo 69 (3)		p. 55; p. 86, bottom
			Der Wohnhausbau, 1909; Tafel 2					
			Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, p. 18					
























	drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
	Gartenwandelgang eines vornehmen Wohnhauses, Spiel u Badeplatz u.s.w.	1907	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 44		1907/11			p. 110, middle
	Gartenlaube	b. 1907	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXII, 1907, Nr. 52, Beilage	photocopy II.2.3.71	1907/12	E 39 (4)		p. 116, top
	Gartenlaube	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, p. 120		1907/13			p. 116, middle-bottom
	Eine Gartenlaube aus geschältem Rundholz	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, 121	Z 4/11	1907/14		Kat. Nr. 212, 168 x 210 (136 x 169)	
	Gartenlaube	b. 1913	Kunst und Kunsthandwerk XVI (1913), p. 598; Hans Tietze, 'Heinrich Tessenow'; Hausbau, 1916, p. 146	Z 4/13	1907/15	Z 4/13	Kat. Nr. 214, 183 x 110 (163 x 92)	p. 116, bottom
	Gartenlaube	b. 1916		Z 4/12	1907/16	Z 4/12	Kat. Nr. 213, 170 x 164 (137 x 128)	
	Wohnzimmer	1908	Das Werk (Hohe Warte), Leipzig, Jg 1909	photocopy III.2.9.8	p. 41			p. 154, bottom
	Treppenraum von oberen Flur gesehen	1908		M 6/5			Kat. Nr. 239, 187 x 225	
	einfaches Schlafzimmer	c. 1908	Profanbau 1919: 'Aus dem Schlafzimmer'			abb. 261		
	Eingebaute Arbeiterwohnung	1908	Wohnhausbau, 1909; 29		1908/01	Wo 40 (2)		p. 120, bottom
	Schnitt durch ein Wohnzimmer eines kleinen eingebauten Einfamilienhauses	1908	Wohnhausbau, 1909; p. 8	M 6/5			Kat. Nr. 240, 137 x 202 (113 x 178)	
	Eingebaute Arbeiterwohnung (Wohnzimmer)		Wohnhausbau, 1909; 17					p. 57
	Beamtenwohnhäuser für Mettlach a.d. Saar	1908	Süddeutsche Bauhütte X, 1909, Nr. 44, p. 351		1908/2	Wo 128 (1)		
	Etagenhäuser	1908	Das Werk, I (1909), Nr. 1, p. 6		1908/3	Wo 103 (1) / zweistöckige Reihenhäuser		p. 94, middle
	Gartenhalle	1908	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXIV, 1909, Nr. 44, p. 352; 'Gartenhalle'		1908/4	E 53 (1)		
	Öffentliche Badeanstalt	1908	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, p. 27		1908/5	E 6 (1)		
	Ein kleines ländliches Anwesen	c. 1908	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 5		1908/6	Wo 70 (3)		
	Reihengrabstätte	1908	Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXIII, 1908, Nr. 27, p. 214; 'Gewünschte Skizzen. Reihengräber'		1908/7	E 34 (3)		
	Grabstätte		Bautechnische Zeitschrift XXIII, 1908, Nr. 27, p. 210; 'Gewünschte Skizzen. Reihengräber'	photocopy II.2.3.75				
	Wohnhausdetails	1908	Deutsche Bauhütte, XIV (1910) Nr. 11, p. 93-96; H. Aug. Waldner, 'Künstlerische Bestrebungen im Kleinwohnungsbau'	photocopy II.2.3.51	1908/8			
























	drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
