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Joseph August Lux

Werkbund Promoter, Historian of a Lost Modernity

MARK JARZOMBEK
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Unlike Adolf Behne, Sigfried Giedion, and Nikolaus Pevsner, who are well-established figures of early modernist historiography, the name of Joseph August Lux (1871–1947) rarely, if ever, comes up in this context and would at best be familiar to Werkbund historians (Figure 1).¹ And yet, prior to World War I, Lux had written the first monographs on Joseph Maria Olbrich and Otto Wagner, the first full-length study of the Werkbund, as well as books on photography, urban design, interior design, and industrial aesthetics. He also wrote numerous articles pertinent to the modernist movement, some of which appeared in leading magazines and journals, including *Grenzboten*, *Kunstgewerbeblatt*, *Morgen*, and *Nord und Süd*. Others appeared in his own journal, *Hobe Warte* (Lookout Tower), founded in 1904, which was produced in association with Julius Hoffmann, Alfred Lichtwark, Kolo Moser, Hermann Muthesius, and Paul Schultze-Naumburg, a veritable Who's Who of leaders in the *Kunstgewerbe*. Given all this dedicated activity, it was not inappropriate for Lux to have described himself as the “spokesman for the German movement.”² He never received this recognition, however, for in 1908 he suddenly renounced his commitment to the Werkbund, claiming that as far as he was concerned the organization no longer showed evidence of “deep questioning.”³ From then on, Lux was, of course, persona non grata among his old friends, and the Werkbund's founders did their best to make sure that his name would not become part of its legacy. Even from an Austrian per-

spective, Lux has not fared well, overshadowed as he was by Adolf Loos's ascendancy.

Lux's writings need to be evaluated and threaded back into the fabric of scholarly discussions, especially since he is often written of as a “conservative” when in reality what he sought was a complex fusion between the emerging conservative and modernist positions. In this, Lux was convinced that he was on the right path, particularly in the years before 1908. His assumptions seemed to be borne out when in 1907 the Nobel Prize for literature went to the German philosopher Rudolf Eucken (1846–1926), who argued that though mankind has the benefit of being free from dogma, it should not give itself over to the technocratic and rationalist lures of the machine age.⁴ We have to match the demand for *Arbeit* (work), so Eucken wrote in 1896, with the “ennobling” effort of a *Kulturarbeit* (cultural work) that can stabilize the restless modern spirit and bring it to completion.⁵ Eucken's success was a manifestation of a European-wide optimism among conservative bourgeois intellectuals that a reconciliation with modernity was imminent and desirable. It was a hope attractive not only to Lux, but also to others in the Werkbund. Schultze-Naumburg even authored a series of books titled *Kulturarbeit*.⁶

The movement that best defined the ideals of this enlightened conservative position was known as Catholic Modernism, which had begun in the 1890s and was reaching its high point around 1907. Some of its goals had been set out by Frédéric Le Play (1806–1882), whose distinction



Figure 1 Joseph August Lux, ca. 1915

between the concepts of place, work, and family influenced many, including Patrick Geddes. By the first decade of the twentieth century, it had developed a broad following among the lay Catholic community, who were seeking a way to reconcile religion and modern science. In France, the writings of theologian Alfred Firmin Loisy (1857–1940) were particularly influential. Lux admired the writings of Richard von Kralik (1852–1934), a noted Austrian pro-Catholic philosopher and dramatist. Catholic Modernism presented itself in many formats, with some of its adherents working from within the church, others connecting it to politics, and some even attempting to synthesize it with socialism. Artists and writers, however, tended to be attracted to symbolism and to the simple values of country people.⁷ From the point of view of Church history, Catholic Modernism came to an end in 1908 when Pope Pius X excommunicated Loisy and closed the door on any further discussion. But that did not dampen its appeal among bourgeois critics and, in fact, for Lux, seemed to awaken his fighting spirit.

To these visible support structures of early-twentieth-century conservative modernism, one has to add less visible ones, as, for example, the strong attachments among German bourgeois intellectuals to the age of romanticism.⁸ Lux's interest in the Romantic-era concept of *genius loci* is a case in point. He expanded its relatively esoteric refer-

ences into a code word for the conservative-modernist position, using it to differentiate himself from the more conservative *Heimatschutz* movement while still claiming to search for the deep foundation on which to anchor the modern spirit.⁹

It would, of course, be unwise to see the history of conservative modernism as an autonomous subject, separate from modernism itself. Nonetheless, certain of its aspects have all too easily been ignored. Catholic Modernism, for example, is a woefully unexplored topic in the scholarly literature on twentieth-century art and architecture, despite its infiltration into many aspects of European aesthetic theory and practice well into the 1930s.¹⁰ Its presence is even felt in phenomenology, which since the 1970s has vigorously asserted itself in architectural education in the United States and Europe. Nor would it be farfetched to see a line between Lux and the likes of Christian Norberg-Schultz; it should also be noted that phenomenology has had and continues to have strong advocates in certain strains of Catholic theology.¹¹ The figure of Lux thus serves to remind us that the history of modernism was from the start identical to the history of the response to modernism.

Given the complexity of Lux's life and oeuvre, the principal focus of this article is the period around 1907–8. From the perspective of the Werkbund, it is the account of Lux's rise and fall. From his own standpoint, it is quite a different story.

Biographical Sketch

After finishing high school, Lux earned his living as a private tutor, nursing an ambition to become a dramatist and actor.¹² In the intense Viennese intellectual climate, he gravitated toward English- and French-speaking clubs and moved in the circle of the Freethinkers, who rejected the strictures of religious dogma and bourgeois behavior.¹³ By 1900, he had saved enough money to go to London and then to Paris, where he saw firsthand the works of Georges Seurat, Jan Toroop, J. M. W. Turner, and others, and read the latest in continental philosophy and poetry.¹⁴ On his return to Vienna, he set himself up as an independent author and art critic, and began cultivating friendships with various members of the Wiener Werkstätte. Josef Hoffmann designed the cover for one of his first books, a collection of puppet plays, and Leopold Forstner, known for his exquisite mosaics in Wagner's church, St. Leopold am Steinof, designed a book on children's rhymes that Lux and his wife, Irma Bauer, had edited.¹⁵

Lux's literary talent attracted the attention of Olbrich, a rising star among young Austrian designers, who was then

living in Darmstadt. In 1903, Olbrich arranged for Lux to join him there, at the court of Grand Duke Ernst Ludwig, but Lux turned down the position, having by that time become thoroughly enmeshed in the Viennese artistic scene. He began to write art reviews for a Viennese newspaper, and in 1904 took over the directorship of the journal *Das Interieur*, which was closely associated with the *Werkstätte*; in the same year he founded *Hobe Warte*, an even more ambitious journal, which was published in Leipzig and Vienna simultaneously. Book projects on such topics as barns, villages, and landscapes were also on the agenda, in preparation for which Lux took extended trips, one of them an automobile tour through the German countryside with his new friend Schultze-Naumburg. It was perhaps on this journey that he met Peter Behrens, to whom he took an immediate liking. It was probably Behrens who helped him, in 1907, become the official representative of the Vereinigte Werkstätte in Munich, Lux's first official post in Germany.¹⁶ Lux also traveled through Holland and Austria, as always, photographing and sketching barns, fountains, and villages.

In the midst of this, Lux, along with such critics as Lichtwark, Karl Scheffler, and Ernst Schur, flooded the press with favorable articles on the developing post-*Jugendstil* aesthetic. It had emerged so rapidly that in 1907 the *Kunstgewerbe* proponents felt that the historical moment could be forced into the open.¹⁷ And so, at the annual meeting in Dusseldorf of the Fachverband für die wirtschaftlichen Interessen des Kunstgewerbes (Trade Association to Further the Economic Interests of the Art Industries), Lux, with Peter Bruckmann and Wolf Dohrn, walked out of the meeting in a well-planned show of solidarity with Muthesius, creating the appeal that led to the founding of the *Werkbund*. To pull Lux closer into this circle, Karl Schmidt, director of the Dresdener Werkstätte für Handwerkskunst at Hellerau, and one of the founders of the *Werkbund*, invited Lux to set up the workshop's preparatory school. The program was laid out, and sometime in 1907 Lux moved to Dresden.¹⁸

Though the *Werkbund* was not lacking in internal promoters, Lux was a unique figure in the group. Unlike Schmidt and Muthesius, he was not a designer-author, but rather came to the organization as an independent critic with his own publicity machine, *Hobe Warte*. The journal's reputation was growing and in early 1908 it became the official publication of the recently founded Bund Deutscher Architekten. It was not only *Hobe Warte* that Lux felt would put him into the center of the debates. In an amazing flurry of energy, he authored several books all timed to come out at the end of 1907 and into 1908: *Das neue Kunstgewerbe in Deutschland* (The new arts and crafts in Germany), *Der*

Geschmack im Alltag. Ein Buch zur Pflege des Schönen (Taste in everyday life: A book on the nurturing of the beautiful), *Der Städtebau und die Grundpfeiler der heimischen Bauweise* (Urban design and the foundations of regional building practices), and *Schöne Gartenkunst* (Beautiful garden-art). These were supported with articles in *Berliner Rundschau*, *Deutscher Camera-Almanach*, *Die Rheinlande. Monatsschrift für Art und Kunst*, *Gartenkunst*, *Kunstgewerbeblatt*, and *Nord und Süd*.

But just when Lux's star seemed in unfailing ascendancy, it faltered with such rapidity that by the end of 1908 he had given up all association with the *Werkbund*. There were several reasons, but the most important one was that the differences in opinion between Lux and Muthesius that had seemed slight only a few years earlier were now insurmountable. When they first met, around 1903, while Lux was putting together the list of co-directors for *Hobe Warte*, there had been a good deal of affinity between them. Both were talking about "the spiritualization of work," the beginning of an "architectonic awareness," and "the significance of intuition."¹⁹ But soon Muthesius, as is well known, was talking about *Typisierung* and using a phraseology that emphasized the more pragmatic needs of design.²⁰ Lux was moving in the opposite direction, going beyond his earlier implicit metaphysical arguments to admit outright that his work, though he still thought of it as modern, now had "a Catholic something" about it. Lux was well-aware that his drift toward a more overt attachment to Catholicism was not going to sit well with the "Muthesius clique," which he felt was trying to force the *Werkbund* toward a rationalism that would end up in the "de-spiritualization" of the modern movement.²¹

The year 1908 seems to have been the moment when conservative and modernist positions were at their breaking point on another matter as well. The defenders of *Heimatstil*, in particular, now stood firmly against the rapidly developing modernizing trends. Conferences, books, and magazines were springing forth, ministering to an audience that now demanded unequivocal allegiance. The European Internationale Heimatschutzkongress was being formed and was planning its first meeting in Paris in 1909. Those opposed to the liberalizing tendencies of Catholic Modernism were certainly in the wings. Lux, always trying to stitch together conservative and progressivist tendencies, found himself torn by these events. His response was to critique the *Heimatstil* for its false attachment to historicism. But that left him a home among neither the moderns nor the conservatives.

