
Trends in Research on Bruno Taut: Bruno Taut as a Transcultural Architect and Theorist

Masafumi KITAMURA*

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Explanatory Note

In 2008, six Berlin settlements were registered as “Berlin Modernism Housing Estates” and added to the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites on the grounds that they had considerably influenced housing development thereafter. These settlements were: the garden city Falkenberg, Estate Schillerpark, Horse Shoe Estate (Hufeisensiedlung), Carl Legien, Weißstadt, and Siemensstadt. Of these, only Falkenberg predates the First World War, while the others were constructed during the time of the Weimar Republic. The first four were designed by Bruno Taut (1880-1938), who was forced to go into exile in Japan and Turkey, when the Nazi regime was born in 1933. In Japan he could not work as an architect.

At present, there are two avenues of research on Taut’s work; namely, trends in his native Germany, and those in Japan. They have more or less developed independently of each other. This paper will give an overview of Taut research trends in Germany, and corresponding efforts in Japan. Surveying both research trends will allow an organic correlation and identification of internationally important questions.

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Introduction

The goals of this paper are twofold. One is to survey how evaluation of German architect Bruno Taut (1880-1938) has changed in Japan and abroad. The other is to identify which aspects of Taut’s work are of contemporary international interest. While I do not specialize in architectural history, three topics motivate my interest in Taut.

Firstly, I have researched the German housing reform movement which began in the mid-nineteenth century, focusing on Berlin. (This led me to publish a book on the subject in 2007.¹) During this time, a reform movement took shape to deal with workers’ housing problems (as perceived by the bourgeoisie). There was a pervasive mid-century belief that the bourgeoisie and workers could live in the same buildings and areas, allowing the former to positively influence the latter. However, this view ceased to be influential around the time of Germany’s unification in 1871. Taking its place in the mainstream was the idea of segregating social classes, and suburban residential areas, through which housing problems would be solved using urban planning strategies.

However, in the imperial period, this idea remained but a vision² that would not be realized until the Weimar Republic.³ Likely factors fostering development of the *Siedlungen* (residential areas) in 1920s Germany were

1. Masafumi Kitamura, *Doitsu jūtaku kaikaku undō: 19-seiki no toshika to shimin shakai* (*The German Housing Reform Movement: Nineteenth-Century Urbanization and Civil Society*), Kyoto University Press (2007).

2. See Part 3 of the same book. For more on urban administration and planning in the Second Empire, see Satoshi Baba, *Doitsu toshi keikaku no shakai keizai shi* (*Socioeconomic History of German Urban Planning*), University of Tokyo Press (2016).

3. For more on German housing policy and housing construction during this period, see Toshiaki Gotō, *Doitsu jūtaku mondai no seiji shakai shi: Vaimaru shakai kokka to chūkansō* (*Political and Social History of German Housing Issues: The Weimar Social State and the Middle Class*),

* Litt.D., Professor, Department of Western History, Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences, Osaka City University. 3-3-138 Sugimoto, Sumiyoshi-ku, Osaka-shi, 558-8585 Japan.
E-mail: kitamasa@lit.osaka-cu.ac.jp

numerous, and included 1) the housing legislation termed “social housing construction;” 2) the influx of capital through rent tax in 1924; and 3) the development of lifelines (e.g., public transportation, water and sewer services, gas, and electricity). I will discuss this background further in my concluding section. Taut’s architectural activities began before World War I, but their peak came in the second half of the 1920s (when he designed 12,000 residences on the outskirts of Berlin. An examination of Taut’s architectural activities presents a vision of housing reform’s overall effectiveness.

Secondly, the effects of World War I on politics, economy, society, and culture have been receiving increased attention in recent years.⁴ Regarding architecture, a new trend was taking hold in 1920s Europe and North America. This was represented by Le Corbusier, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Walter Gropius (known as the four great twentieth century architects). Unlike the relatively decorative pre-war usage of bricks, stone, and wood in housing construction, this movement was primarily characterized by its use of concrete for rational, functional design. We call this “modernist architecture.”⁵

Taut’s construction can also be said to belong to that school. Taut began his activities as an architect before the war, initially drawing on the concept of garden cities to design cottage-style buildings. Around the time of the war, he adopted the trend of “expressionism.” “Expressionism” refers to an artistic form wherein one conveys an aesthetic vision as it appears in their mind.⁶ In the Weimar period, Taut adopted the rational, modernist architectural style. Shifts in Taut’s work parallel larger changes in German society and culture during the World War I era, viewed through the concrete lens of one architect.

Thirdly, with the 1933 establishment of the Nazi regime, Taut migrated to Japan. He was not able to do much architectural work there; yet, it is well-known that he developed an original theory of Japanese culture. This philosophy is evident in his evaluations of the Katsura Imperial Villa and the Ise Grand Shrine. Research on Taut opens the way for both a comparative cultural history as well as the history of exchanges between Japan and Germany. Nonetheless, as this paper argues, the scope may encompass more than just Japan and Germany.

At present, there are two avenues of research on Taut’s work; namely, trends in his native Germany, and those in Japan. To some extent, the current research in Japan references German trends. Meanwhile in Germany, work is taking place to translate Taut’s works which were originally published in Japanese. Nevertheless, research conducted in each country has had few points of contact. That is to say, they have more or less developed independently of each other. In this paper, I will first give an overview of Taut research trends in Germany, and then examine corresponding efforts in Japan. Surveying both research trends will allow organic correlation and identification of internationally important questions.

I will now touch briefly on research in the Soviet Union/Russia and Turkey, where Taut was also active. It appears there has been no research dedicated to Taut in the Soviet Union/Russia. This is not particularly strange, as Taut was basically prevented from conducting any work during his 1932 sojourn. In contrast, Taut has recently garnered attention in Turkey, where he lived from 1936 until his death in 1938. I will discuss the Turkish research in this paper as well.

Miraisha (1999); Nodoka Nagayama, *Doitsu no jūtaku mondai no shakai keizai shi teki kenkyū: Fukushi kokka to hieiri jūtaku kensetsu (Research on the Socioeconomic History of German Housing Issues: The Welfare State and Non-profit Housing Construction)*, Nihon keizai hyōron sha (2012); Brian Ladd, *The ghosts of Berlin. Confronting German history in the urban landscape*, University of Chicago Press 1997, ch. 3; *Vier Berliner Siedlungen der Weimarer Republik. Britz, Onkel Toms Hütte, Siemensstadt, Weiße Stadt. Eine Ausstellung vom 24. 10. 1984-7. 1. 1985 im Bauhaus-Archiv, Museum für Gestaltung, Berlin 1987*, etc.

4. Since 2014, there has been an upswing in studies on World War I (coinciding with the 100th anniversary of its beginning). For these research trends, see e.g., Takashi Koseki, “Daiichiji sekai taisen kenkyū no gen dankai: Kyōto daigaku jinbun kagaku kenkyūjo no kyōdō kenkyū o chūshin ni” (The Current Stage of Research on World War I: Centering on Joint Research of the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University), *Seiyō shigaku (Studies in Western History)*, vol. 245 (2012); Nobuya Hashimoto, “Gendai no kiten: Daiichiji sekai taisen (yonkan) to daiichiji sekai taisen kenkyū no tōtatsu” (*Origins of the Modern Era: World War I [Four Volumes] and the Arrival of First World War Research*), *Seiyō shigaku (Studies in Western History)*, vol. 256 (2014).

5. For more on modernist architecture, see Peter Blundell Jones, *Modanizumu kenchiku: Sono tayō na bōken to sōzō (Modernist Architecture: Its Diverse Adventures and Creation)* (Toshio Nakamura, trans.), Fūdoshia 2006 (originally published as *Modern architecture through case studies*, Architectural Press, 2002).

6. Expressionism is an artistic movement that straddles multiple areas, such as the fine arts, literature, and architecture, but to begin with, see Yoshio Dohi, *Doitsu hyōgen shugi no geijutsu (The Art of German Expressionism)*, Iwanami Shoten 1991.

1. The Life of Bruno Taut

I will now briefly summarize Taut's life.⁷

Taut was born in Königsberg in 1880. After completing gymnasium, he first underwent training to become an architect in his hometown, then trained in Stuttgart and Munich. Finally, in 1909, he opened the firm of Taut & Hoffmann in Berlin. He started his career overseeing only building exteriors when collaborating with other architects. His first big works as a practical architect were the estates Falkenberg, which was constructed southeast of Berlin, and Reform at the outskirts of Magdeburg, right before World War I. Both were fashioned in the style of garden cities (popular in Europe during the early 1900s). Other important pre-war activities were his Monument des Eisens (1913) and his Glashaus (1914). Both were temporary pavilions, built for exhibitions. Nevertheless, they can be seen as early attempts to grasp the potential of new materials.

During World War I, he was not active as an architect. In the meantime, he developed utopian visions that were realized following the war, in his *Alpine Architektur* (1919) and *Die Stadtkrone* (1919).⁸ His pre-war exhibition architecture and war-time utopian visions reflected the expressionist tendencies common to art of the time. After the war, he was responsible for urban planning as an architectural advisor to Magdeburg. During this period Taut was unable to produce satisfactory results, partly due to the overall state of the German economy.