	Toiletten Zimmer	1908	Der Wohnhausbau, 1909, Tafel 45		1908/9			
	Garten im Rheinland	1908	Hausgärten. Skizzen und Entwürfe aus dem Wettbewerb der "Woche", (Berlin, August Scherl Verlag, 1908) p. 115; Wettbewerb, Motto 'Nebelkrähe'	photocopy II.2.3.76	1908/10	Laube E 56 (1)		
	Eule	1909	De Wohnhausbau, 1909, p. 3			Pforte E 57 (1)		p. 159
	Einfamilienhaus an der Ruhr, Ruhrtal	1909	Die Rheinlande IX (1909) Nr. 3, p. 89-93; Wilhelm Schäfer, 'Heinrich Tessenow'	photocopy II.2.3.49	1909/1	Wo 13 (1)		
	Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser, Hellerau	1909	Neudeutsche Bauzeitung VI (1910), Nr. 7, 79-87; M. Wagner, 'Gartenstadthäuser'; Hausbau, 1916, 80		1909/2	Wo 24 (2)		
	Bebauung einer Wohnstrasse, Hellerau		Die deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung, 1911, IV. Anhang					p. 21
	Ansicht der Gartenseite, Hellerau							
	Einfamilienhaus Hellerau		Die deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung, 1911, III Theoretischer Teil					
	Damenzimmer	b. 1926	Kunst und Kuenstler, 1926, Nr. 2, p. 49					
	Haus zum Wolf, Hopfengarten, Magdeburg	1910	Neudeutsche Bauzeitung VI (1910), Nr. 7, p. 79-87	1 (KB/TN Wo30/1)	1910/1	Wo 30 (9)		
	Haus Metzges, Remagen	1909-1910			1910/2	Wo 60 (10)		
						p. 204		
	Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze, Hellerau (Erste Entwurf)	1910			1910/4, p. 23	B 1/38 (1), p. 191		
	Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze, Hellerau (Zweite Entwurf)	1910	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbunder (Jena, Eugen Diederichs, 1912) abb. 94; Hausbau, 1916, p. 130		p. 23	B 1/4 (2), p. 191		
	Zweite Entwurf, Seitenansicht	1910			p. 23	p. 191		
	Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze, Hellerau (final)		Gartenstadt Hellerau, p. 62, 63			B 1 (37)		
			Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze, Der Rhythmus: ein Jahrbuch. Bd. 1 (Jena, Eugen Diederichs, 1911)					
						p. 193		
	Zwei verbundene Einfamilienhäuser Heideweg 4 und 6, Hellerau	1910	Gartenstadt Hellerau, 1911, p. 40; TA 6 Die deutsche Gartenstadt, I. Allgemeiner Bericht		1910/7	Wo 10; Wo 98/3	Kat. Nr. 6, 300 x 305	
	Laubenbau und Balkon	1910	Hausbau, 1916, 96			Wo 10, Wo 98		p. 99




















	drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
	Haus Lehmann, Auf dem Sand 12, Hellaerau	1910-1911	Hausbau, 1916, p. 99		1910/8	Wo 11 (13)		
			Die deutsche Gartenstadt	photocopy II.2.3.83		Wo 11		
	T III: Einfamilien-doppelhäuser Am Schänkenberg 28, 30 (Wandkonstruktion)	1910-1911			1910/9	Wo 117 (12)		
	Gartenspalieren und eine Laube	c. 1911		Wo 98/6		Wo 98	Kat. Nr. 7, 193 x 233	
	Flur mit Kachelofen	c. 1911		M 6/7			Kat. Nr. 241, 201 x 263 (193 x 198)	
	Hauseingang	c. 1911		Z 2/13			Kat. Nr. 217, 322 x 230	
	Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser (Wohnhof), Gartenstadt Hohensalza	1911	Hausbau, 1916, 68		1911/3	Wo 5 (4)		p. 92, middle; p. 110, bottom
	Straßenseite (7 Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser, Hohensalza)	1911-1914	Hausbau, 1916, 74	Wo 6/2		Wo 6 (5)	Kat. Nr. 8, 255 x 276	p. 122, bottom
	Gartenseite (7 Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser, Hohensalza)		Hausbau, 1916, 75					
	Wohn- und Eßzimmerecke	1911-1914	Hausbau, 1916, 78	M 1/9			Kat. Nr. 242, 179 x 189 (164 x 171)	p. 114, bottom
	Zimmer mit Kachelofen	1911-1914	Hausbau, 1916, 79					
	Einfaches Schlafzimmer	1911-1914	Hausbau, 1916, 73	M 3/2			Kat. Nr. 243, 192 x 192 (156 x 159)	
	Haus Gehlig, Tännichtweg 1 Hellaerau	1911			1911/6	Wo 97 / Wo 110 (8)		
	Zweifamilien-Arbeiterhäuser, Waldkirchen, Erzgebirge	b. 1913	H. Tietzen 'Heinrich Tessenow' in: Kunst und Kunsthandwerk XVI, (1913), p. 592; Hausbau, 1916, p. 89		1912/2	Wo 7 (2)		p. 90, middle
	Zweifamilienhaus für Fabrikbeamte, Waldkirchen, Erzgebirge	b. 1916	Hausbau 1916, p. 91	K 8/TN Wo 8/2	1912/3	Wo 8 (2)	Kat. Nr. 9, 220x233	
	Haus für einen Fabrikdirektor, Waldkirchen, Erzgebirge	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, p. 93		1912/4	Wo 9 (3)		p. 82, top
	Einfamilienhaus	c. 1912			1912/5	Wo 28 (1)	Kat. Nr. 10, 169x180	
	Einfamilienhäuser für Handwerker	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, 81					
	Atelier Nau-Roeser, Lostau, bie Magdeburg							
		1912			1912/7	Wo 29 (16)		Kat. Nr. 4: Wo 29/7
	Aus dem Wohnzimmer	c. 1917	Profanbau XV (1919) Nr. 9/10, p. 91; W. Mackowsky 'Heinrich Tessenow'	M 1/11		most likely Kriegersiedl. Rähnitz (1917/2)	Kat. Nr. 246, 328 x 289 (306 x 267)	p. 10, p. 152, bottom
	Haus für Adolf Otto, Gartenstadt Falkenberg, Berlin-Grünau	1912-1913	Hausbau 1916 p. 103		1913/3	Wo 12 / Wo 114 (13)		p. 62










	drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
	Variant		Hausbau 1916 p. 104					
	Ansicht der Eingangsseite eines Einfamilienhaus für die Gartenstadt Falkenberg/Berlin		Hausbau 1916 p. 105	Wo 12/2			Kat. Nr. 11, 224 x 286 (207 x 264)	p. 69
	Sechsfamilien-Reihenhäuser Wohnungskolonie Gröba-Riesa	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, p. 86		1913/4	Wo 3 (6)		p. 94, bottom
			Hausbau, 1916, p. 87					
	Straßenseite		Hausbau, 1916, p. 84					
	Gartenseite		Hausbau, 1916, p. 85					
	Gutsherrenhaus, Norddeutschland	b. 1916		Wo 51/6	1913/5	Wo 51 (8)	Kat. Nr. 15, 170 x 197	
	Gutsherrenhaus, Norddeutschland			Wo 51/7			Kat. Nr. 16, 199 x 215	
	Gutsherrenhaus, Norddeutschland		Hausbau, 1916, p. 135					
	Brunnenhof		Hausbau, 1916, p. 136					
	Laubengang		Hausbau, 1916, p. 137					
	Gutsherrenhaus, Mecklenburg	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, p. 132	Wo 50/1	1913/8	Wo 50 (2)	Kat. Nr. 13, 234 x 248	