More devastating for Lux than anything else was the unexpected death of Olbrich in 1908, which deprived him

of the principal figure in his historiography. Without Olbrich, Lux's ambitions to become the spokesman for the Austrian-German movement had no real future, especially since German architects were rapidly assuming dominance in the architectural debates.²² And finally, as to *Hobe Warte*, Lux found it increasingly difficult to bring in authors. Blaming this, too, on the Muthesius clique, he lamented in a letter to Wagner in 1909: "I keep asking myself, why it is that no one had kept up *Hobe Warte* at that time. Why have I been so abandoned that I had to leave?"²³ The reason was that the leaders of the Werkbund had learned Lux's lesson of the importance of self-promotion. They closed ranks around Muthesius and squeezed out Lux, whose days as an independent publicity agent were now over. When the first Werkbund yearbook came out in 1912, it was clearly Muthesius who was the leading figure behind the collection of essays. The introduction was written by Peter Jessen, director of the Königlische Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, who played an important role in bringing the Werkbund closer in line with the German pro-industrial and nationalist position. By then, Lux was free to tell his side of the story. He critiqued Friedrich Naumann, "the son of a Lutheran preacher," as an "artless man."²⁴ Theodor Fischer, the first president of the Werkbund, produced an architecture that was "cold and old-fashioned."²⁵ And as for the Werkbund in general, it had in his estimation given itself over to a Protestant rationalistic worldview that vacillated between the mechanical and the "Dionysian."²⁶

Lux left Dresden, moving first to Berlin and then to Munich, where, in "the warmer atmosphere of the Catholic South," he met Wassily Kandinsky, and thought for a time that with him and the Blaue Reiter group something promising could be accomplished. But Lux made little headway and eventually concluded that the Blaue Reiter's "nihilistic destruction of form" and adherence to the "absolutism of subjectivity" were not compatible with his outlook.²⁷ It was for him just another example of *Narrenkleid* [fool's clothing].²⁸ The only person who survived his wrath was Behrens. Though he was "a Protestant and a modern," according to Lux, he secretly "longed for the classical south, for Catholic art, and even for Austria."²⁹ But attempts to lure Behrens southward and seek commissions in Austria did not work out.

Despite the personal and professional setbacks of 1908, Lux entered a new and remarkably productive phase in his career. Turning to his Austrian roots, he dedicated himself to finishing his books on Olbrich and Wagner.³⁰ He authored biographical novels, one on the Austrian dramatist Joseph Grillparzer and another on the notorious actress Lola Montez. He hoped with all this to become a

type of Austrian cultural philosopher, writing *Der Wille zum Glück* (The will to happiness; Vienna, 1910) in a purposefully plaintive Austrian style. Nonetheless, he even pursued his theory of the reconciliation of the modern and the traditional in *Ingenieur-Asthetik* (Engineer aesthetic; Munich, 1910) and other books, including one in which he defended a theater building in Posen designed by the Munich architect Max Littmann.³¹ Though scholars today would see the building as neoclassical, Lux argued that it was modern not only in its functionality and egalitarian seating plan, but also because it reflected the spirit of Goethe and Schiller.³²

During World War I, in an effort to regain credibility among the Germans, whom he, like so many others, assumed were going to win the war, Lux wrote the jingoistic *Deutschland als Welterzieher* (Germany as world educator; Stuttgart, 1915). That diplomatic gamble, of course, did not pay off, and in or around 1919 Lux moved to the charming Austrian farming village of Grossgmain, which was located, significantly enough, just outside Salzburg, only a few miles from the Austrian-German border. There, as he noted sarcastically in a letter to Wagner, he could "plant his own cabbages."³³ But out of this retreat came yet another beginning. Believing that Germany and Austria still existed in parallel worlds, he thought that Salzburg would rise to become the Austrian equivalent of postwar Weimar, and that he, finally, was going to be the right person in the right place. He started two journals, *Kunst- und Kulturrat. Blätter für die neue Zeit* (Art and cultural pedagogy: Journal for the new age) and *Die Weißen Hefte* (White booklets).³⁴ Unfortunately, Salzburg never rose to Lux's expectations. During this time, he rediscovered the Italian Renaissance, and in 1925 after a private audience with Pius XI—a testament to his rising stature among the Austrians—he "converted" to Catholicism.³⁵ But in keeping with his dislike for dogmatists, Jesuits, and "system-builders," he was drawn to the humble spiritualism of the Franciscan brothers. Possibly, even, he became a lay member of that order.³⁶ His local reputation remained strong and he served for a few years as the president of the Austrian Association of Catholic Writers.³⁷ Lux also became close to the philosopher von Kralik. And finally, despite his frequent complaints about Austria not rewarding its deserving artists, Lux was given the Austrian Cross of Honor for the Arts and Sciences in 1934. He was very much opposed to the Anschluss and this view provoked the ire of the Germans.³⁸ If anyone had the right to dominate the European mentality, he argued, it was the Austrians, whose Catholic traditions and history as part of Austro-Hungarian Europe set it above the limited Nazi perspective.

Lux and "The Beginnings of the Modern Movement"

Before World War I, Lux produced a vast array of writings: architectural texts, historical novels, children's rhymes, histories, how-to books, poems, newspaper articles, puppet plays, and even travel guides. Nowhere does he outline his "theory" in a traditional sense. Rather, one finds it embedded in different places in his various texts. It is useful to start with his article "Die Anfänge der modernen Bewegung rund um Deutschland" (The beginnings of the modern movement in and around Germany) (1908).³⁹ Written as a sketch for a book, but never published, it was the first attempt by anyone within the *Kunstgewerbe* movement to position the developments in recent architecture within a broader historical framework. Up until then, the *Kunstgewerbe* had rarely been considered through a particularly complex historical lens. This is true even for Muthesius. In an article from 1905, Muthesius pointed to the importance of the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, the English response in the 1850s and 1860s, the creation in Germany of *Kunstgewerbeschulen* in the 1870s, the rise of *Jugendstil* in the 1890s, and then, around 1903, to an emergent aesthetic of restraint.⁴⁰ One of the basic premises of the argument, as one might expect from a government official like Muthesius, was the positive role played by the German government in setting up the schools.

Lux's piece outlined a considerably more nuanced historical argument. At the heart of the matter were the diverging trajectories of the German and the Austrian Enlightenment and the different nationalist assumptions that went with them. His argument, as condensed from various writings, runs as follows: in the eighteenth century, Austria was strongly influenced by Italian culture and, in the nineteenth century, by German culture, with Beethoven, Brahms, Hebbel, and Schubert at one time or another having lived and worked in Vienna. Austria, in other words, had been enriched by outside voices. What the Germans got out of it was an expanded horizon. But all that had changed with Austria's defeat in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Without Germany and without its Italian provinces—which had also been lost in the war—Austria became increasingly marginalized. In this vacuum, "the little man" could now rise to the level of a "big landlord" who had "big choppers [*Fresswerkzeuge*] and a big belly," but not enough brain to understand "the monumentality and beauty of art."⁴¹ What was once *das Volk* had now become only *das Publikum*, for which "appearances count more than being."⁴²

But all was not lost, Lux argued, for out of this quagmire arose a generation of "martyrs" drinking from "the magical fountain of stealthily concealed tradition."⁴³ Among

the members of that generation were not only Austrians like the dramatist Grillparzer, but others in a host of European countries that were undergoing a similar crisis. Mentioned in "Die Anfänge der modernen Bewegung rund um Deutschland," in this respect were Aubrey Beardsley, the controversial English artist; Axel Gallén, a Finnish National Romantic; Toorop, the Flemish symbolist; as well as Vincent van Gogh, Frank Wedekind, and Oscar Wilde. Their work, Lux admitted, might seem on the surface excessive or even decadent, but they should not be condemned on that account; it was all part of "a healthy instinct for life."⁴⁴ Furthermore, motivating their efforts was nothing less than a desperate search for the "beauty of being."⁴⁵

Mentioning the likes of van Gogh posed a considerable risk to Lux given the increasingly nationalistic tone of German discourse. Lux was well aware of what had happened to Julius Meier-Graefe, who was attacked by Lichtwark, then director of the Hamburger Kunsthalle, for his overvigorous defense of French art. In 1895, Lichtwark and others had taken control of *Pan*, the famous journal that Meier-Graefe had founded just a year earlier, and forced him to be removed from the board.⁴⁶ Lux, who was a friend of Lichtwark, but who also admired Meier-Graefe's Europeanist perspective, saw a solution to the problem that was as ingenious as it was for him natural. The age of individualistic painters had given way to one with social conscience. Art had ceded to arts and crafts. As a result, the flow of history was no longer determined by the logic of artistic quality, as Meier-Graefe had claimed, but by something altogether different and more important. It is what had driven Behrens, Richard Riemerschmid, and Schultze-Naumburg, so Lux claimed, to abandon their careers as painters and to become designers.

Lux explained that the first inkling of this shift was the creation of small "elite societies" of like-minded artists.⁴⁷ Lux spoke particularly admiringly of the Société des Vingt, founded in 1883 in Brussels under Edmund Picard. It included painters Fernand Khnopff, Joséphin Péladan, and Toorop, as well as architects—Henry van de Velde among them—who championed a combination of Symbolist mysticism and spirituality.⁴⁸ But these organizations did not act independently. Their success was predicated on the emergence of active publicists who began to play an all-important role in repairing the nineteenth-century disconnect between artists and the public. Lux thus pointed to the emerging generation of modernist-oriented journals, the first example of which was *Pan*. But *Pan*, Lux felt, had taken only the first step forward and not the next, for it did not acknowledge that by the end of the 1890s the ground had shifted not only from the individual to the societal, but also from painting to the architectural arts. At the forefront of

that shift, Lux held, were journals like *Dekorative Kunst*, *Kunstgewerbeblatt*, and *Ver Sacrum*. This part of Lux's argument was innovative and prescient, since it pointed to the significance of journals in establishing the foundations of the modern movement.⁴⁹ It was also self-serving, since Lux assumed that *Hobe Warte* would be seen as the culmination of this grand historical trajectory.⁵⁰ In seeking to establish the legitimacy and to some degree even the autonomy of the critic as integral to the concept of the modern movement, Lux was setting in motion a battle that he would eventually lose.