In 1924, he published *Die neue Wohnung*,⁹ which discussed principles of residential design. He explicated rational room and furniture placement, as well as the roles of women who performed housework there. (He built his own home based on these principles, which he summarized in *Ein Wohnhaus*¹⁰ (1927).) In 1924, following publication of *Die neue Wohnung*, he quit his job in Magdeburg and returned to Berlin. Subsequently, he engaged in housing construction for a wide range of social groups. This work took place during the boom in non-profit housing construction.¹¹ The undertaking was made possible by capital influx from the rent tax implemented in 1924. By the early 1930s, he had designed accommodations for 12,000 Berlin households.¹² During this time, he mainly designed housing built by GEHAG (Gemeinnützige Heimstätten-, Spar- und Bau-Aktiengesellschaft).¹³ In this period, non-profit residences were constructed for 130,000 households in Berlin, meaning that Taut was involved in about one tenth of the total output.¹⁴ Most of Taut's characteristic housing, such as his *Hufeisensiedlung* (i.e. world cultural heritage) was built in this era. While occupied by design, he also published *Bauen: Der neue Wohnbau* in German, as well as *Modern Architecture* in English. A German version of the latter work (*Die neue Baukunst in Europa und Amerika*) was published in 1929.¹⁵

Once the Great Depression hit in 1929, he received fewer housing design jobs. He moved to Moscow in 1932 in search of work, but returned home in February 1933 having accomplished nothing. Taut was told that the newly established Nazi regime had its eye on him, so he migrated to Japan. There he received attention for his work interpreting Japanese culture from an original standpoint. For example, his evaluations of the Katsura Imperial Villa, the Ise Grand Shrine, and the traditional houses in Shirakawagō were considered especially unique. While in Japan, he

7. Biographical studies of Taut include Kurt Junghanns, *Bruno Taut, 1880-1938. Architektur und sozialer Gedanke*, 3., überarbeitete und erg. Aufl., Berlin 1998; Uda Hörner, *Die Architekten Bruno und Max Taut. Zwei Brüder - zwei Lebenswege*, Berlin 2012. For a simpler overview of Taut's life, see "Burūno Tauto nenpu: Burūno Tauto jishin ni yoru 1936-nen no rirekisho yori" (Bruno Taut Chronology: From Bruno Taut's own 1936 Resume), *Burūno Tauto, 1880-1938: Nature and Fantasy* (Bruno Taut, 1880-1938: Nature and Fantasy), Treville (1994).

8. Bruno Taut, *Alpine Architektur*, Hagen 1919; ders., *Die Stadtkrone*, Jena 1919; ders., *Der Weltbaumeister. Architektur-Schauspiel für symphonische Musik*, Hagen 1919; ders., *Die Auflösung der Städte oder Die Erde eine gute Wohnung oder auch. Der Weg zur alpinen Architektur*, Hagen 1920.

9. Ders., *Die neue Wohnung. Die Frau als Schöpferin*, Leipzig 1924.

10. Ders., *Ein Wohnhaus*, Stuttgart 1927.

11. For more on the rent tax, see Gotō, *op. cit.* and Nagayama, *op. cit.*

12. "Burūno Tauto nenpu," *op. cit.*

13. Wolfgang Schäche(Hg.), *75 Jahre GEHAG. 1924-1999*, Berlin 1999.

14. Herbert Schwenk, *Lexikon der Berliner Stadtentwicklung*, Berlin 2002, S.253.

15. Bruno Taut, *Bauen der neue Wohnbau*, Leipzig/ Berlin 1927; ders., *Modern architecture*, London 1929; ders., *Die neue Baukunst in Europa und Amerika*, Stuttgart 1929.

published *Nippon: Yōroppa-jin no me de mita* (1934) and *Nihon bunka shikan* (1936), translated into Japanese by Mori Toshio. *Houses and People of Japan* (Tokyo, 1937) was published in English immediately following his departure from Japan. Also, after his move to Turkey, Iwanami Shoten published the compilation *Nihon-bi no saihakken* (1939), translated into Japanese by Shinoda Hideo. The conception and writing of his last work, *Architekturlehre*, also began in Japan. Contrariwise, he did almost no work as an architect there, focusing almost exclusively on overseeing the production of industrial crafts in Sendai and Takasaki. The one exception was the interior renovation of the basement of the Hyūga-tei in Atami.

Following his Japanese sojourn of three-plus years, Taut moved to Turkey in the fall of 1936. There he engaged in public architecture projects and so forth, but died suddenly on Christmas Eve of 1938. Before his death, he had completed the manuscript for *Architekturlehre*, which can be considered the culmination of his theories on architecture and cities. It was published first in Turkish (in 1938), in Japanese after World War II (1948), and finally in German (1977).¹⁶

In this next section, we will look at the history of Taut research in his home country Germany.

2. Trends in Bruno Taut Research in his Native Germany

(1) The Forgotten Architect

Taut received attention in his native Germany as long as he was working actively in Berlin (i.e. until the early 1930s). However, after his migration to Japan in 1933, he was a forgotten architect. The accomplishments of architects like Taut were harshly condemned under the Nazi regime, which disliked modernist architecture intensely.¹⁷ It was in this context that GEHAG changed the name of the housing estate “Carl Legien” (named after a labor union movement leader) to “Flandern,” seeking to erase the social framework of Taut’s *Siedlungen*.¹⁸

Taut died in 1938, having never returned to Germany. Thus, he did not design any buildings tailored to the conditions of post-war Germany and Europe. This contrasts with architects who became active again after the war. Among these were Taut’s younger brother Max, and Hans Scharoun (who remained in Germany during the Nazi period, resuming work after the war). Martin Wagner and Ernst May returned to Germany after the war, while Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius continued doing internationally recognized work from their new home in the United States.¹⁹

Apartment houses built in post-war Germany²⁰ were often rectilinear and inorganic, a marked difference from Taut’s design style. He was known for giving buildings color, actively incorporating diagonal lines and curves. Sufficient housing quantities became a particularly urgent issue after World War II. Accordingly, there was little demand for Taut’s designs and architecture, which required delicate workmanship.

In this way, Taut was more or less forgotten in German architectural circles (and the study of architectural history) after moving to Japan. In particular, his substantial work in Japan and Turkey was overlooked by his homeland. Neither his works on Japanese culture, nor a German edition of *Architekturlehre* were published. Even if they had

16. Turkish: *Mimari biligisi*, tercüme eden Adonan Kolatan, Istanbul, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, 1938; Japanese: *Kenchiku geijutsu ron* (Shinoda Hideo, trans.), Iwanami shoten (1948); German: *Architekturlehre. Grundlagen, Theorie und Kritik, Beziehung zu den anderen Künsten und zur Gesellschaft*, Hamburg 1977. I was able to view the Turkish edition thanks to Ueno Masayuki, associate professor at Osaka City University.

17. For example, the Nazi regime initiated a protest campaign against flat roofs (which can be considered a feature of modernist architecture). Professor H. Mühlfeld, Das deutsche Dach, in: *Soziale Bauwirtschaft*, 14, 1934; Versagen der Flachdächer in Berlin, in: *Deutsche Bauhütte*, 38-4, 1934. For more on the dynamics surrounding modernist architecture under the Nazi regime, see Masafumi Kitamura, “Burūno Tauto no shūgō jūtaku” (“The Apartment Houses of Bruno Taut”), Miyuki Ozeki, ed., *Berurin: Sajō no metoropōru (sei'yō kindai no toshi to geijutsu 5) (Berlin: A Metropolis Built on Sand [Modern Cities and Art in the West V])*, Chikurinsha, 2015, 419-420.

18. *Die Gross-Siedlung*, 7-7, 1936, S.5.

19. For more on the histories of individual modernist architects, see Blundell Jones, *op. cit.*

20. For more on West Germany’s housing policies and construction after World War II, see Tilman Harlander, “20-seiki kōhan Doitsu renpō kyōwa koku (Nishi doitsu) ni okeru jūtaku to toshi no hatten” (“Development of Housing and Cities in the Federal Republic of Germany [West Germany] in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century”) (Masafumi Kitamura, Yui Nagao, Mitsuhiro Maeda, trans.), Takao Nakano, ed., *20-seiki no toshi to jūtaku: Yōroppa to Nihon (Cities and Housing in the Twentieth Century: Europe and Japan)*, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2015.

investigated Taut's life after he left the country, few Germans would have understood the contents of the books and papers published in Japanese and Turkish.

One exception was a series of projects with the Works Council for Art (Arbeitsrat für Kunst) between 1919 and the early 1920s. Taut helped found the Works Council for Art in Berlin in 1918. Building on the zeitgeist of the Workers and Soldiers Council movement (which followed the German Revolution), it sought to become a guild for artists including painters, architects, and sculptors. Moreover, Taut became a key member of *Die gläserne Kette*²¹ (1919-1920), an attempt at letter correspondence between twelve architects and artists. *Die gläserne Kette* was further developed with publication of the magazine *Frühlicht*²² (1920-1922). These activities were widely featured in a 1963 exhibition;²³ yet, they can also be seen as an expression of people's interest in the council and its affinity for socialist ideas.