	Diele	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, p. 133	Wo 50/2	1913/9	Wo 50 (2)	Kat. Nr. 14, 201 x 197	p. 112, bottom
	Gutsherrenhaus	b. 1916		Wo 87/1	1913/10	Wo 87 (1)	Kat. Nr. 12, 183x160	
	Haustür	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, p. 139		1916/1			p. 144, top
	Entwurf zu einem Gutsherrnhaus für Norddeutschland		Hausbau, 1916, 138		1916/1			
	Einfamilien-Doppelhaus	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, 107		1913/11	Wo 2 (4)		p. 88, middle
	Straßenzaun und Pforte		Hausbau, 1916, 108					
	Haustür		Hausbau, 1916, 109					p. 144, middle
	Auf dem Flur		Hausbau, 1916, 110					p. 127
	Treppenhaus		Hausbau, 1916, 111					p. 142, bottom



	drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
	Aus dem Herrenzimmer		Hausbau, 1916, 112					p. 154, middle
	Ein anderer Herrenschriftisch		Hausbau, 1916, 113					p. 150, bottom
	Aus dem Wohnzimmer		Hausbau, 1916, 114					
	Schreibtisch mit Stuhl		Hausbau, 1916, p. 115	M 4/12			Kat. Nr. 248, 232 x 260 (220 x 230)	p. 152, top
	Aus dem Eßzimmer		Hausbau, 1916, p. 116					
	Büffet		Hausbau, 1916, p. 117					
	Schlafzimmer mit Doppelbett		Hausbau, 1916, p. 118	M 3/5			Kat. Nr. 249, 234 x 263 (200 x 229)	
	Aus dem Schlafzimmer		Hausbau, 1916, p. 119					
	Schreibtisch mit Stuhl aus einem Herrenarbeitszimmer	c. 1913	Der Profanbau XV (1919) Nr. 9/10, p. 88; W. Mackowsky 'Heinrich Tessenow'	M 4/11b			Kat. Nr. 247, 260 x 310	p. 152, middle
	Gartenlaube	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, p. 120	Z 4/11	1907/13			p. 116, middle-bottom
	Haustür	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, 76		1913/12			p. 144, bottom
	Einfamilien-Reihenhaus, Am Schänkenberg 38, 40, 42, 44, Hellerau	1914	H. Salomon, 'Unseren Kriegsinvaliden Heim und Werkstatt in Gartensiedlungen', 1915, p. 74		1914/1	Wo 86 (8)		
	Ansicht eines Eingangs zu einem Herrenhaus	c. 1915		Z 3/2	c. 1915		Kat. Nr. 219, 150 x 119 (54 x 65)	
	Innenraumsicht eines Ateliers mit Mann und Hund	b. 1916	Hausbau und dergleichen 1916 p. 1					p. 9
	Innenraumsicht eines Ateliers mit Mann und Hund	c. 1915		Z 3/1			Kat. Nr. 218, 168 x 89	
	Tisch und Stuhl (Fig. 15)	b. 1916	Hausbau, 1916, p. 43					p. 134
	Tisch und Stuhl (Fig. 16)		Hausbau, 1916, p. 43					p. 134
	Tisch und Stuhl (Fig. 17)		Hausbau, 1916, p. 44					p. 134
	Dachformen (Fig. 18)		Hausbau, 1916, p. 45					p. 74
	Dachformen (Fig. 19)		Hausbau, 1916, p. 45					p. 74
	Stuhl (Fig. 20)		Hausbau, 1916, p. 47					p. 131
	Stuhl (Fig. 21)		Hausbau, 1916, p. 48					p. 131
	Stuhl (Fig. 22)		Hausbau, 1916, p. 49					p. 131

	drawing title	year	source (first publication)	Tessenow Archiv	de Michelis	Wangerin Weiss	Strey	referenced in this diss.