The words "*Hobe Warte*" sent several different but inter-related messages. At a basic level, they referred to the houses built by Hoffmann and others in a newly fashionable villa quarter to the north of Vienna, similar in concept to the more famous Mathildenhöhe in Darmstadt designed by Olbrich.⁵¹ Lux viewed these colonies as microcosms of a larger societal order, literally as "highpoints" of a new "cultural-geographical map."⁵² That the colony was named after a nearby weather station and lookout tower was not lost on Lux, who wrote that such places "oversee their local regions," while giving one glimpses of "higher streams" of reality.⁵³ As a result, they form part of our common desire to "find the path to happiness that is always just beyond reach."⁵⁴ There can be no doubt that Lux saw the journal *Hobe Warte* as the literary incarnation of this vision.

Lux felt, however, that the principal obstacle to the development of a broad-based modern aesthetic was the deplorable split along the German-Austrian border that had developed after the Austro-Prussian War. The Germans may have been freer after the war to develop their economic power, he felt, but the Austrians were to play a role as well, particularly in the crucial final stages of the socialization of the modern movement. What they brought to the table was their *Weltkultur*. The Viennese, Lux reminded his readers, did not need to leave the city to study European art: "foreign art came to *it* and then with the best examples."⁵⁵ Austria was thus a double filter. If European art entered the German-speaking world through Vienna, the German contribution would have to flow back through Austria if it wanted to succeed in the European milieu. Lux was convinced that *Hobe Warte* would fulfill this destiny, built as it was with Austrian and German writers working together in a seemingly coordinated way.

Lux was trying very consciously to conjure up the days of the Austrian-German Enlightenment *before* the Austro-Prussian War, when Beethoven and other Germans were working in an Austrian climate. In that sense, his historiographic argument was not about the bad taste of the bourgeoisie, but about the internal disruption in the

German-speaking world that the war had created and that had fractured modernity into two different trajectories. Yet it was that very disruption, and indeed Austria's defeat, Lux insisted, that had now primed the Austrians to be the true leaders of the modern spirit.⁵⁶ He seemed to believe that his German compatriots would readily accept the obviousness of such an argument.

Constructing the Language of the New Modernity

In presenting the case that the German victory was a type of defeat and the Austrian defeat was a sort of victory, Lux hoped to bring out what he saw as the inherent dualism of the modern movement. Pursuit of rationalism and industrialism went to the Germans, whereas the task of preserving the "stealthily concealed" traditions went to the Austrians. But now that the work of the martyrs had been accomplished, the task was a shared one: to find the basis of good design for all.⁵⁷ The words that Lux most frequently used to describe this exchange are "architectonic," "tectonic," and "organic."⁵⁸ He also spoke of the genius loci of the landscape, "the spirit of the ancestors" (*der Geist der Vorfahren*), and the "traces" (*Spuren*) of the past that exist in contemporary culture.⁵⁹ These traces were neither the ghosts of historical individuals nor the fleeting figures of romantic poetry, but places where history reaches out to the modern. By bringing these elements forward into the design process, one could overcome what Lux called the "break" (*Kluft*) between past and present, and energize the struggle for the "spiritualization" (*Vergeistigung*) of life.⁶⁰

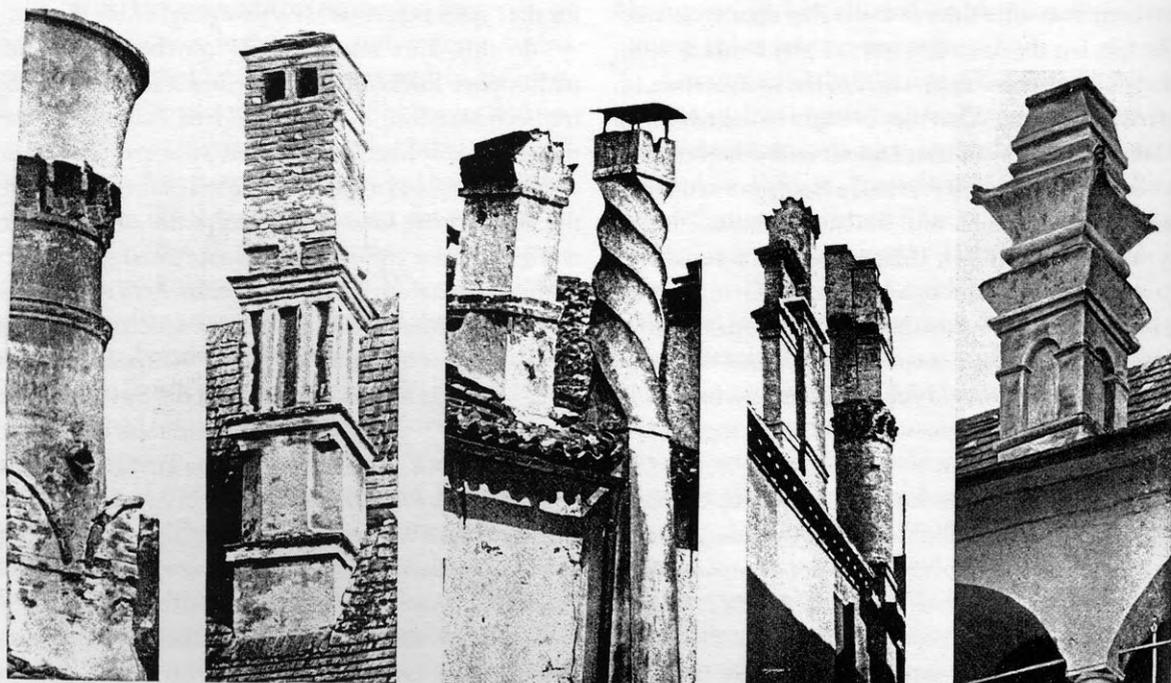
In this, Lux relied heavily on the writings of the philosopher Eucken, who described a form of noological transcendentalism in which modern individuals, though they were now liberated from the strictures of academism and dogma, would nonetheless fight against the descent into the nonspiritual. One should accept the advances of technology, Eucken argued, without succumbing to the seductions of rationalism and consumerism. Art's role in this was primary, because in reaching for that which was monumental and deep, it brought into focus "the symbolic nature of life."⁶¹ For this reason, Eucken held the Swiss artist Ferdinand Hodler in particularly high esteem, as did Lux.

In his book *Der Kampf um einen geistigen Lebensinhalt* (The struggle for spiritual content in life; Leipzig, 1896), Eucken began by recognizing the historical movement toward a modern rationalist worldview in which man was little more than "a wheel in the culture-machine." The result was "an alienated modern public." To oppose this, a more positive type of movement emerged, "a movement



Figure 2 Farmhouse, photographed by Martin Gerlach in association with Lux, before 1908

Figure 3 Study of Austrian chimneys, published in Martin Gerlach, *Volkstümliche Kunst* (Vienna, 1904), 9



within a movement,” which had two phases. The first was the cultivation of the spiritual in one’s own life so as to fight the world of appearances and reaffirm the underlying existence of spirituality. But this does not constitute the true “substance” of the spiritual life, since it can easily degenerate into either “pure subjectivity” or the false empiricism of monism. A real grounding of life must expand from “isolated” efforts (*Arbeit*) to cultural work (*Kulturarbeit*). Among the obligations of this cultural work is the demand to connect with the past, not by “replicating” it, but by finding and using “the traces” that still exist in the “historical-social” realm.⁶² The process concentrates around particularly creative “personalities,” who organize the transition between microcosm and macrocosm and who can put “mankind in an elevated position” (*auf eine Höhe*) from which conventional existence can be “recognized as low and superficial.”⁶³ This process is one of “*konkrete Gestaltung*,” and constitutes the true “deepening” and “unfolding” of life’s contents.⁶⁴

Lux’s study of barns and his trip with Schultze-Naumburg were part of his effort to live up to Eucken’s philosophy, as was the book that he and Martin Gerlach, a publicist and photographer, produced on Austrian vernacular culture (Figure 2).⁶⁵ With its hundreds of photographs, it was meant to serve as a sourcebook for the “tectonic demand,” as Lux described it, to get to “the deepest roots of a natural,



Figure 4 Examples of good and bad lookout towers in Joseph Lux, *Der Städtebau und die Grundpfeiler der heimischen Bauweise* (Dresden, 1908), pl. 83

religious feeling,⁶⁶ and thus to the “spiritualization of modern life.”⁶⁷ For this purpose, Lux focused on elements of the architectural landscape that he felt needed particular study, like fountains, rooflines, and chimneys (Figure 3). He did not intend to restrict modernist impulses, posing, for example, that older lookout towers could yield a work in a modern style more effectively than the purely technical solutions he disdained (Figures 4, 5).

Lux’s attempt to link the old to the new also governed his attitude to the Biedermeier style, which around the turn of the twentieth century had been rediscovered by the educated German middle class as an ideal combination of industrialization, aesthetic delectation, religious piety, and homey comfort. For Lux, it was also a heritage common to Germany and Austria and thus prefigured the *re*-synthesis of the two nations around a shared modernity. Lux wrote that the Biedermeier “astonishes us . . . because of the *Sachlichkeit* of its forms, forms that look for the highest artistic nobility in the profound purity of the material.”⁶⁸ But unlike other conservative promoters of the Biedermeier revival, Lux argued against any shortsighted attempt to plunder “the public treasury of tradition”⁶⁹ in the search for an exaggerated “attachment to the soil” (*Bodenständigkeit*).⁷⁰ The *Heimatstil* may have helped teach society about issues of “rhythm, detail construction and landscape,” he conceded, but it also gave Austria the worst sentimentalizing petit-bourgeois aesthetic of “forget-me-not’ blue.”⁷¹ “The realism of our age,” he insisted, has to be manifested in