In contrast, younger brother Max Taut's work was broadly recognized by German society. Serving as a post-war architect, he contributed to the rebuilding of Berlin. Moreover, he served as a professor at the Hochschule für bildende Künste Berlin, where he helped train a new generation of architects. Notably, a 1964 Berlin exhibition presented the full range of his work.²⁴ At this point in time, treatment of the two brothers was worlds apart.

Interest in Taut's activity soon after World War I rebounded relatively quickly. As described in Section 1, his work utilized the artistic style and methods of expressionism. While the expressionist movement was coming to fruition in architecture, many designs broke the erstwhile concept of buildings. Among these were the Einsteinturm (Potsdam), designed by Erich Mendelsohn.²⁵ One expressionist artist said to have influenced Taut was writer Paul Scheerbart.²⁶ Taut was deeply steeped in expressionist presentation, a thread which linked his pre-World War I exhibition architecture to his war-time utopian writings, and ultimately to the post-war period. His activities with *Die gläserne Kette* and *Frühlicht* were also collaborations with other artists of an expressionist bent. Research before the 1960s focused on Taut's endeavors around the time of the war; accordingly, the tendency for Taut to be evaluated as an expressionist architect is undeniable.²⁷ It is true that he consistently employed expressionist characteristics, such as his pickiness about color and the inclusion of delicate accents in his building designs. Nonetheless, he incorporated various artistic and architectural trends and flexibly adapted his thinking. Consequently, identifying him as simply an expressionist would be a one-dimensional evaluation.

(2) The Rise of Bruno Taut Research

Beginning in the 1970s, Taut became a subject of renewed interest. I can offer no conclusions for the impetus of this revival. Yet, I should mention that in architectural circles a significant shift was taking place. Specifically, styles were transitioning from modernist architecture (i.e. the bedrock of post-war architecture) to architectural ideas which pursued freer shapes.²⁸ In the context of modernist architecture, Taut's expressionism (and obsession with color) must have seemed extraordinary. His originality may provide clues for understanding these new architectural directions. as a result, we can see that interest in Taut centered on the following four points.

21. Iain Boyd Whyte und Romana Schneider (Hg.), *Die gläserne Kette. (Eine expressionistische Korrespondenz über die Architektur der Zukunft). Briefe von Bruno Taut und Hermann Finsterlin, Hans und Wassili Luckhardt, Wenzel August Hablik und Hans Scharoun, Otto Gröne, Hans Hansen, Paul Goesch und Alfred Brust*, Stuttgart 1996.

22. Bruno Taut, *Frühlicht. Eine Folge für die Verwirklichung des neuen Baugedankens*. 4 Hefte in Faksimile-Ausgabe (Herbst 1921, Winter 1921/22, Frühling 1922, Sommer 1922), Berlin 2000.

23. *Die gläserne Kette. Visionäre Architekten aus dem Kreis um Bruno Taut 1919-1920* (Ausstellungskatalog), Berlin 1963.

24. *Max Taut. Ausstellung in der Akademie der Künste vom 19. Juli bis zum 9. August 1964*, Berlin 1964.

25. For more on expressionist architecture, see Hiroshi Yamaguchi, *Doitsu hyōgen-ha no kenchiku: Kindai kenchiku no itan to seitō (The Architecture of German Expressionists: Heresy and Orthodoxy in Modern Architecture)*, Inoue Shoin (second edition), 1988. Käseglocke in Worpswede outside Bremen is a manifestation of Taut's vision of expressionist architecture.

26. Leo Ikelaar (Hg.), *Paul Scheerbart und Bruno Taut. Zur Geschichte einer Bekanntschaft. Scheerbarts Briefe der Jahre 1913-1914 an Gottfried Heinersdorff, Bruno Taut und Herwart, Walden*, Paderborn 1996.

27. Whyte und Schneider (Hg.), *a.a.O.*; Taut, *Frühlicht*; Ikelaar (Hg.), *a.a.O.* Yamaguchi, *op. cit.*, also focuses on Taut in the age of expressionism.

28. Hiroshi Matsukuma, *Kindai kenchiku o kioku suru (Remembering Modern Architecture)*, Kenchiku shiryō kenkyū sha. 2005, 10–11.

Firstly (in 1970), East German architectural historian Kurt Junghanns published a detailed Taut biography.²⁹ This biography is non-ideological; rather, it was written based on newly-discovered primary sources. It was revised twice after its first printing, to include (for example) additional information about Taut's time in Japan. To this day, it remains the definitive source of biographic information on the architect.

Next (in 1977), a German version of his last work (*Architekturlehre*) was published.³⁰ The book was based on the architectural activities and theories Taut conceived in Germany. Further, it drew on what he saw and heard in Japan and Turkey. This edition finally made Taut's thoughts on architecture and cities available to German readers.

Thirdly, there were contemporaneous efforts to restore the *Hufeisensiedlung* and the *Waldsiedlung* housing to their original states.³¹ The buildings had been remodeled, and the paintwork was degrading; accordingly, many houses differed significantly from Taut's conceptions. Informed by architectural historians' surveys, negotiations between local authorities and residents concluded that the buildings should be restored. Added structures were removed, paint was applied as Taut had instructed, and initial principles were reinstated for subsequent building management. The techniques used to revert these properties will provide models for restoration of his architecture, especially in the present century.³² A 1984 exhibition presented four *Siedlungen* representative of Weimar period construction. These were the two *Siedlungen* mentioned above (*Hufeisensiedlung* and *Waldsiedlung*), as well as *Siemensstadt* and *Weißer Stadt*.³³ The efforts to restore the first two *Siedlungen* certainly provided part of the show-case's backdrop.

Finally (in 1980) the first exhibition on Taut was held at the Academy of Arts in East Berlin. It was the first opportunity for many³⁴ to absorb the scope of this forgotten architect's activities. Subsequently, it was held at Musashino Art University in Japan, with few changes.³⁵

Even so, serious developments in Taut research did not begin until the 1990s. Taut's architecture (aiming to co-exist with nature) was evaluated in new ways with the growing interest in environmental issues.³⁶ Most important was the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of East and West Germany the following year. Taut's Berlin architecture is scattered between the city's East and West sides. Meanwhile, Magdeburg (with its dense concentration of his buildings), was located in East Germany. As passage became freer, it was more possible to use sources from each side and facilitate further field investigations.

Research on the four great architects of the twentieth century (i.e. Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Walter Gropius) had persisted for some time.³⁷ Finally, around 1990, interest in other architects began to grow.³⁸ The increase in Taut research was part of this development. Conventionally, attention was paid

29. Junghanns, *a.a.O.*

30. Bruno Taut, *Architekturlehre*.

31. For more on the restoration of the *Hufeisensiedlung*, see *Hufeisensiedlung Britz 1926-1980. Ein alternative Siedlungsbau der 20er Jahre als Studienobjekt*, Berlin 1980, For more on the restoration of the *Waldsiedlung*, see Helge Pitz-Winfried Brenne, *Bezirk Zehlendorf. Siedlung Onkel Tom, Einfamilienhäuser 1929. Architekt Bruno Taut*, Berlin 1980.

32. For the state of the restoration of Taut architecture, see Deutscher Werkbund Berlin e.V. (Hg.), *Bruno Taut. Meister des farbigen Bauens in Berlin*, Berlin 2005.

33. *Vier Berliner Siedlungen der Weimarer Republik*.

34. *Bruno Taut: 1880-1938, Ausstellung der Akademie der Künste vom 29. Juni - 3. August 1980*, 1. Auflage, Berlin 1980.

35. *Kenchikuka Burūno Tauto no subete: Nihon-bi no saihakkensha Bruno Taut 1880-1938 (All about the Architect Bruno Taut: The Rediscoverer of Japanese Beauty, Bruno Taut, 1880-1938)*, Musashino Art University, 1984.

36. For more on various issues surrounding environmental history, see Frank Uekötter, *Doitsu kankyō shi: Ekorōjī jidai e no tojō (German Environmental History: On the Road to the Age of Ecology)*, Shōwadō, 2014 (originally published as *Umweltgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, München 2007).

37. If I were to recommend one Japanese biography for each of the four great architects, they would be 1) Miharu Ōkubo, *Furanku Roido Raito: Kenchiku wa shizen e no sasagemono (Frank Lloyd Wright: Architecture Is an Offering to Nature)*, Minerva shobō, 2008; 2) Franz Schultz, *Hyōden Mīsu fan deru Rōe (Critical Biography of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe)* (Akira Sawamura, trans.), Kajima shuppankai, 2006 (originally published as *Mies van der Rohe: A Critical Biography*, University of Chicago Press, 1985; 3) Tadao Andō, *Ru Korubyujie no yūki aru jūtaku (The Brace Housing of Le Corbusier)*, Shinchōsha, 2004; and 4) Chikatada Kurata, *Guropiusu (Gropius)*, Shōkokusha, 1953. There are a great number of both Japanese and Western books including research on these men.