	Grab mit Grabstein	c. 1915			1915/1	E 11 (1)	Kat. Nr. 132, 174 x 210 (149 x 179)	
				E 11/1				
	Grabstein	c. 1915			1915/2	E 12 (1)		
	Gutsherrenhaus	c. 1915-1916			1916/1	Wo 52 (10)		
					1916/1			
	Ansicht des Garten mit Wasserbecken und Gewächshaus					Wo 52/9	Kat. Nr. 21, 215 x 235	
	Ansicht des Garten mit Wasserbecken und Gewächshaus		Haubau, 1916, p. 145; Kunst und Künstler XV (1917), Hft 1, Beilage	photocopy in II 2.3.86				p. 110, top
			Hausbau, 1916, p. 144					
	Eingangstor zu Gutsherrenhaus		Hausbau, 1916, p. 140	Wo 52/3			Kat. Nr. 20, 237 x 198	
	Anfahrtsseite des Gutsherrenhaus		Hausbau, 1916, 142	Wo 52/6			Kat. Nr. 18, 270 x 188	
	Schrägsicht der Rückfront		Hausbau, 1916, 143	Wo 52/5			Kat. Nr. 19, 201 x 198	
	Hauseingang (Studie)	c. 1916	Hausbau, 1928, p. 150		1916/3			
	Reihenhäuser (Behelfswohnung), Rähnitz bei Dresden	1917	P. Booth, Eine einfache Wohnung für die Zeit nach dem Kriege, 1917		1917/3	Wo 56 (55?) (4)		
	Kleines Landhaus (Haus 7), Kriegersiedlung Rähnitz bei Dresden	1917	Archiv Faßhauer		1917/6			
	Kleines Landhaus (Haus 8), Kriegersiedlung Rähnitz bei Dresden	1917	Heim und Scholle' II (1917), Nr 48, p. 379 f; P. Booth, 'Eigenheime für kriegsbeschädigte Offiziere'		1917/7			
								
								
	Reihenhaus (Haus 9), Rähnitz	1917	Hausbau, 1928, p. 151	Wo 25/1	1917/8	Wo 25 (1)	Kat. Nr. 24, 189 x 244	p. 118, bottom
	Halbwirtschaftliche Heimstätte, Rähnitz							
		1917	Archiv Michael Faßhauer		1917/9	Wo 54 (3)		
			Hellerau					
	Gemeindeehrenmal der Gefallenen des Ersten Weltkriegs	1917		E 13/1	1917/11	E 13 (2)	Kat. Nr. 134, 490 x 690	
	Herrenhaus Dorét, Csomahaza (Ungarn)	1918-1919		Wo 48/3	1918/1	Wo 46 (13)	Kat. Nr. 25, 309 x 236	
	Stadtsilhouette: Ansicht des mittelalterlichen Zustandes	c. 1919	Z 6/1				Kat. Nr. 220, 200 x 133 (159 x 97)	

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 Stadtsilhouette: Ansicht des industrialisierten Zustandes	c. 1919	Z 6/2				Kat. Nr. 221, 349 x 318	
 Ländliche Siedlerstätte, Ansicht von der Straße; Ländliches Einfamilienkleinhaus (Siedlerhaus)	1919	Die Volkswohnung II (1920), Nr. 1, 20/2 p. 6: O. Bartning 'Unser Ziel'; Wohnhausbau 1927, p. 63		1919/4	Wo 20 (3)	Kat. Nr. 23, 198 x 216	
 Ländliche Siedlerstätte, Ansicht vom Garten; Ländliches Einfamilienkleinhaus		Die Volkswohnung II (1920), Nr. 1, p. 7: O. Bartning 'Unser Ziel'; Wohnhausbau 1927, p. 64					
 Wohnlaube, Rähnitz	1919	Gutkind, Neues Bauen. Grundlagen zur praktischen Siedlungstätigkeit (1919), p. 207-213: Percival Booth, 'Einfachste Dauerhäuser'	photocopy II.2.3.104	1919/5	E 58 (2)		
 Reihenhäuser für Kriegsheimkehrer, Rähnitz	1919	Die Volkswohnung II (1920), Nr. 1, p.5: O. Bartning 'Unser Ziel'; Wohnhausbau 1927, p. 27	photocopy II.2.3.105	1919/6	Wo 23 (4)		