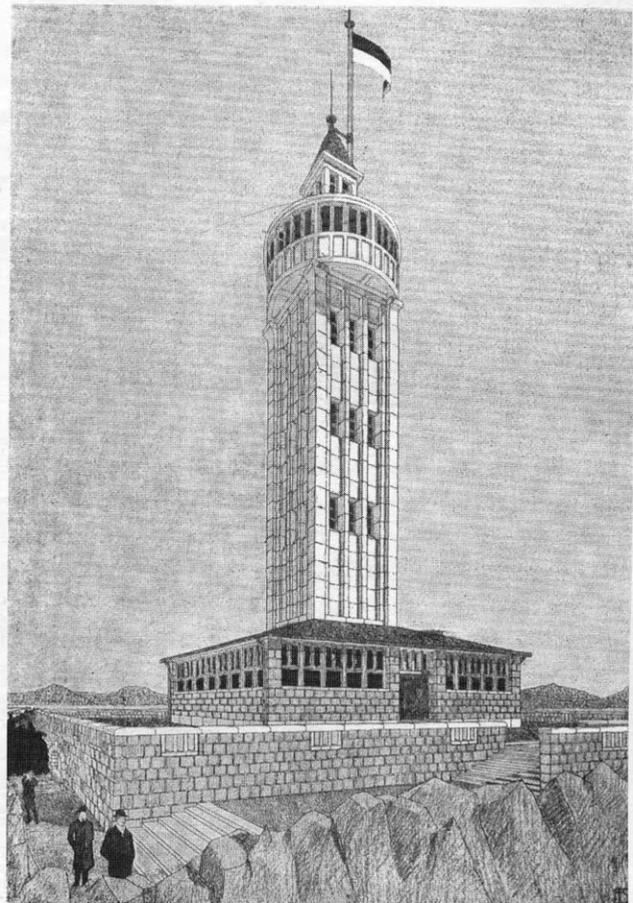


Figure 5 Hans Stubner, Lookout Tower, in Lux, *Der Städtebau*, pl. 84

artworks.⁷² The Biedermeier, therefore, had to be seen as part of broader attempt to create a “poetic history” (*poesievolle Geschichte*).⁷³ If that cross-fertilization could be made, then the true spirit of the Biedermeier, Lux hoped, would come to fruition, perhaps sometime in the 1950s. “We expect to find that an entire spiritualized society will have emerged in the decades of the 1950s and 1960s,” he prophesied, adding, “We will visit the houses of our nephews and experience the magic of ennobled simple forms . . . that through the touch of a luminous, electrified and radiating atmosphere of humor, good will and Spirit, . . . will remind us of the Salons of the eighteenth century.”⁷⁴

But just as the Biedermeier needed to be cleansed of sentimentality in order to become the poetic fountainhead for modern history, *Sachlichkeit*, in turn, needed to be purged of its mechanistic features. “One talks today of a *Sachkunst* [the art of functionalism], but no one . . . feels the hair-raising contradiction that resides in this indefinable word.”⁷⁵ Neither Biedermeier nor *Sachlichkeit* was supposed to be viewed as an autonomous position, but as one element of a common *Gewohnheitsbild*.⁷⁶ This word, a typical part of Lux’s syntax, combines *Gewohnheit* (social custom) with *Bild* (image), the former, in essence, the ancient and the latter, the new. *Gewohnungen* (old habits) thus had the potential for revision in the same way that the Eiffel Tower and the train station of Dresden, though they still might “lack a historical consciousness,” were not built out of thin air, but have been prefigured by *Gewohnheit* in the form of “dream, poetry, or utopia.”⁷⁷ *Gewohnheit* was thus for Lux similar to the “magical fountain of stealthily concealed tradition that had nourished the artistic martyrs in the nineteenth century.”⁷⁸

Bridging the Structural Gap between High and Low

According to Lux, there were two tracks, one high and one low, by which the German-speaking aesthetic would, over time, coalesce into a unity and thus repair the damage of the Austro-Prussian War. In regard to the higher track, Lux made it clear that success was contingent on the presence of creative personalities who help society find its grounding in “objectivity, evenness of expression and harmonious calm.”⁷⁹ Behrens, Hoffmann, Olbrich, and Wagner were all part of “the living force of becoming.”⁸⁰ To more fully understand this part of Lux’s argument we must turn to his ethical treatise, *Der Wille zum Glück*. In it, he claimed that while rationalism, mechanization, and science may be the foundation of our knowledge, they are not the basis of spirituality. But because of the ascendancy of reason, individuals have not only lost the ability to converse, but also to

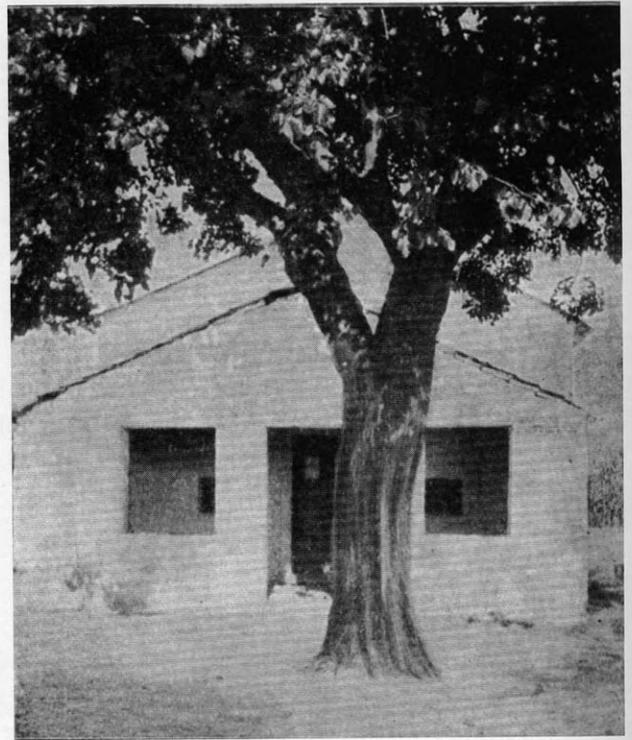


Figure 6 Tree and chapel, captioned “Baumpredigt” (Tree prayer), in Lux, *Der Städtebau*, pl. 87

write to each other. In the eighteenth century, he pointed out, the situation was very different. “One had air, one had time. Especially time.”⁸¹ Given the speed of modern life, the task of the creative personality was to recapture the principle of time. As he argued, we have to imagine the personalities on whose shoulders the destiny of our culture rests as old trees, gnarly and broad, which, though unusable for making practical things, have nobly survived whatever came their way. The ontic tree represents all that is generous, good, and lasting. But sadly, he noted, instead of honoring these majestic trees, we now tend to value the vast undifferentiated plantings of spindly pines that meekly await a mechanical saw to be cut into boards. The closing photograph in *Der Städtebau und die Grundpfeiler der heimischen Bauweise* is of just such a venerable tree, titled *Baumpredigt* (Tree prayer) (Figure 6).⁸²

Lux’s book on Wagner was conceived as a textual *Baumpredigt*, ending with a chapter on his students, which he likened to the fruit from a tree. In elaborating on how these architects speak to human needs, Lux argued that there was a parallel between the roots of the tree and the ground plan of a building.⁸³ To demonstrate this, he asked the reader to compare the plans of Theodor Fischer with those of Wagner. The former was “cold and sober” and marked by a profound

breach between “the past and the new,” whereas the latter was clear, organized, and legible.⁸⁴ Lux did not provide an illustration of a plan by Fischer, but one could easily surmise that he was thinking of the University of Jena (1905–8), designed in an asymmetrical medieval style (Figure 7). In comparison, the plans of Wagner’s buildings as presented in the book were meant to show the clear hierarchy, generous proportions, and symmetrical spatial economy that Lux believed to be an integral part of the reconstructed “causal nexus” between artist and society (Figure 8).⁸⁵

It was, however, not only the large personality but also the “little man,” Lux wrote, who has the obligation to fight the “inconsequentiality of existence.”⁸⁶ Though many of Lux’s writings addressed the “little man,” they display two lines of inquiry that need to be recognized, as they were

quite original, the first having to do with pedagogy and the other with photography.

In 1907, Lux was called to Dresden to head up a preparatory applied arts school. In readying himself for this job, he became one of the first to elaborate a specific pedagogical theory related to *Kunstgewerbe* training.⁸⁷ Developing a system modeled loosely on ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, he designed a three-year program in which practical work was interspersed with theoretical lessons on wood chemistry, patent law, and the economy.⁸⁸ The first problem was that the young students, in Lux’s eyes, were hampered not only by the fact that the Saxon dialect “is truly not the language of the gods,” but also because they were already modernized, in the negative sense of the term.⁸⁹ As proof, Lux had them draw from memory the living room