38. See Masafumi Kitamura, "Kindai Yōroppa ni okeru toshi to jūtaku o megutte" ("On Cities and Housing in Modern Europe"), *Seiyō shigaku (Studies in Western History)*, vol. 253, 2014, 54-57.

to architects involved in developing twentieth century modernist architecture. Suddenly, the spotlight also included architects who were not part of this mainstream movement. Such burgeoning inclusiveness was an attempt to redefine the essence of twentieth-century architecture. In the 1990s and beyond, Taut contemporaries were reevaluated. These included Berlin-based Hugo Häring³⁹ and Otto Rudolf Salvisberg,⁴⁰ as well as Celle architect Otto Haesler,⁴¹ who (just like Taut) colored his buildings.

One feature of Taut research since 1990 is its examination of buildings and writings not previously discussed in any detail. Clearly, this contrasts with earlier research, which mainly examined his representative works.

There has been an emergence of research providing reliable information from primary source readings, focusing not only on masterpieces, but also on early works that do not adequately demonstrate Taut's originality.⁴² Also included are buildings that cannot be considered representative of his mature output, such as those in Lindenhof (where he worked with Martin Wagner and landscape architect Leberecht Migge).⁴³

Research has also been promulgated on his activities as an architectural advisor in Magdeburg, where he was unable to produce significant results due to 1) Germany's worsening economic situation; and 2) the resistance of local residents.⁴⁴ A systematic and comprehensive collection of sources has been published on Taut's activities in this period. Empirical research has also been published on initiatives for garden city Reform (a style built in Magdeburg continuously from pre- World War I until the 1920s). All Reform structures are currently being restored to their original conditions.⁴⁵

One study that can be said to cover all of Taut's Berlin architecture is the guidebook *Bruno Taut. Meister des farbigen Bauens in Berlin* by Brenne et al.⁴⁶ It assembles information on all Taut architecture in Berlin, briefly listing basic data about the buildings' present states, and noting their characteristics when originally built. This work has been made possible by efforts since the 1990s to restore Taut's works in Berlin, returning his architectural constructions to their original forms. Currently, most Taut architecture extant in Berlin has been restored (both structurally and color-wise) to its original state.

There have also been reprintings of his principal works, beginning with *Alpine Architektur* and *Die neue Wohnung*.⁴⁷ Especially noteworthy is the recent German publication of works representing Taut's ideas on Japanese culture at the hands of Professor Manfred Speidel.⁴⁸ Previously, these had been published only in Japanese. A collection

39. Matthias Schirren, *Hugo Häring. Architekt des neuen Bauens 1882-1958*,

Ostfildern- Ruit 2001; Peter Blundell Jones, *Hugo Häring. The organic versus the geometric*, Stuttgart/ London 1999.

40. O. R. Salvisberg *die andere Moderne*, Werkkatalog und Biographie von Claude Lichtenstein, Zürich 1995.

41. Dietrich Klatt, Simone Oelker, *Architekturen zu Bauten von Otto Haesler in Celle*, Celle 2000.

42. Brigitte Renate Vera Lamberts, *Das Frühwerk von Bruno Taut (1900-1914) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Berliner Arbeiten. Architektur zwischen Tradition und Moderne*, Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde, Bonn 1994.

43. Claudia Zimmermann *Die Siedlung Lindenhof als Impuls für sozialen Siedlungsbau in Berlin*, Dissertation, Berlin 1993.

44. Hanns H. F. Schmidt, *Bruno Taut in Magdeburg Carl Krayl. Beiträge zur Architekturgeschichte Magdeburgs zwischen 1912 und 1933*, Magdeburg 1987; Olaf Gisbertz, *Bruno Taut und Johannes Göderitz in Magdeburg. Architektur und Städtebau in der Weimarer Republik*, Berlin 2000; Joachim Kolb, *Bruno Taut als Stadtbaurat in Magdeburg und das farbige Bauen*, München 2009.

45. Bruno Taut. 2 Bände. Hrsg. vom Stadtplanungsamt Magdeburg. 1. Band: Annegret Nippa, *Bruno Taut in Magdeburg. Eine Dokumentation. Projekte - Texte - Mitarbeiter*; 2. Band: *Symposium Bruno Taut. Werk und Lebensstadien. Würdigung und kritische Betrachtung*, Magdeburg 1995. For the restoration of Reform, see Winfried Brenne, Viola Beil, Thomas Krayl, *Gartenstadt-Kolonie Reform*, Magdeburg 1995.

46. Deutscher Werkbund Berlin e.V. (Hg.), a.a.O. There are other studies dealing primarily with the interiors of Taut buildings. Bettina Zöllner-Stock, *Bruno Taut. Die Innenraumentwürfe des Berliner Architekten*, Stuttgart 1993.

47. Bruno Taut, *Alpine Architektur. eine Utopie = A utopia*, München 2004; ders., *Der Weltbaumeister. Architektur-Schauspiel für symphonische Musik*, neu herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort zur Neuausgabe von Manfred Speidel, Berlin 1999; ders., *Die Stadtkrone*, mit einem Nachwort zur Neuausgabe von Manfred Speidel, Berlin 2002; ders., *Die neue Wohnung. Die Frau als Schöpferin*, Berlin 2001; ders., *Ein Wohnhaus. Mit 104 Fotos und 72 Zeichnungen, einer Farbaufnahme und einer Farbenzusammenstellung*, mit einem Nachwort zur Neuausgabe von Roland Jaeger, Berlin 1995. English, French, and Spanish editions of Taut's works have also been published, indicating that interest in him has spread across Western Europe. Dennis Sharp (ed.), *Glass architecture*, by Paul Scheerbar, translated by James Palmes and *Alpine architecture*, by Bruno Taut, translated by Shirley Palmer, New York 1972; Bruno Taut, *The City Crown*, translated by Matthew Mindrup and Ulrike Altenmüller-Lewis, Routledge 2015; Bruno Taut, *Une couronne pour la ville. Die Stadtkrone. Avec des contributions de Paul Scheerbar, Erich Baron, Adolph Behne*. Traduit de l'allemand par Ruth et Guy Ballange et Daniel Wiczorek. Introduction de Guy Ballange et Bernard Marrey, Paris, Linteau, 2004; Bruno Taut, *Architecture alpine*. En cinq parties et trente dessins. Traduit de l'allemand par Daniel Wiczorek. Introduction de Jean-Louis Cohen, Paris, le Linteau, 2005; Bruno Taut, *Alpina Arquitectura*, Circulo De Bellas Artes 2011.

48. *Nippon: Yōroppa-jin no me de mita* was published as Bruno Taut, *Nippon mit europäischen Augen gesehen. geschrieben* Juni-Juli 1933,

of sources has also been published about Taut's activities during his brief one-year stay in Moscow from 1932.⁴⁹ Some attention has also been paid to Taut's activities in Turkey.⁵⁰

His activities around World War I (long-since studied and characterized as expressionist), as well as his relationship with writer Paul Scheerbarth (who influenced him at the time), are also being reconsidered. Biographical research reveals that a few years ago Hörner published a study comparing the Taut brothers. This literature makes it even easier to trace their lives.⁵¹

Amid such developments, many scholars engaged in Taut research took part in collecting papers for *Bruno Taut, 1880-1938. Architekt zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde*. Published in 2001, this tome covers the full breadth of Taut's activities, ranging from his early career to his later years. Consequently, it demonstrates how far Taut research had come by the start of this century. This research outcome should become the foundation of further investigations. Its value is increased not only by the included papers, but also by its listing of Taut's buildings and works.⁵²

In this way, the last twenty years have seen a discovery of many new sides to Taut, as well as a reconsideration of accomplishments previously studied in Taut's native Germany. I will now summarize the current state of Taut research in Germany.

Firstly, progress has been made in sources on his activities in Germany. They have been researched systematically, facilitating discussion based on more reliable information than was previously available. Taut's time spent in his hometown of Königsberg (presently the Russian territory of Kaliningrad) is one source from which there is hope of gleaning more knowledge.

Next, the evaluation of Taut as an expressionist has previously been highlighted as informing his viewpoint. Yet, as more information is gathered on the whole of his career, the diversity and flexibility of his architecture and ideas become increasingly complex, and cannot be labeled so facilely. For example, even after the late 1920s (when modernist architecture was brought to the fore), elements of expressionism and garden city concepts frequently appeared in his designs.

Lastly, in recent years, efforts to reevaluate Taut have been accompanied by the restoration of many of his extant buildings. Consequently, it has become easier to comprehend the thoughts, principles, and ideas that went into those buildings. Reproducing the buildings' original features allows a more concrete understanding of Taut's architecture. Those involved in the restoration can have this experience. So, too can those of differing backgrounds who visit Taut's buildings. In this regard, it is quite significant that multilingual works have been published based on the restoration projects.

Taut research in recent years has approached him from the disciplines of architecture, architectural history, and art history. Paradoxically, these investigations are limited by precisely these perspectives. Consequently, a challenge for future Taut researchers is learning to overcome those limitations. Some of these strictures are as follows.