 Reihenhäuser für Kriegsheimkehrer, Rähnitz; Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser für Rähnitz bei Dresden	1919	Der Profanbau XV (1919) Nr. 9/10, p. 77-92; W. Mackowsky 'Heinrich Tessenow'; Wohnhausbau, 1927, p. 61		1919/7	Wo 68 (3)		p. 92, bottom
 Eingebautes Einfamilien-Kleinhaus, Gartenseite		Wohnhausbau, 1927, p. 51					
 Kleinhaussiedlung Pößneck i. Th., Straßenansicht	1920-1922	Die Volkswohnung IV (1922), Nr. 1, p. 8-13 'Kleinhaussiedlung der Stadt Pößneck i. Th.'; Wohnhausbau 1927, p. 15		1920/1	Wo 44 (50)	Kat. Nr. 28, 200 x 199 (160 x 155)	
 Einfamilienkleinhaus, Gartenbild		Die Volkswohnung IV (1922), Nr. 1, p. 8-13 'Kleinhaussiedlung der Stadt Pößneck i. Th.'; Wohnhausbau 1927, p. 16			Wo 44/2		
 Einfamilienkleinhaus, Hofbild		Die Volkswohnung IV (1922), Nr. 1, p. 8-13 'Kleinhaussiedlung der Stadt Pößneck i. Th.'; Wohnhausbau 1927, p. 17					
 Einfamilien-Reihenhäuser	c. 1920			1920/3	Wo 63 (1)		
 Eingeschossige Reihenhäuser (Schnitterkaserne)	c. 1920		Wo 26/1	1920/5	Wo 26 (1)	Kat. Nr. 27, 262 x 219	
 Wohnzimmercke	c. 1921	Kunst und Künstler, Jg. 24, Hft 1, 1926, p. 51		öb	abb. 262		p. 10, p. 154, top
 Kleinwohnungen-Doppelhäuser für Wien (Siedlung Rannersdorf)	1921-1924	Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst X (1926), Nr. 2, p. 41; Wohnhausbau, 1927, p. 13	photocopy II.2.3.108	1921/1	Wo 85 (4)		
 Siedlung "Am Gries", Pößneck, Neustädter See	1921-1922	Stadtarchiv, Bauamt P.		1921/4			
 Wohnhof mit Kleinwohnungen für Pößneck / Thüringen	1922-1923	Wohnhausbau, 1927, p. 40	Wo 45/2	1922/1	Wo 45 (2)	Kat. Nr. 31, 376 x 364 (300 x 290)	
 Stuhl mit Polstersitz und -lehne	1923		M 7/33			Kat. Nr. 259, 156 x 202	p. 140, top
 Papierkorb III	c. 1925				abb 274	Kat. Nr. 261, 118 x 159	
 Armlehnstuhl	1923		M 7/10a			Kat. Nr. 254, 196 x 239	p. 140, bottom

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 Deckenlampen	1923		M 10/6b			Kat. Nr. 255, 177 x 193	
 Herrschaftliches Landhaus mit 2 Wohnungen, Bayern	1924			1924/1	Wo 49 (2)	Kat. Nr. 34, 402 x 161	
 Einfamilienhaus für Emil Krauss, Schwarzenberg	b. 1928			1924/3	Wo 39 (1)		
 Studie für eine monumentale Treppe	b. 1924	Große Berliner Kunstausstellung, Ausstellungskatalog, 1924, p. 165	Aquarel auf Karton (Erben Alfred Roth)	1924/4	Z 2/6		
 Wohnzimmerecke	c. 1925		M 1/16b			Kat. Nr. 263, 128 x 156 (107 x 137)	
 Weißes Schlafzimmer		Kunst und Künstler, Jg. 24, Hft 1, 1926, p. 50; Hausbau, 1928, p. 147					
 Wettbewerb Haus des "Dresdner Anzeigers", Dresden	1925	Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst X (1926), Nr. 7, p. 263	photocopy II.2.3.116	1925/2	E 4 (3)		p. 35
 Perspektivische Studie zu dem Innenhof	1926		Z 2/8	1926/1	B 10 / Z 2	Kat. Nr. 225, 491 x 348 (300 x 203)	p. 108, bottom
			photocopy (8) II.2.1				