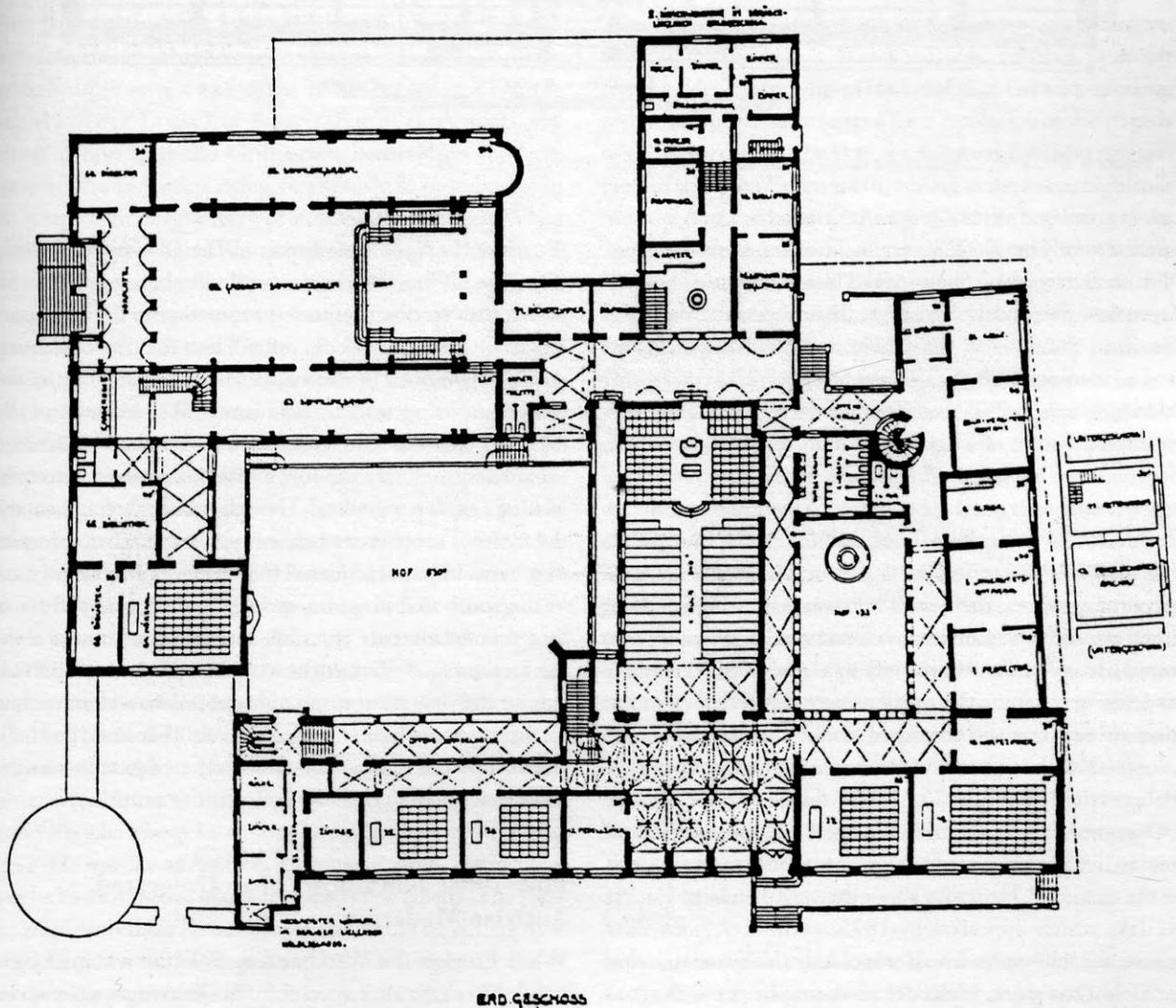


Figure 7 Theodor Fischer, University of Jena, 1905–8, ground plan

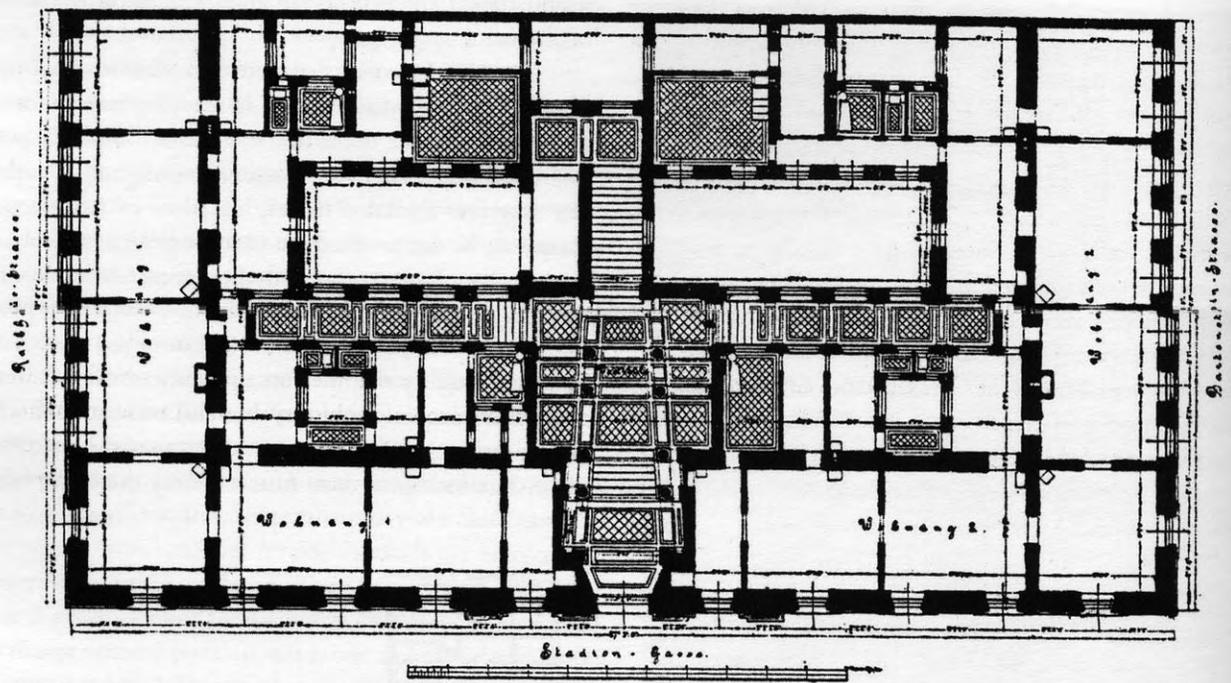


Figure 8 Otto Wagner, apartment house on Stadiongasse, Vienna, 1883, plan

of their family house. The results, he notes, were shocking. "No one knew what things looked like in their own home!" Lux asked the students to revisit their house and draw the furniture, their rooms, the garden, and the street. The goal was to demonstrate that in the context of a successful "dwelling culture" (*Wohnkultur*), "a secret light emanates through the walls of a house,"⁹⁰ a light that holds together the small and the large. The purpose of the sketch exercise was not only to ground the students in their *own* world, but to guide them to larger realities, without which they would lose their spiritual center, an important element in his conservative ideology. But Lux did not want his students to be literal transcribers of their environment, so in the last phase, moving from the level of the city to a transnational culture, students were sent to the theater to see classical plays as the ultimate example of the unity of art, life, and history.

To solve the question of how a broader segment of population could be induced to follow this pedagogical track, Lux argued that apart from the usual need to understand how to live in a cultivated environment, one could also turn to the camera.⁹¹ He wrote about the way the cheap Pocket Kodak, which appeared in 1895, allowed various new venues for self-expression; it was exactly this advantage that he sought to exploit. It was not photography per se that was responsible for the flattening of the human spirit, he claimed in "Künstlerliche Kodakgeheimnisse" (Artistic

secrets of the Kodak), a chapter in *Der Geschmack im Alltag* (Dresden, 1908), but the professional photographers who lacked the "spiritual center" that amateurs would still possess.⁹² The amateur should not fall into the trap of wanting to create a replica of the visual world, but should use the camera to bring into consciousness the elements of the everyday environment, such as "an artfully braided fence, a carved door, a flower window, a rose bower, an architectural view of a garden segment." Though seemingly fragmentary, these motifs are part of a culture's syllabic substructure, part of a "treasure chest of icons" (*Seelenbilder*; literally, pictures of the soul), that provides us with an "external picture of life" that matches an "internal spiritual state" (*innere seelische Verfassung*).⁹³ The enthusiast thus plays an important role in the operation to provide substance and continuity to the all-important *Gewohnheitsbilder* that link the traditional with the modern. In this case, an amateur uses the most modern of devices for conservative purposes.

Post-1908: The Ghosts of an Unlocated, Austrian Modernity

When Lux left the Werkbund in 1908, he was no longer obliged to chase after articles for his journal or write about exhibitions and buildings. He returned to his ambition of becoming a cultural philosopher, speaking through a range

of textual genres, the most important of which was the historical novel. His principal works in that *métier* were on Joseph Grillparzer and on Lola Montez, which must be considered with his books on Olbrich and Wagner. Together these four characters illuminate a complex historiographic and even quasi-autobiographic field on the subject of the tragic nature of the history of modernity. The book on the dramatist Grillparzer (1791–1872) was meant in particular to portray the dark days of the mid-nineteenth century. Following a series of bad reviews, Grillparzer retreated from the public forum into an embittered and reclusive life. In Lux's words—playing on the German idiom *Grillen fangen* (to be in a bad mood)—Grillparzer meditated on his name: “Grill, Grill that [part of my name] comes from the bad mood I am in; and ‘parzer,’ that should have been *Patzer. Lebensverpatzer!*,” meaning roughly, “My entire life was one big waste.”⁹⁴

Lux, who when he wrote the novel was plotting his *own* Grillparzerian escape from public life, paralleled this book with *Lola Montez*. Montez might seem an odd subject for Lux as the Spanish actress had, in the 1840s, become the controversial lover of Louis I of Bavaria. But in Lux's novel, she seems at first to outdo Grillparzer, becoming a modern, transnational free spirit rising victoriously to prominence in the sympathetic environment of an enlightened prince. When asked about her religion, she noted, according to Lux, that “I am . . . what one can call a Protestant-Catholic. I am religious, but no bigot. I am pious but not superstitious. I despise the power that uses ‘crowns of roses’ as chains and that changes the belief in God into a belief in stupidity.”⁹⁵ Ultimately, Lux's Montez was before her time. Like Grillparzer, she could not defeat the combined forces of conventional thinking and false religiosity that marshaled their resources to destroy her position in the court and force her, finally, to seek an ignoble refuge in the United States. In Lux's narration, a tawdry love story becomes a heroic and quasi-autobiographic epic circumscribing the prehistory of an unrequited modernity.

The renunciations of public life that Grillparzer and Montez had to endure were not so much the beginning of the modern consciousness, as Lux might have argued, but its mirrored end phase. Grillparzer, Montez, and Wagner were summoned as examples of a failed avant-garde for which only Austria is to blame. Initially they were meant to be contrasted with Olbrich, whom Lux thought could redeem the situation.⁹⁶ He was like an Austrian version of Behrens, for in Lux's eyes he had succeeded where the others had failed. “The people loved everything he made, immediately. [The phrase] ‘this is by Olbrich!’ was heard again and again in Vienna.”⁹⁷ But in the opening pages of the Olbrich book, Lux talks of his death with such great sadness that it is clear he felt that the fleeting hope for a modern architecture redolent of cultural depth, as

he understood it, had been extinguished. “As the last words [of the funeral] were said and the last musical notes were sounded, the people dispersed, and it was all over.”⁹⁸

Lux's post-Werkbund books were not only meant as philosophical reflections on the loss of modernity, but also on the disciplinary ambiguity of fiction and history. Instead of seeing the two as separate and distinct, he discerned a complex interaction. The historical fiction that evoked Grillparzer and Montez was meant to intensify and correct our historical reception of the two figures. The books on Olbrich and Wagner also focus on reception and thus on the drama of modernity playing itself out in the contemporary world, but were written more properly as history. In this, Lux seems to imply that the earlier shift from painting to architecture and from private to public that had set up the initial stages of modernity had now to give way to the true drama of architecture. It was a brilliant strategy, but it fell on deaf ears.