Firstly, research in recent years has focused attention on the buildings and the writings of Taut themselves, seldom framing his deeds within the context of social history. Urban history research prior to the 1990s was concerned with either social classes, such as bourgeoisie and workers, or with hegemony in urban society. Conversely, recent urban history research has brought to the fore perspectives which combine architectural and social history.⁵³ Yet, re-

herausgegeben, mit einem Nachwort und mit Erläuterungen versehen von Manfred Speidel, Berlin 2009, *Nihon bunka shikan* as ders., *Japans Kunst mit europäischen Augen gesehen*, herausgegeben, mit einem Nachwort und Erläuterungen versehen von Manfred Speidel, Berlin 2011, and *Houses and People of Japan* as ders., *Das japanische Haus und sein Leben*, herausgegeben von Manfred Speidel. 4. Aufl., Berlin 2005. Taut's diary was published as *Bruno Taut in Japan. Das Tagebuch*, herausgegeben und mit einem Vorwort versehen von Manfred Speidel, 1. Bd.: 1933, 2. Bd.: 1934, 3. Bd.: 1935-36, Berlin 2013-2016. There is also ders., *Ich liebe die japanische Kultur. Kleine Schriften über Japan*, herausgegeben und mit einer Einleitung versehen von Manfred Speidel, 2. Aufl., Berlin 2004, which contains essays he wrote in Japan.

49. Ders., *Moskauer Briefe 1932-1933. Schönheit, Sachlichkeit und Sozialismus*, Berlin 2007.

50. This is a Turkish study, but it has Turkish, German, and English text alongside each other: Atatürk için düşünmek: iki eser: Katakalk ve Anıtkabir : iki mimar: Bruno Taut ve Emin Onat = Für Atatürk gedacht = Thinking for Atatürk, İstanbul 1998. *Bruno Taut, Ex Oriente lux. Die Wirklichkeit einer Idee. Eine Sammlung von Schriften 1904-1938*. herausgegeben von Manfred Speidel, Berlin 2007 gathers short texts by Taut, and also includes writings from his time in Turkey.

51. Hörner, a.a.O.

52. Winfried Nerdinger ... [et al.] (Hg.). *Bruno Taut, 1880-1938. Architekt zwischen Tradition und Avantgarde*, Stuttgart 2001.

53. See Kitamura, "Kindai Yōroppa ni okeru toshi to jūtaku o megutte."

garding research on Taut's architecture, no one has investigated the life histories of *Siedlung* residents, or the social position of *Siedlungen* in urban spaces.⁵⁴ Studies of individual *Siedlungen* do not delve deeper than locally limited histories, or books privately printed by area residents.⁵⁵ They obviously contain precious information, yet barely intertwine with the broad, contemporary social histories of Berlin and Germany overall.

That being said, I want to point out that some related studies actually have started appearing. Holsten's work on the Hufeisensiedlung ascertains the social context of the Siedlung by examining festivities organized by residents.⁵⁶ Kitamura has already published research (in Japanese) from a similar perspective, discussing the Waldsiedlung.⁵⁷ Going further, a monograph has been published on builder Adolf Sommerfeld, who was somewhat involved in Taut's architecture. Moreover, he worked in the Bauhaus style, and developed the southwestern suburbs of Berlin. Notably, previous research has failed to provide sufficient analysis of his career.⁵⁸ Increasingly, clues are being unearthed to help us explore the social history background of Taut's activities (and understand his building of the *Siedlungen*).

Second, there have been many studies in recent years that focus on a single aspect of Taut's architecture or thought. They thoroughly investigate the sources relevant to that one facet; yet, I cannot help feeling that these studies are mere accumulations of fragmented information. At present we need a new and complete rendering of Taut which integrates all of the reliable, available information. Research is needed to frame Taut's activities within larger architectural and artistic trends based on findings from recent studies.

Examinations of individual works by Taut have certainly been completed. Yet, I cannot concede that enough analysis has been completed on Taut's architectural thoughts, urban visions, and their development over time. A Taut characteristic was his expression of ideas not only through his designs, but also through his numerous books and essays. Taut can be considered an effective medium for grasping architects' intellectual peculiarities and innovations in the pre- World War I era and lasting through the early 1930s. Yet, I don't think this point has been adequately recognized.

This brings me to the third issue. While Taut's activities in the Soviet Union, Japan, and Turkey have been noted, they are typically presented in a very cursory manner. In contrast, German investigations have focused relentlessly on activities in his homeland. Much German research on Taut has a sense of inculpability, as he left the country right after the birth of the Nazi regime. Thereby, researchers may pursue "good old Germany" without fearing the "blemish" of a connection to Nazism.⁵⁹ Taut's desire for contact with foreign cultures arose from his experiences in Germany. Still, these interactions appear only at the margins of German research. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to understand Taut as a person who took part in numerous international and cultural activities. An effective approach would be to examine the development of those architectural ideas which led to publication of *Architekturlehre* (i.e. the culmination of his ideas on architecture and cities).

This work portrays not only Taut's architectural activities and speculations in Germany; it is also a strong reflection of his observations in Japan. To accurately assess *Architekturlehre*, we must examine Taut's activities and writings in Japan. Historically, Taut's activities in Japan were only researched in that country. However, since the end the twentieth century, this situation has begun to change.

54. Masafumi Kitamura, "Burūno Tauto to Berurin no jūkankyō: 1920-nendai kōhan no jīdoringu kensetsu o chūshin ni" ("Bruno Taut and the Living Environment in Berlin: Centering on *Siedlung* Construction in the Second Half of the 1920s"), *Shirin (The Journal of History)*, vol. 92, no. 1, 2009. This article attempts to position Taut's *Siedlungen* in urban space.

55. Cornelia Dannenberg, *Zehlendorfer Ansichten, Nr.1, Die Onkel-Tom-Siedlung*, herausgegeben von Bezirksamt Zehlendorf, Berlin 1989; Manuela Goos und Heyde Brigitte, *Eichkamp. Eine Siedlung am Rande mitten in Berlin*, Siedlerverein Eichkamp e. V. 1999; Ben Buschfeld, *Bruno Tauts Hufeisensiedlung. UNESCO-Welterbe-Siedlung der Berliner Moderne*, Nicolai 2015; Katja Sengelmann, Martin Zellerhoff, *Bruno Taut. Waldsiedlung*, Verlag des Biographiezentrums 2016.; Lutz Heuer, *Siedlers Freud, Siedlers Leid. Die von Bruno Taut projektierte Siedlung ‚Lichtenberger Gartenheim‘ in Berlin-Mahlsdorf 1920 bis 1979/80*, trafo Wissenschaftsverlag 2009.

56. Henning Holsten, Neues Bauen - Neues Wohnen - Neue Feste. Vision und Wirklichkeit urbaner Gemeinschaftsrituale am Beispiel der Hufeisensiedlung in Berlin-Britz, in: Paul Nolte (Hg.), *Die Vergnügungskultur der Grossstadt. Orte, Inszenierungen, Netzwerke (1880-1930)*, Köln 2016.

57. Masafumi Kitamura, "Burūno Tauto no Jīdoringu no shakai shi: 'Mori no jīdoringu' o tegakari toshite" ("The Social History of Bruno Taut's *Siedlungen*: Clues from the Waldsiedlung"), Nakano, ed., *op. cit.*

58. Celina Kress, *Adolf Sommerfeld-Andrew Sommerfeld. Bauen für Berlin 1910-1970*, Berlin 2011.

59. For more on this point, see Kitamura, "Burūno Tauto no shūgō jūtaku," 423.

In the next section, I will survey the ways in which Taut has been studied in Japan.

3. Trends in Research on Bruno Taut in Japan (1): A “Rediscoverer of Japanese Culture”

It is unclear when Bruno Taut was first introduced to Japan,⁶⁰ but his activities were already widely acclaimed by the time he was constructing *Siedlung* in Berlin (i.e. the latter half of the 1920s). Architect Isaburō Ueno established the International Architectural Association of Japan in Kyoto in 1927. Its goal was to introduce Japan to the era’s modernist architecture. By 1930, the organization had 187 members, even foreign members (especially German modernist architects). Among them were Walter Gropius and Bruno Taut. These connections later led to Taut’s migration to Japan.⁶¹

One noteworthy study on Taut, written before his departure from Germany, is *Ōshū toshi no kindai sō*⁶² by architect and architectural historian Chikatada Kurata. This book was based on the author’s observations during a European sojourn which lasted a year and some months. Taking place around 1930, it provided a survey of new general trends in contemporary European architecture. Interestingly, Kurata actually lived in the *Waldsiedlung*, one of Taut’s representative *Siedlungen*. Nevertheless, he provides a balanced overview of Taut’s representative works, based on his *Siedlung* experience and knowledge of the era’s emerging trends. The biography *Bruno Taut*,⁶³ published by Kurata in 1942, is a small book. Yet, it concisely and accurately describes Taut’s activities in Germany (where he reached the apex of his abilities), giving a balanced view of his life. Even today, it is the most fair-minded Taut biography in Japanese.

Why is a book written seventy years ago still so relevant? The answer is that subsequent Taut research in Japan has been heavily biased. It goes without saying that this bias results from Taut’s 1933 migration to Japan, and his writings about Japanese culture. Although Taut did essentially no architectural work while in Japan, he left behind many texts about Japanese culture (as mentioned in Section 1).

In these texts, he noted his admiration for the Katsura Imperial Villa, and the Ise Grand Shrine as exemplary aspects of Japanese culture. He also highly regarded the functionality of the farmhouse structures in Shirakawagō, Sado, and Akita, where he visited during his travel along the Sea of Japan Coast in 1935. At the same time, he harshly criticized the oft-praised Nikkō Tōshō-gū as a “fake.” (“Fake” was a label Taut applied to buildings of which he was critical.) Although his sojourn was short, Taut candidly expressed his observations on Japanese culture. He immediately received a high reputation. His book *Nihon-bi no saihakken* was printed nineteen times before 1962, and has been printed eight times since retranslated, indicating that it has been read consistently by successive generations.