However, there were moments of optimism in Lux's post-Werkbund, pre-World War I writings, particularly in his travel guides. Returning to his belief that German-speaking people still commonly longed for a resolution of the tragedy of the Austro-Prussian War, he designed for them a hypothetical trip from Berlin south, ending in the Saxon highlands near the Austrian border.⁹⁹ As a graph at the beginning of the booklet made clear, Germans, whom he thought were lacking “in matters of the heart,” were to make a trip from the big city, where “beauty and functionality” (*das Nützliche*) are separated from each other, to “the heights,” where they are fused. On arriving at their final destination, Bad Elster, the travelers were to leave the train station for a newly designed garden city on the slopes of a hill. They would then climb to a park, where they were advised to drink from the healing waters of the resort, take in the views, and walk along the wooded paths of a sanatorium that is housed in a building that is modern, yet “corresponds to the demands of the local aesthetic and fits elegantly into the landscape.”¹⁰⁰ For Austrians, Lux planned a tour that went in the *other* direction, from the country town of Passau to Vienna along the Danube, that “world-citizen among rivers.” The reason, he explained, for beginning in Passau was that from there one could discover that the past and the present were coterminous. “The past is not *of* the past, but still alive in a secret [*heimlich da*] and mysterious way.”¹⁰¹ “Is there anything more modern than this majestic history?”¹⁰²

Conclusion

In his philosophic-autobiographical meditation *Wanderung zu Gott. Die Geschichte einer Heimkehr* (Path to God: The history of a return) (Paderborn, 1928), Lux related how a certain Baron Lux helped guide Saint Franz von Sales

through a dangerous countryside so that he could give his message to the king.¹⁰³ Sales (1567–1622) is yet another element in Lux's historiographic imagery. He had been a bishop in Geneva during the tumultuous rise of Calvin, but, unable to hold mass because of the Protestant restrictions that were enforced after the Reformation, he communicated with his congregation through printed leaflets that he would pin on their doors. Instead of the customary Latin, he wrote in the native French, with a message that was, furthermore, not about the Catholic Church of old, but of a new church that was more Franciscan in nature, one that was "mild, soft, and peaceful."

Lux saw himself as a new Baron von Lux, the protector of those who, like Olbrich and Wagner, aimed, in his view, to speak directly and clearly to the people. But, always complex in his thinking, Lux *also* saw himself as Saint von Sales fighting the latter-day reincarnations of Calvinism in Prussian technocratic rationalism. And therein lay the quixotic rub, for Lux felt that he could guide and transform simultaneously. Nonetheless, it is safe to say that Lux's principal contention—that modernity had reached a state where its own historical consciousness was in view and that it should use this moment to reflect on and redesign the historicist project—was not a fantasy. But because history for Lux could never be separated completely from fiction—in fact, through historical fiction one worked back to the historical present—the problem at the center of his historiography was one of indeterminacy. In the short term, Lux's historiographic ideas were doomed, especially after Nikolaus Pevsner, in his *Pioneers of Modern Design* (London, 1936) sided with Muthesius and Naumann to argue that the new architecture succeeded because it was "without mystery" and without "other-worldly speculation."¹⁰⁴

Perhaps in comparison and with hindsight, one can say that Lux's polyvalent message was too difficult to convey, for it never depicted a clear image of *modern* life, given not only that it was so integrally connected to both *Sachlichkeit* and nostalgia, but that it involved a sweeping vision of a complex set of historical, geographical, and disciplinary values. Nonetheless, his argument was intriguing. Architecture finds its modernity at the moment when it rises above the disciplinary substructure of painting. But at that very moment of its historical clarity, it leaves the conventions of art history to enter the more elastic narratives of the historical fiction. Consequently, modern architecture finds both its birth and its death in the historical imaginary. On the positive side of the argument, one could state that Lux forbade architecture from being something that could ever stand independent of the drama of space and time. On the negative side, it is difficult to tell whether or not, in Lux's

ideal scenario, his brand of modernity would ever have settled into something more linear and workable, or whether it would always remain unrequited.

Notes

I would like to thank the Canadian Centre for Architecture, where I was a fellow in the year 2002, for its support. This article continues investigations begun in "The *Kunstgewerbe*, the *Werkbund*, and the Aesthetics of Culture in the Wilhelmine Period," *JSAH* 53 (Mar. 1994), 7–19, and "The Discourses of a Bourgeois Utopia, 1904–1908, and the Founding of the *Werkbund*," in Françoise Forster-Hahn, ed., *Imagining Modern German Culture* (Washington, D.C., 1996), 127–46. For Lux's writings about amateur photography, see my "Joseph August Lux: Theorizing Early Amateur Photography: In Search of a 'Catholic Something,'" *Centropa* 4 (Jan. 2004), 81–87. All translations in the present article are mine. Full references to works by Lux are provided in the bibliography that follows the notes.

1. Joan Campbell mentions Lux only once, stating that he "held a fundamentally conservative view of [the *Werkbund*'s] purpose." See Joan Campbell, *The German Werkbund: The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts* (Princeton, 1978), 11. Annette Cirè describes Lux as part of the "traditionalist" faction in her *Die Zeitschrift als Manifest* (Basel, 1991), 49. Frederic J. Schwartz's *The Werkbund, Design, Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven, 1996) presents an excellent and balanced account of *Werkbund* theories. He, nonetheless, does not differentiate Lux from the general body of *Werkbund* theorists.

2. Joseph Lux to Richard von Drasche-Wartomberg, 11 May 1916, Autographenkatalog 478/9-1, Handschriftensammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. In this letter, Lux weighs in on the question of where in Budapest to locate the planned monument for Empress Elisabeth. He had returned from a trip through Hungary. Lux, in his book on Olbrich, reaffirmed his conviction that he was the "spokesman for the new movement." See also Lux, *Olbrich*, 18.

3. Lux, *Wanderung zu Gott*, 85. See also Lux to Arthur Rössler, 26 Oct. 1908, I.W.151. 532, Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek, Vienna (hereafter WSL), in which Lux states that he resigned from the *Werkbund* about six months prior to writing the letter. Rössler (1877–1955) was a well-known Austrian art critic and promoter of Egon Schiele. In 1908, Lux made several efforts to persuade him to contribute to *Hobe Warte*. For a comparison of the different attitudes on the question of ornament in the writings of Adolf Loos, Lux, Rössler, and others, see Peter Haiko and Mara Reissberger, "Quelques Réflexions à propos du débat sur l'ornement entre 1900 et 1910," in Michel Collomb and Gérard Raulet, eds., *Critique de l'ornement de Vienne à la postmodernité* (Paris, 1992), 123–31.

4. Today Rudolf Eucken's writings are more or less forgotten. He was well known, however, just after the turn of the twentieth century. In 1912, he lectured at Harvard. Eucken's major works are *Geschichte und Kritik der Grundbegriffe der Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1878), *Die Lebensanschauungen der grosser Denker* (Leipzig, 1890), and *Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart* (1904; Leipzig, 1909).

5. See, for example, Rudolf Eucken, *Der Kampf um einen geistigen Lebensinhalt* (Leipzig, 1896), 71, 103.

6. Paul Schultze-Naumburg published the first volume of *Kulturarbeit* in 1901.

7. The Catholic church fostered several varieties of social thought in Austria. Chief among these was the emergence of Christian socialism as dis-

seminated by Karl Baron von Vogelsang (1818–1890). For a general discussion, see Michele Rancheti, *The Catholic Modernists: A Study of the Religious Reform Movement, 1864–1907*, trans. Isabel Quigly (London, 1969); and M. G. Reardon, *Roman Catholic Modernism* (Stanford, 1970). Lux became an admirer of Kralik later in life and took over the Kralik Gesellschaft upon Kralik's death. Lux must have been well aware of Kralik's position early on. For Kralik, a renewal of the European spirit would have to be based on the foundations of the Christian past. The Catholic Church would play a major role in this because it helped protect European culture against a downward slide.

8. Though the conservative movement should not be lumped together with the reactionary movement, they shared to some degree an attachment to romanticism. As Jeffrey Herf points out, it would be a mistake to define German romanticism as primarily a backward-looking movement. Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism, Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge, England, 1984), 15.

9. See also Antje Senarclens de Grancy, "Heimatschutz und moderne Architektur. Bivalente Beziehungen am Beispiel Graz vor 1914," in Heidemarie Uhl, ed., *Kultur—Urbanität—moderne Differenzierungen der Moderne in Zentraleuropa um 1900* (Vienna, 1998), 197–242.

10. The topic of Catholic modernity has been well studied by specialists in Catholic religious history, but is still largely unexplored in the history of aesthetics. Bruce Berglund, in a paper given at the East European Art and Architecture Conference (MIT, Cambridge, Mass., 6 Oct. 2001), explored the situation in the former Czechoslovakia, where a great number of artists saw themselves as both modern and Catholic. Berglund, "Building a Church for a New Age: The Search for a Modern Catholic Art in Turn-of-the-century Central Europe," *Centropa* 3 (fall 2003), 225–34. An architect who can be studied in this vein was Rudolf Schwartz, an urban designer who tried to bridge Catholic theological principles with modern design practices. For a study of Schwarz, see Panos Mantziaras, "La Ville-paysage. Rudolf Schwarz et la dissolution des villes" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris VIII, 2000).

11. The critical history of phenomenology as an intellectual-aesthetic movement in twentieth-century architectural theory has not been written. On the history of phenomenology in the United States in the 1970s, see Jorge Otero-Pailos, "Theorizing the Anti-Avant-Garde: Invocations of Phenomenology in Architectural Discourse, 1945–1989" (Ph.D. diss., MIT, 2002).

12. Lux was born in Vienna on 8 Apr. 1871. He married in 1903. A good deal of biographical material can be gleaned from his own publications and letters, and from various archival sources. See, for example, "Joseph Aug. Lux. Lebenslauf," written most likely by Lux himself, I.N.160.783, WSL. The most important is Lux's autobiographical novel *Wanderung zu Gott*.

13. Lux's allegiance to the ideas of the Freethinkers appears throughout his writings, in his critiques of *Bureaokratismus* and his barbs against "academicians," "system-creators," and "cookie-cutter people." See, for example, "Die Werdenden," *Hobe Warte* 3, no. 1 (1906), 1.

14. Lux, *Wanderung*, 92.

15. Lux, *Drei Puppenspiele*. The cover design was by Joseph Hoffmann with drawings by Moritz Jung, Nelly Marmorek, Emma Schlangenhäuser, Agnes Speyer, and Mileva Stoisavljevic. Leopold Forstner (1878–1936) was a painter and graphic artist who studied under Kolo Moser and Gustav Klimt and, in 1908, founded the Wiener Mosaikwerkstätte.

16. Lux to Otto Wagner, 16 May 1907, acc. no. 870399, folder 13, Otto Wagner Correspondence, 1885–1917, Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (hereafter OWC). At the end of the letter, he explains that he would rather have represented the Viennese at the Düsseldorf conference of 1907 but chose Munich in order to be a more active participant.

17. *Ibid.* The act, Lux explained, had been planned well in advance.

18. Schmidt had published several articles in *Hobe Warte* in 1906 and 1907.

19. See Hermann Muthesius, "Wo stehen Wir?," *Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes* (Jena, 1912), 11–26, and his response to questions in "Hermann Muthesius: Nikolasse," *ibid.*, 34–36, where he critiques the "restlessness and nervousity" of modern life (24) on the one hand and the desire for bland imitation on the part of the *Heimatsil* on the other. What he wanted was a "modern medium of expression" to evolve out of "vernacular building traditions" (35). For Lux's glowing reviews of Muthesius's book see his "Kunstgewerbe und Architecture," *Hobe Warte* 3 (1907), 185–86.

20. Muthesius, "Wo stehen Wir?," 11–26; Muthesius, "Das Form-Problem im Ingenieurbau," *Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes*, 1913 (Jena, 1913), 23–32.

21. Lux, *Wanderung*, 81, 87, 90. See also Lux to Rössler, 26 Oct. 1908, in which Lux complains about the efforts of the "Muthesius clique" against him. Karl Osthaus, who lived in a house designed by Henry van de Velde, attempted to carry on some of the basic ideas that Lux championed, but it was a losing battle. See Campbell, *German Werkbund*, 160 (see n. 1). Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Deutscher Werkbund," *Das hobe Ufer* 10 (Oct. 1919), 237–45.

22. It should also be pointed out that Lux's association with the Munich Vereinigte Werkstätte turned out to be a hollow enterprise. By 1907, just as Lux was coming on board, the designers who had made Munich so important—Peter Behrens, August Endell, Bernhard Pankok, and Bruno Paul—had by then left for more lucrative and prestigious positions elsewhere (the first three in 1901, and Paul in 1907). The only Werkbund member of consequence left was Richard Riemerschmid. The once progressive Munich Secession, which had moved in the direction of conservative artistic expression, barred its doors to the members of the Vereinigte Werkstätte. See Maria Makela, *The Munich Secession: Art and Artists in Turn-of-the-Century Munich* (Princeton, 1990), 136ff. The Vereinigten Werkstätte für Kunst im Handwerk was founded in 1898. By 1907, Munich's art community was in serious decline. Painting had drifted toward historicism and in the arts and crafts the lack of state support played a major role in driving the leading designers from the city.

23. The last issue appeared in 1908. Lux explained that: "Since I did not succeed in making a breach years ago with the *Hobe Warte* in Vienna, why then should it succeed now when mankind, as is usual with progress, has gotten only *more stupid* and more stubborn! My venerated friend Hoffmann wants now to found in Vienna an 'association for culture' etc. and continues my erstwhile *Hobe Warte* work on a smaller scale. I keep asking myself why one has not kept up the *Hobe Warte* at that time. Why have I been so abandoned that I had to leave?" Joseph Lux to Otto Wagner, 24 Aug. 1909, OWC, acc. no. 870399, folder 13.

24. Lux, *Wanderung*, 81, 87, 90.

25. Lux, *Wagner*, 49.

26. Lux, *Wanderung*, 110.

27. *Ibid.*, 81, 95, 92, 110. In Munich, he also became head of the Schutzverbandes deutscher Schriftsteller, I.N.116.823, WSL.

28. Lux used this word in the title of book one, chapter three, of *Wanderung*.

29. *Wanderung*, 76. Behrens's design for the Gaswerke Ost for the Frankfurter Gas Anstalt in Frankfurt am Main (1910–12) is uncannily similar to the logo of *Hobe Warte*. In a letter to Wagner, Lux mentioned his activity on behalf of the Munich Werkstätte. Joseph Lux to Otto Wagner, 16 May 1907, OWC, acc. no. 870399, folder 13.

30. Lux championed several younger designers, including Max Benirschke (1880–1970), a student of Josef Hoffmann, whose furniture and interiors Lux seems particularly to have admired.

31. Max Littmann (1862–1931) studied at the Polytechnische Schule in Dresden and moved to Munich in 1885. In 1892, he joined the firm of his father-in-law, Jacob Heilmann, to create the firm Heilmann & Littmann,

which specialized in theaters, such as one in Bad Kissingen in Bavaria (1904), the Schiller Theater in Berlin (1905), and the German National Theater in Weimar (1907). Despite the difficulties Jews had faced in Munich, Littmann remained there until his death.

32. Lux, *Das Stadttheater in Posen*, 10.

33. Lux to Wagner, 24 Aug. 1909.

34. Joseph Lux to Dr. Karl Wache, 14 Dec. 1919, Autographenkatalog 573/28, Handschriftensammlung, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Lux seems to be in the planning stages of the new journal, writing at the top of the letter: "Kunst- und Kulturrat/Blätter für die Neue Zeit/Verlag der Freien Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kunst und Kultur/Herausgeber: Für den gesamten Inhalt: Joseph A. Lux. Für Kunstgewerbe und Bilderteil: Arch. G. Schmidhammer [name crossed out] Für den musikalischen Teil: Franz Ledwinka. Verlag und Redaktion: Für Deutschösterreich: Salzburg, Haydenstraße 6. [Name crossed out.] Für Deutschland: Gmain bei Reichenhall." *Weisse Hefte* appeared between 1920 and 1922.

35. Lux wrote that even though he was raised Catholic, his parents led a completely secular life.

36. In *Wandering*, Lux described the warm reception he received at the Franciscan convent at Fiesole (21, 265). He spoke highly of a certain Fra Clementino (Clementino Graziano, whose secular name was Angelo Graziani [1885–1966]); he became a lay brother in 1905. Graziani did not chose the priesthood. His principal duty in Fiesole was to help in the sacristy, but he enjoyed showing the church to visitors, and in time became very well known in Fiesole and Florence.

37. After World War I, Lux joined various writers' clubs and even became the president of the Austrian Association of Catholic Writers. In the 1930s, he moved from Grossmain to Anif, also close to Salzburg. He began to paint, producing four altar paintings that hung in the Vienna Cathedral and one in Freiburg im Bressgau. See Lux to Verehrter Herr Hofrat, 9 Feb. 1947, I.N.160.922, WSL.

38. Given Lux's strongly voiced pro-Catholic sentiments, he vehemently opposed the Anschluss with Germany, seeing National Socialism as just another manifestation of Lutheranism. This does not necessarily mean that he was an anti-Fascist. According to one document, Nazi sympathizers attacked and fire-bombed his house in Anif, and his books were banned and burned. I.N.160.783, WSL. In 1938, Lux was arrested by the Nazis and was imprisoned in Dachau from 2 April to 29 July, with the number 13847. Late in life he took up painting religious scenes; according to one of his letters, one of his paintings hung in the Vienna Cathedral. He died in 1947 and was buried in Anif.

39. Lux used the article to prepare for a book to be called *Geschichte der modernen Bewegung*. In a letter to Arthur Rössler, Lux claimed that he finished the manuscript in November 1908, I.N.153.155, WSL. The book, though advertised by Klinckhard & Biermann of Leipzig, was never produced.

40. See Herman Muthesius, "Der Weg und das Endziel des Kunstgewerbes," *Dekorative Kunst* 8 (1905), 181–90, 230–38.

41. Lux, *Wagner*, 12, 13.

42. Lux, *Der Städtebau*, 112. See also his *Der Wille zum Glück*, 86, and "Klinger's Beethoven," 481.

43. Lux, "Die Anfänge der modernen Bewegung," 64. The Germans, according to Lux, were slow to appreciate the significance of these artists, holding on to "academic darkness" as late as the 1906 exhibition at Darmstadt (68). For a thorough discussion of the Secessionists, see Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

44. Joseph Lux, "Das Groteske," *Hobe Warte* 2 (1905–6), 301. See also Lux, *Volkswirtschaft des Talents*, 75.

45. Lux, *Der Geschmack im Alltag*, iii. "ARTIS SOLA DOMINA NECES-

SITAS" (art has only one ruler: necessity), he wrote, subtly reminding his readers that modernity's foundation on spiritual necessity was in no small part linked to Austria's religious, Latin background. Lux, *Wagner*, 48.

46. There were several complicating reasons for this ouster, but one was whether *Pan* was to be a European- or a German-oriented magazine. See Kenworth Moffett, *Meier-Graefe as Art Critic* (Munich, 1973), 17–18.

47. Lux makes a parallel argument in *Olbrich*, 14–16.

48. Van de Velde was an important figure in relation to Symbolism, since he helped lead the way from "the spiritual and poetic ambitions" of the earlier age to the more socially cohesive world of the modern *Kunstgewerbe*. Lux, "Die Anfänge," 65. See also Walther Riezler, "Die Zukunft des Kunstgewerbes," *März* 1 (1907), 501. But Lux retained some doubts about van de Velde's "hopping and knelling [*kauernde*] furniture." Lux to Wagner, 16 May 1907, OWC (see n. 16). In Germany, Lux pointed to organizations like the Karlsruher Künstlerbund, formed in 1896, that expanded popular interest in Post-Impressionist art. See also Lux, "Die Anfänge," 68; and Helga Walter-Dressler, "Der Karlsruher Künstlerbund und die Farblichthographie. Eine Initiative gegen den Öldruck," in Helga Walter-Dressler and Sylvia Bieber, eds., *Farblichthographien des Karlsruher Künstlerbundes um 1900* (Karlsruhe, 1987).

49. See Joseph Lux, "Die baukünstlerische Erziehung des Publikums," *Hobe Warte* 3 (1905–6), 41–42. Lux was also highly critical of modern technical aesthetics. See Joseph Lux, "Gross-Wien," *Hobe Warte* 4 (1908), 29.

50. Through important contributions by Paul Schultze-Naumburg, *Hobe Warte* also championed the emerging *Heimatsstil* movement. The Verein für Österreichische Volkskunde, formed in 1894, was only one of numerous manifestations of Austria's concern with the preservation of cultural and national tradition. *Hobe Warte's* current reputation as an organ of the *Heimatsstil* is, however, far too reductivist. Lux was certainly a friend of the group, but he always considered himself a "modern," which, prior to about 1908, was still possible. The literature on the *Heimatsstil* is voluminous. See esp. Theodor Brückler, "Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Heimatschutzbewegung," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 43, nos. 3–4 (1989), 145–56; and Herbert Nikitsch, "Heimatschutz in Österreich," in Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, *Schönes Österreich. Heimatschutz zwischen Ästhetik und Ideologie* (Vienna, 1995), 19–29. Also included in *Hobe Warte* was an article by English author and early empathy theorist Vernon Lee, pseudonym for Violet Paget (1856–1936). See "Siena and Simon Martini: Genius Loci," *Hobe Warte* 2 (1905–6), 278–80; her *Beauty and Ugliness and Other Studies in Psychological Aesthetics* (London, 1912), 156–239; and her *The Beautiful: An Introduction to Psychological Aesthetics* (Cambridge, England, 1913).