In 1942, novelist Ango Sakaguchi published his “Nihon bunka shikan”⁶⁴ in *Gendai bungaku*. He “jumped on” Taut’s discussion, further demonstrating the huge response caused by Taut’s views on Japanese culture. Notably, Sakaguchi came from Niigata, which Taut called “the worst city in Japan” (trans. Shinoda; Sakaguchi literally wrote “the most vulgar city in Japan”⁶⁵). He declaimed his love for “the streets and neon signs from Ueno to Ginza that [Taut] abhors.” At the same time, he said that he had never seen the Katsura Imperial Villa or other places that Taut

60. As far as I can tell, the earliest introduction to Taut was Kenji Imai’s, “Kenchikuka Burūno Tauto” (“The Architect Bruno Taut”), *Kenchiku sekai (The World of Architecture)*, 17-53, May 1923 (Reprinted in *Imai Kenji chosaku shū 2 [Sakka ron 1: Watashi no kenchiku henreki] [Collected Works of Kenji Imai 2 (Ideas about Authors 1: My Travels)]*, Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1993).

61. For more about the International Architectural Association of Japan, see “Nihon intānashonaru kenchiku kai ni okeru Itō Masabumi no katsudō to kenchiku rinen ni tsuite” (“The Activities and Architectural Principles of Masabumi Itō in the International Architectural Association of Japan”), *Nihon kenchiku gakkai keikaku kei ronbun shū (Journal of Architecture and Planning [Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Japan])*, vol. 544, 2003, and other studies by Kazuto Kasahara.

62. Chikatada Kurata, *Ōshū toshi no kindai sō (The Modern Faces of the European City)*, Rokubunkan, 1932.

63. Chikatada Kurata, *Burūno Tauto (Bruno Taut)*, Sagami shobō, 1942.

64. Ango Sakaguchi, “Nihon bunka shikan” (“A Personal View of Japanese Culture”), *Darakuron, Nihon bunka shikan (On Decadence, A Personal View of Japanese Culture)*, Iwanami bunko, 2008.

65. *Nihon: Tauto no nikki (Japan: Taut’s Diary)*, 1975, third volume, 154. The original text is “Niigata ist so ziemlich das Schlimmste in Japan.” *Bruno Taut in Japan. Das Tagebuch*, 3. Bd., S.86.

praised. Even so, Sakaguchi (who considered himself knowledgeable about Japanese culture) emphasized the existence of a “Japanese culture” which differed from what Taut saw. His decision to use the same title as Taut’s second book on Japanese culture was a thinly veiled criticism of the German writer.

This text was published after Taut’s death. Naturally, he could offer no response. Further, Taut did not understand Japanese. Consequently, it is unclear how productive a debate would have been even if he had been in Japan at the time of publication. Nonetheless, the two *Nihon bunka shikan* were discussed in Japan, fueling comparisons of Japanese and German culture and literature.⁶⁶ This kind of discussion did not happen in Germany where Taut’s writings in Japan had not yet been introduced.

After moving from Germany, Taut was forgotten there. However, in Japan, his position as a foreigner who reframed Japanese culture from an original perspective was emphasized. Meanwhile, his activities as a German architect were more or less sidelined.

In Japan, feelings toward Taut were likely influenced by the publication of his “complete works” and “selected works” during and after the war. The “complete works” were planned as six volumes, to be printed by Ikuseisha Kōdōkaku during the war (in 1942 and 1943). However, the fourth volume remains unprinted. After the war ended, two versions of “selected works” were published. One was printed by Ikuseisha (between 1946 and 1948), and one by Shunjūsha (between 1950 and 1951). While these were called “complete works” and “selected works,” they centered almost exclusively on Taut’s writings and texts from his time in Japan. The only exceptions were *Alpine Architektur* (included in the sixth volume of the complete works) as well as *Stadtkrone, Die neue Bauen (Die neue Baukunst in Europa und Amerika)*. Lastly, selected pieces from *Frühlicht* appeared in the fifth volume. He wrote without interruption while working as an architect in Germany, but most of those texts were not included. His writings from Germany were almost completely ignored in the post-war selected works.

The impetus for the partial publications of Taut’s works as “complete works” and “selected works” seems to be the incredibly powerful response elicited by his beliefs on Japanese culture. Of course, Taut’s German activities were known. Yet, his long-persisting image was created mainly by the series of writings he produced and had translated in Japan. It seems necessary at some point to discuss the inherent issues of Taut translations by Hideo Shinoda and others. This is an avenue for potential future research.

After World War II, those who knew Taut published recollections and memories of him. By and large, though, these simply failed to rehabilitate his image.⁶⁷ Essays written to spread his image as the “rediscoverer of Japanese culture” used existing translations of his writings.⁶⁸ However, no studies examined those writings from new perspectives. Also, after World War II, *Houses and People of Japan* was published by Ondorisha, under the title *Nihon no kaoku to seikatsu*. It was translated again in 1949 by Tetsurō Yoshida and Hideo Shinoda, and once more in 1950 (this time by Shinoda alone). Subsequently, Iwanami shoten published a Japanese edition of *Architekturlehre* (1948), and Taut’s diary from his time in Japan (both translated by Shinoda).⁶⁹ Much later (in 1981), Taut’s sketches from his second visit to the Katsura Imperial Villa on May 7, 1934 were published. Once again, Shinoda provided the translation.⁷⁰ The publication of these translations solidified Taut’s image as a “rediscoverer of Japanese culture.” Still, no efforts were made to view his work from new perspectives. One reason is that Taut was almost entirely forgotten in his native Germany at this time, so little investigation was carried out.

66. Nagao Nishikawa, “Futatsu no Nihon bunka shikan: Burūno Tauto to Sakaguchi Ango” (“Two Personal Views on Japanese Culture: Bruno Taut and Ango Sakaguchi”), *Zōho: Kokkyō no koekata: Kokumin kokka ron josetsu (Enlarged: How to Cross Borders: Introduction to Theories of the Nation-State)*, Heibonsha, 2001 (first edition by Chikuma shobō, 1992).

67. Michiji Suzuki, “Tauto teigen ni tsuite no memo” (“Notes About Proposals by Taut”), *Dezain (Design)*, vol. 31, 1962; Fusaichirō Inoue, “Kume-san to Burūno Tauto” (“Mr. Kume and Bruno Taut”), *Kume Gonkurō: Tsuioku shi (Gonkurō Kume: Book of Recollections)*, Kume Architectural Office, 1966; Tokugen Mihara, “Tauto to Senshinteī” (“Taut and the Senshin-tei”), *Shin kenchiku (New Architecture)*, vol. 53, no. 7, 1978; Yoshitarō Takeuchi, “Tauto kaisō” (“Recollections of Taut”), *Nenrin no ki: Aru kenchikuka no jigazō (Taking Note of Growth Rings: The Self-Portrait of a Certain Architect)*, Sagami shobō, 1978; etc.

68. Kenkichi Yamamoto, “Nihon-bi no hakkensha” (“The Discoverer of Japanese Beauty”), *Kirishitan kotohajime (The Beginnings of Christianity)*, Geijitsusha, 1956, etc.

69. Published in five volumes between 1950 and 1959, and then edited into three volumes in 1975. The first volume contains the 1933 diary, the second the 1934 diary, and the third contains those from 1935 and 1936.

70. Bruno Taut, *Gajō Katsura rikyū (Picture Album of the Katsura Imperial Villa)* (Hideo Shinoda, trans.), Iwanami shoten, 1981.

In conjunction with this dearth of research, I should mention that fellow traveler Erika Wittig passed many of Taut's draft manuscripts to Hideo Shinoda (who had translated so many of Taut's works). These texts were composed between his migration in 1933 and his 1938 death in Turkey. In 1981, Shinoda entrusted these documents to Iwanami shoten. They were later placed under supervision of the University of Creation: Art, Music & Social Work in Takasaki (which has a Taut connection). They remain under the management of Iwanami shoten today⁷¹. Some pieces of information from these priceless documents have been used. Shinoda subsequently translated *Architekturlehre* and *Das Tagebuch*,⁷² and revised existing translations. Taut's German translation of Kamo no Chōmei's *Hōjōki* was published.⁷³ However, only recently they were organized and made more accessible for use. I will discuss this further later. It would have been possible to draw a more nuanced image of Taut using the documents he left behind; yet, it seems the years have gone by without anyone putting them to sufficient use.

The image of Taut formed just after the war was never revised. His reputation remained as it had been during his time in Japan. One likely reason for this was that, having lost the war, the Japanese were inclined to accept this foreigner's laudatory viewpoint on Japanese culture. As in Germany, however, this situation changed in the 1980s. I will discuss these new trends in the following section.

4. Trends in Research on Bruno Taut in Japan (2): New Tendencies

(1) New Trends in the 1970s

The Taut feature in the magazine *SD* (1978) may be deemed the culmination of the new trends emerging in the 1970s in Japan.⁷⁴ It is possible to identify three predominant tendencies at the time.

Firstly, architects reevaluated Taut. Takashi Hasegawa, "Hi-toshi moshiku wa den'en no mokugeki: Nihon o meguru Tauto to Rēmondo no sōzō no kiseki" ("Witnessing the Non-city or the Garden City: Creative Traces of Taut and Raymond in Japan")⁷⁵ was serialized across three issues of *SD* in 1971. As far as I can tell, this was the first example of Taut's resurgence. As in Germany, architectural circles had started advocating "postmodernism." This likely offered an attempt to reevaluate Taut (who had been forgotten in the age of modernism) as a creative alternative.

Secondly, Yoshio Dohi (who examined Junghanns' Taut biography and Taut's works published in German) performed a series of studies. Dohi had originally studied modern and contemporary German art, and he applied insights gained there to investigate Taut's activities. Dohi began with a study of Taut's early years, and traced his work until his sojourn in Japan. He also devoted attention to Taut's activities in Germany. Thereby, he was able to introduce aspects of Taut that went beyond being a mere "rediscoverer of Japanese culture." His studies were collected in *Tauto: Geijutsu no tabi: Arupusu kenchiku e no michi (Taut: An Artistic Journey: The Path to Alpine Architecture)*, published in 1986.⁷⁶

Thirdly, I want highlight architectural historian Kazuo Sasama's reconstruction of Taut's travel along the Sea of Japan coast (May 16-29, 1935).⁷⁷

71. For more about these documents, see Ryōko Sawa, "Burūno Tauto ihin oyobi kanren shiryō" ni kansuru chōsa kenkyū ("Investigative Study on 'Things Left Behind by Bruno Taut' and Related Materials"), MEXT grant-in-aid for scientific research report, basic research (B), 2008.

72. Shinoda selected six chapters from *Nihon bunka shikan*, translated them from manuscript, and included them in two "selected works," titled *Nihon no geijutsu. Houses and People of Japan* was retranslated by Shinoda in 1966 and published by Iwanami shoten.

73. Aufzeichnungen aus seiner Hütte von 3 Metern im Quadrat: Ho—djo - ki -von Kamo no Tschomee, Kazuo Yanase, ed., *Hōjōki: Gaikokugo yaku (The Hōjōki: Foreign Language Translation)* (Hekichūdō series, 10), 1961.

74. *SD (Space Design)*, no. 171, 1978.

75. *SD*, nos. 75-77, 1971.

76. Iwanami shoten. One early example of an attempt to bridge German and Japanese Taut research (with Dohi involved), was Dohi, Posener, et al., *Burūno Tauto to gendai: "Arupusu kenchiku" kara "Katsura rikyū" e (Bruno Taut and the Modern Age: From Alpine Architektur to Katsura Villa)* (Keizō Ikimatsu and Yoshio Dohi, trans.), Iwanami shoten, 1981.

77. Studies by Sasama have been published in *Kenchiku kai*, *Tōhoku kōgyō daigaku kiyō*, and elsewhere, but they are gathered in *Konjaku "Hida kara Ura-Nippon e" Tauto no mita mono (What Taut Saw, "From Hida to the Sea of Japan Coast," Past and Present)*, Inoue shoin, 1979. This volume not only contributes to Taut research but is a valuable text in its own right. It depicts the circumstances along the Sea of Japan coast, prior to the loss of local flavor. The expansion of large stores in the urban outskirts greatly altered the area, beginning in the 1980s.

The part of Taut's diary touching on this journey was previously translated in *Nihon-bi no saihakken*, and had thus been known to Japanese readers for quite some time.⁷⁸ Taut started in Gifu, travelling north along the Sea of Japan coast, through Aomori and ultimately to Sendai. During this two-week journey, he stopped by Shirakawa-gō, praising the functional beauty of the farmhouses there. He likewise praised farmhouses in Sado and Akita. It was also during this journey that he rated Niigata as “the worst city in Japan.” He was also disappointed by the castle towns Tsuruoka and Hirosaki.

In an attempt to recreate in minute detail what Taut experienced during his journey, Sasama conducted field studies, interviewing people who knew what things were like then, created models of no longer extant buildings, and so forth. One important aspect of his analysis was that it shone a new light on Taut's words and deeds in Japan. Crucially, it speculates that Taut disliked the castle towns because the overbearing castles and ruins reminded him of the Nazi regime.⁷⁹ If this speculation holds true, it seems that Taut's words and deeds in Japan cannot be reduced to him being a foreign architect who became a “rediscoverer of Japanese culture;” rather, they were also determined by his experiences in Germany.

The aforementioned researches only address a portion of the diverse activities that Taut engaged in over the course of thirty years. Nonetheless, they highlight elements far afield from his conventional image as a “rediscoverer of Japanese culture.” They provide us with unique perspectives and new empirical information. We may appreciate them for providing clues on how to transcend conventional evaluations of Taut.

(2) Trends from the late 1980s

As in Germany, Taut research in Japan shifted once more in the latter half of the 1980s. This was a natural progression, as themes from the 1970s were further developed. Here, I wish to address the following five research directions. One of them regards the circumstances by which Taut was surrounded. The other four regard Taut himself.

First, we should analyze Shōichi Inoue's *Tsukurareta Katsura rikyū shinwa*,⁸⁰ published in 1986. It reevaluates Taut's earlier image as a “rediscoverer of Katsura Imperial Villa” based on trends in 1920s architectural circles. By the 1920s, efforts had already been made to actively incorporate modernism into Japanese architectural circle. Taut was used as a billboard by persons who were part of those efforts. Because the Katsura Imperial Villa was reconceptualized as a forerunner of modernist architecture, Isaburō Ueno took Taut to see it the day after his arrival in Japan. Additionally, Taut was given the title “rediscoverer of Japanese culture” because of the growing nationalism in Japan at the time. He fulfilled his role splendidly.

Inoue's book places Taut in the context of contemporary Japanese architectural circles, successfully extinguishing the myth that he was an outstanding theorist on Japanese culture. Publication of this book influenced Taut research in Japan to varying degrees. While Inoue's work was limited to architectural circles, it nevertheless showed the need to reconsider society's reactions to Taut in broader terms.⁸¹

Efforts were made in the 1990s and beyond to reconsider not only Taut's contemporary context, but also linkages to more global phenomena. Particularly notable are the interactions between Japan and Germany since the Bakumatsu period and the Meiji Restoration. Taut was discussed as an example in all these diverse fields of study. Of course, the studies put forth on this topic tended to reconfirm the typical image of him as a “rediscoverer of Japanese culture.”⁸²

78. Taut, *Nihon-bi no saihakken*, 47-116.

79. Sasama, *op. cit.*, 123.

80. Shōichi Inoue, *Tsukurareta Katsura rikyū shinwa (The Manufactured Katsura Imperial Villa Myth)*, Kōbundō, 1986 (reprinted by Kōdansha gakujutsu bunko in 1997).

81. To further the earlier discussion on the role of Taut's writings in the rise of pre- World War II nationalism, see Kunimasa Higashi, “Burūno Tauto no Ise jingū hyōka to nashonarizumu” (“Bruno Taut's Evaluation of the Ise Grand Shrine and Nationalism”), *Geijutsu-gaku kenkyū*, vol. 5, 1991. This article surveys magazines and journals from the time, pointing out that no articles assessed Taut's writings in that way. A reevaluation of the Katsura Imperial Villa can be found in Kenji Miyamoto, *Katsura rikyū: Burūno Tauto wa shōgen suru (Katsura Imperial Villa: Bruno Taut Testifies)*, Kajima shuppankai, 1995.

82. Kaitokudō Memorial Society, ed., *Ihōjin no mita kindai Nihon (Modern Japan Through the Eyes of a Foreigner)*, Izumi shoin, 1999; Kazuki Yamamoto, Hiroshi Adachi, Tsutomu Shigemura, ed., *Dreams of the other - Higan no yume: Kenkyū ronbun shū: Nichi-Doku 100-nen no*

The discussion in Inoue's work expands to the environment beyond Taut himself. In fact, it practically demands a reconsideration of his words and deeds from new perspectives (at least in terms of Japan). Since the second half of the 1980s, Taut research in Japan has begun moving in that direction.

The first example I wish to discuss relating to Taut as an individual is as follows. Three Taut exhibitions were held in Japan, with help from German researchers. The first was the 1984 exhibition at Musashino Art University (which essentially recreated a Taut exhibition held in East Germany in 1980). Exhibitions were also held at the Sezon Museum of Modern Art and the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto (1994), as well as at the Watari Museum of Contemporary Art in 2007. All three exhibitions showed not only Taut's activities in Japan, but enthusiastically introduced Taut's activities in Germany. Therefore, these endeavors were touched on only fragmentarily in Japanese Taut biographies and *Nihon-bi no saihakken*.⁸³ These biographies were created mainly around the time of World War II. As a result, these exhibitions were the first to introduce the full range of Taut's activities, from his training years to his final years in Turkey. Each illustrated catalog is also substantial, allowing those who could not visit the exhibitions in person to receive information about displayed items. In particular, the 1994 exhibition was well-endowed, and its illustrated catalog presents Taut's activities in extremely minute detail.⁸⁴

Also, the 1994 exhibition presented plans for a residential area on Mt. Ikoma, ordered by Osaka Electric Railroad immediately upon Taut's arrival in Japan. It was never realized. Said plans were also displayed at the 2007 exhibition. Both exhibitions also introduced the basement of the Hyūga-tei in Atami, which received no attention at the time of its construction. I will return to this later.