51. The Hugo Henneberg House was designed in 1901. The Villa Spitzer (1902–3) also had a compact shape but with an asymmetrically placed towerlike element. Modeled on English country houses, its interior walls were painted white but strongly framed by dark walnut woodwork.

52. Lux, *Olbrich*, 71.

53. Lux, "Die Anfänge," 63.

54. Lux, *Der Wille zum Glück*, 45.

55. Lux, *Olbrich*, 31.

56. It was the same position that led Lux, in the 1930s, to protest against German unification under the Nazis. It was the Austrians, not the Germans, he felt, who really understood what was missing in German consciousness.

57. Lux, "Die Anfänge," 64.

58. Lux does not mean "organic" in the biological sense of a process of natural growth, but as part of his metaphysical argument, implying an instinctive sense of beauty. The terms "organic" and "architectonic," which were closely related for Lux, have a long history in nineteenth-century Austrian Catholic theory. See Joseph Lux, "Rudolf von Alt," *Hobe Warte* 2 (1905–6),

82. Lux regarded von Alt as a transitional figure between the Biedermeier and the modern.

59. "Genius loci" is used in several places, including Joseph Lux, "Dalmatien, das Land der Vergangenheit und der Zukunft," *Hobe Warte* 4 (1908), 255. The history of the use of the phrase has not been fully explored, but it was already popular, in England at least, in the Romantic philosophy of the late eighteenth century. For use of the word "tectonic," see Lux, *Olbrich*, 79, and his *Ingenieur-Aesthetik*, 49. Though the term is allied to the word "tectonic" from Karl Bötticher's famous book *Die Tektonik der Hellenen* (Postdam, 1852), which influenced the writings of Gottfried Semper and others, Lux associated it less with the ambition of high art than with a vernacular sensibility rising unconsciously through the ages. If it was Greek architecture that was at the heart of Bötticher's idea of the tectonic, it was for Lux the farmhouse, with its fence and its big tree in the front yard. He wrote, for example, that "those who are used to seeing Nature" will have noticed how strongly the landscape [*Landschaftsbild*] influences the architectural sensibilities in human work. Joseph Lux, "Der Garten am Haus," *Hobe Warte* (1906-7), 131. It should also be pointed out that the word "architectonic" was widely used, often in reference to study sketches, which conforms to Lux's idea about the need to monumentalize our understanding of the past. For "genius loci," see Lux, *Die moderne Wohnung*, 13. He defined it somewhat loosely as *der Geist der Heimat* or *der Geist der Vorfahren* (4). He used *Geist der Vorfahren* in discussing the work of Hoffmann. Lux, "Innen-Kunst von Prof. Hoffmann," 130.

60. Joseph Lux, "Deutsche Heimatschutz," *Hobe Warte* 3 (1906), 33.

61. Rudolf Eucken, *Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart* (1904), 106. Eucken even met with Hodler on one of his trips to Switzerland.

62. Rudolf Eucken, *Der Kampf um einen geistigen Lebensinhalt* (Leipzig, 1896), 99, 77, 396, 57, 368, 298, 92, 71, 362. About his own work, Lux wrote: "Es ist mir insbesondere darauf angekommen, entwicklungsfähige Keime aufzudecken und Anknüpfungspunkte, die uns eine kunstreiche Tradition darreicht," in "Wenn du vom Kahlenberg," *Hobe Warte* 3 (1907), 232.

63. Eucken, *Der Kampf*, 251.

64. *Ibid.*, 59, 50, 126.

65. Martin Gerlach (1846-1918) was the owner of a jewelry store in Berlin who moved to Vienna to create his own publishing house, Gerlach und Schenk, in 1872. Also an avid photographer, he was interested in the themes of nature, folk art, and buildings. His son, also named Martin (and who was Lux's age), was likewise a photographer and worked closely with his father. It is difficult to tell whether it was the father or the son with whom Lux was close.

66. Lux, *Olbrich*, 80-81.

67. Lux, *Der Städtebau*, 138, 91. The "eye" is also an important concept for Lux: "The artistic eye observes from the heart and not from the head." Lux, *Ingenieur-Aesthetik*, 3.

68. Lux, "Monumentale Wirtshäuser," 285.

69. Lux, *Ingenieur-Aesthetik*, 5.

70. Joseph Lux, *Hobe Warte* 4 (1908), 254.

71. *Ibid.*, 35. See also Lux, "Das Groteske," 302.

72. Lux, *Wagner*, 139.

73. Joseph Lux, "Die Werdenden," *Hobe Warte* 3 (1906-7), 2.

74. Lux, *Der Wille zum Glück*, 76. Werkbund discourse thrived on the conceptual strengths and ambiguities of words like quality, form, culture, purity, and functionalism (*Sachlichkeit*). This was certainly true of the concept of ennobling, which was drawn directly from the Wilhelmine *Kunstpolitik*. Kaiser Wilhelm II repeatedly admonished artists "to lift up the German race by heightening their appreciation of beauty and preserve their understanding of things noble." Wilhelm Schröder, *Das persönliche Regiment* (Munich, 1907), 168-69. And the Werkbund authors obliged. "The goal of the Werkbund,"

one of its members bluntly explained, "was the ennobling [*Veredelung*] and spiritualization [*Durchgeistigung*] of the craft industry." See Helmuth Wolff, "Die volkswirtschaftlichen Aufgaben des D.W.B.," in *Die Durchgeistigung der deutschen Arbeit. Jahrbuch des deutschen Werkbundes, 1912* (Jena, 1912), 86. B. Kühn wrote: "What is not dependent on the improvement and the ennobling of the house? Everything. The health and energy of the *Volk* as well as the beauty of the land. [It will create] the best of possible German middle class existences." "Die Wohnung der Neuzeit," *Illustrierte Zeitung*, 3412 (19 Nov. 1907), 907. See also Jarzombek, "The Kunstgewerbe."

75. Lux, *Der Wille zum Glück*, 95.

76. Lux, *Ingenieur-Aesthetik*, 37.

78. Lux, "Die Anfänge," 64.

79. Hoffman, Lux argued, has given us the "desired beginning of a *Völk-Kunst*." Lux, "Innen-Kunst von Prof. Hoffmann," 130. See also Lux, "Das Groteske," 301. It should be noted that Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc's attempt to bring technology in line with cultural groundedness is very close to Lux's own position.

80. Lux, "Werdenden," 2.

81. Lux, *Der Wille zum Glück*, 96.

82. There are several parallels between Lux's *Der Wille zum Glück* and his *Der Städtebau*.

83. Lux, *Der Wille zum Glück*, 49.

84. *Ibid.*

85. Lux, *Ingenieur-Aesthetik*, 9. "Dieser Kausalnexus soll vor Augen stehen, wenn von dem wahren Stil unserer Zeit die Rede ist."

86. See Lux, *Die moderne Wohnung*, 174; and his *Der Geschmack*, vi, v.

87. Lux, *Volkswirtschaft des Talents*, 109. Modern education, Lux argued, brings the evolution of natural talent to a "complete stop." Instead of dry routine and forced examinations, students should first learn how to "play" with materials like paper, leather, cloth, wood, and metal. Then comes drawing and then learning to write, with grammar imposed on them only slowly. And instead of being taught to dance in lock-step fashion, they should be taught rhythmic motion. The underlying pedagogical approach was derived from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who, according to Lux, strove to unify knowledge and making in the lives of his charges (82).

88. Lux described his goals in "Lehrlingswesen im Kunstgewerbe," *Hobe Warte* 4 (1908), 76-77.

89. Lux, *Wanderung*, 80.

90. Lux, *Geschmack*, 1.

91. *Ibid.*, 198. Lux approached that topic with his typical ambivalence. After all, the camera had elbowed out the earlier culture of portraiture that he so admired. "We let ourselves be photographed," he notes, and as a result become nothing more than "empty vessels." Lux, *Die moderne Wohnung*, 87. But rather than reject the camera completely, Lux once again tried to fuse contradictory positions. We need to rethink our use of that technology, he suggested, as with everything, from the inside out.

92. Lux published an earlier version of the piece as "Amateurphotographie und Heimatkunst," *Hobe Warte* 1 (1904-5), 19; a variant appeared as "Photographische Kultur," *Deutscher Camera-Almanach* 4 (1908), 1-13; the final version was *Die Kunst des Amateurphotographen* (Stuttgart, 1910). For a full translation of the text into English, see Mark Jarzombek, "Künstlerliche Kodakgeheimnisse [Artistic Secrets of the Kodak]," *Thresholds* 22 (spring 2001), 60-63.

93. Lux, *Geschmack*, vi. The word *Verfassung*, or constitution, is used to show once again the link between an outer reality and an inner state-of-being.

94. Lux, *Grillparzer*, 1.

95. Lux, *Lola Montez*, 46. In the book, Lux charted the famous love affair of Montez (1818-1861) with Ludwig von Bayern, who elevated her—despite her shady history as a former dancer and adventuress—to the rank of count-

ess. In Bavaria, she held a sumptuous court but had to struggle against elements that wished to unseat her. Lux portrayed the Jesuits as her principal nemesis. The people, according to Lux, liked her, however, and sided with her. Nevertheless, in 1848, political unrest forced her to leave Munich. At various places in the text, Montez encounters a vagabond-like person who tries to inform her of the Church's teachings, whom she dismisses, equating him with the Jesuits. Toward the end, however, she realizes that the church of which this person speaks is based on the values of forgiveness and love, and is indeed a possible resting place for her anguished soul. The vagabond is clearly Lux's alter-ego.

96. The book on Olbrich appeared in 1919, but Lux pointed out that it had been written before the war.

97. Lux, *Olbrich*, 67.

98. *Ibid.*, 2.

99. *Ibid.*, 151.

100. Lux, *Berlin. Wittenberg*, 37.

101. Lux, *Donaufahrt*, 5.

102. *Ibid.*, 6.

103. Lux, *Wanderung*, 27. Franz von Sales was canonized in the seventeenth century. Lux also liked it to be known that among his ancestors a certain Adam Lux was defender of Charlotte Corday in the French revolution, I.N.160.783, "Joseph Aug. Lux. Lebenslauf und Verzeichnis seiner Werke," WSL. Corday is famous for having stabbed Jean-Paul Marat in his bathtub on 13 July 1793.

104. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design, from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (New York, 1949), 135.

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Figure 1. I.N.108.093, WSL

Figure 2. Lux, *Der Städtebau*, 72

Figure 7. Rudolf Pfister, *Theodor Fischer: Leben und Wirken eines deutschen Baumeisters* (Munich, 1968), 26

Figure 8. Lux, *Wagner*, 56