Secondly, Shinchōsha published literary critic Hideo Takahashi's *Bruno Taut* in 1991. This was the first serious, critical Taut biography written in Japanese in some time.⁸⁵ Takahashi based his work on the emergent German Taut research, but also discusses issues fundamental to any real understanding of Taut (such as exploring the etymology of the word *Kitsch*, which Shinoda had translated as "fake.")⁸⁶

One aspect of Takahashi's work is especially crucial to Taut research. That is his investigation into the original wording of the title for *Houses and People of Japan's* final chapter.⁸⁷ That chapter was also included in *Nihon-bi no saihakken*. Its title was translated by Hideo Shinoda as "The Eternal." The text appears on the Katsura Imperial Villa. Takahashi points out that the original German wording was not "*Ewigkeit*" or "*ewig*," (which signify "eternity"), but rather "*Das Bleibende*."⁸⁸ This is a noun form of the verb *bleiben*, which means to "remain." Therefore, it can be broadly interpreted as "that which remains." To translate this as "The Eternal" might be permissible in terms of using nuance language. Yet, we cannot deny the possibility that the translator has inserted his own interpretations or assertions. Takahashi points out the possibility of issues with the understanding of Taut on the ground of this

kenchiku, toshi keikaku ni okeru sōgo kōryū: Katsura, Bauhausu, Burūno Tauto kara atarashii ekoroji e (Dreams of the Other: Collected Papers: 100 Years of Mutual Exchange in Architecture and Urban Planning between Japan and Germany: From Katsura, Bauhaus, and Bruno Taut to a New Ecology), Kobe University 21st Century Center of Excellence Program, "Anzen to kyōsei no tame no toshi kūkan dezaian senryaku" ("Urban Space Design Strategies for Safety and Co-existence"), 2008; Ken Shimatani, *Nihon o aishita Doitsu-jin: Kenperu kara Tauto e (The Germans Who Loved Japan: From Kämpfer to Taut)*, Hiroshima University Press, 2012; Editorial Committee for the History of Japanese-German Exchange, ed. *Nichi-Doku kōryū 150-nen no kiseki (Traces of 150 Years of Japanese-German Exchange)*, Yūshōdō shoten, 2013.

83. Besides Kurata *op. cit.*, see Yoshio Urano, *Burūno Tauto no kaisō (Recollections of Bruno Taut)*, Nagasaki shoten, 1940; Gaijirō Fujishima, *Burūno Tauto (Bruno Taut)*, Shōkokusha, 1953.

84. The catalog from the 1984 Taut exhibition at Musashino Art Museum can be found in *Kenchikuka Burūno Tauto no subete: Nihon-bi no saihakkena Bruno Taut 1880-1938*; the 1994 catalog is found in *Burūno Tauto, 1880-1938: Nature and Fantasy* (the German version *Bruno Taut - Natur und Phantasie*, Ernst, Wilhelm & Sohn 1995 was published for the Taut exhibition in Magdeburg from May 11 to July 30, 1995); and the 2007 Watari Museum of Contemporary Art catalog is located in *Burūno Tauto: Katsua rikyū to yūtopia kenchiku (Bruno Taut: The Katsura Imperial Villa and Utopian Architecture)*, Octave, 2007. *Sinpojiumu "Tauto saikō"* (Symposium "Reconsidering Taut"), Musashino Art University, 1986 grew out of a symposium at the 1984 exhibition.

85. Hideo Takahashi, *Burūno Tauto (Bruno Taut)*, Shinchōsha, 1991. This was based on article in *Shinchō*, vol. 88, no. 7, 1991. It was later reprinted as *Kōdansha gakujuetsu bunko* (1995) and *Chikuma gakujuetsu bunko* (2005). For this paper, I referred to the *Kōdansha gakujuetsu bunko* edition.

86. *Ibid.*, 117-123.

87. *Ibid.*, 34-36. The English edition of *Houses and People of Japan*, published by Estille Balk in 1937, also translated the title of this text as "The Permanent." *Ibid.*, 271. Shinoda pointed out that Taut did not like her English translation, so it is unlikely that Shinoda's translation followed the English one. However, his wording ("The Eternal") may have been influenced by the English translation.

88. The first one to point out this original wording, as far as I can tell, was Dohi (when he surveyed the Iwanami shoten materials) (Dohi, *op. cit.*, 245).

translation.

Considering this “so easily misleading famous translation (Takahashi),” we should make ourselves aware of the very real possibility that Shinoda’s translations may have created a bias in our understanding of Taut. It has already been pointed out that his translations may contain such issues.⁸⁹ Takahashi’s work suggests the need to reconsider Taut’s writings on Japanese culture based on primary source materials.⁹⁰ A research approach is needed that can 1) recognize the role played by Shinoda in Taut translation; 2) locate that role within the context of ideas about Japanese culture; and 3) refrain from using earlier translations.

Thirdly (and in connection with the point above), special attention should go to studies seeking to empirically elucidate Taut’s activities in Japan. That is to say, those studies centered on the documents he left behind in Japan. The most important of those is the series of studies conducted by architectural historian Akiko Shōji. Shōji has analyzed the various proposals and written opinions produced by Taut during his time at the Sendai National Research Institute of Industrial Arts. She started continuously publishing mainly in the journal *Dezain-gaku kenkyū* around 1985, and collected her core arguments into her doctoral thesis (Chiba University).⁹¹ It is basic research, limited to transcriptions and translations of primary sources. Nevertheless, it has clarified sides of Taut that cannot be understood based on the works and essays translated into Japanese.

Shōji’s research is not alone, as empirical investigations into Taut in Japan began expanding around this time.⁹² For example, reevaluations and reconsiderations were made of the Hyūga-tei basement. It was finished right before Taut’s departure from Japan. The job was greatly restricted, insofar as it only included the remodeling of a basement. At the time of its completion, there was disappointment among those expecting the modernist flair for which Taut was known. They had not hoped for designs reflective of Taut’s understanding of Japanese architecture and culture. In recent years, however, this Taut-style interpretation of Japanese architecture has been reevaluated as providing clues to postmodern architecture.⁹³ Taut’s instruction on the making of industrial crafts, which became a central activity during his stay, was surveyed by museums in both Sendai and Takasaki. A report on lamp designs made by Taut in Sendai,⁹⁴ and a list of industrial crafts related to Taut in Takasaki and its exhibition catalogue were published.⁹⁵ In 2015, building material manufacturer LIXIL organized a Taut industrial crafts exhibition and published a catalog.⁹⁶

There has been a revival of interest in Taut’s German work as well. In the mid- to late-2000s, new translations

89. Tokugen Mihara, who was quite close to Taut during his time in Takasaki, also expressed misgivings about the translation of Gajō Katsura rikyū. Tokugen Mihara, “Burūno Tauto ga mita Katsura rikyū: Momi no ki to gajō katsura” (“The Katsura Imperial Villa That Bruno Taut Saw: Japanese Fir and Illustrated Katsura”), *Burūno Tauto, 1880-1938: Nature and Fantasy*. More recently, there is Takashi Ōta, “Burūno Tauto to Japonisumu” (“Bruno Taut and Japonism”), *Suruga daigaku ronshū*, vol. 49, 2014.

90. Regarding this point, see Ryōko Sawa, “Burūno Tauto *Mō hitotsu no Nippon* o megutte (On “Another Japan” by Bruno Taut), *Nihon kindai bungaku*, vol. 71, 2004.

91. “Shōkōshō kōgei shidōsho komon toshite no Burūno Tauto no sangyō kōgei no tame no kihan genkei ron to sono jissen ni kansuru shidō ni tsuite no kenkyū” (“Research about Bruno Taut’s Ideas on Master Models for Industrial Crafts as an Advisor at an Industrial Crafts Training Center of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry as well as His Teaching of Their Practice”), Chiba University, 1999.

92. Another noteworthy project is the analysis of Taut’s expressionist writings, conducted by the Sugimoto research office at Hiroshima University. A representative example is the doctoral thesis of Ryōko Akagi, “Burūno Tauto no yūtopia teki kenchiku suketchi no dezain hōhō ni kansuru kenkyū” (“Study on Bruno Taut’s Design Method of Utopian Architectural Sketches”), Hiroshima University, 2012.

93. Aside from the Taut exhibition catalogs from 1994 and 2007, there is “Hyūga bettei: Burūno Tauto” (“The Hyūga-tei: Bruno Taut”), *JA*, no. 29, 1998; Ryōko Sawa, “Burūno Tauto no Atami kyū Hyūga bettei: Kenchiku shuhō oyobi rinen kara mita ichizuke” (“The Former Hyūga-tei by Bruno Taut: Considered from Architectural Methods and Principles”), *Musashino bijutsu daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, vol. 28, 1997; etc. More recently, it has been actively introduced to casual readers. Terunobu Fujimori, “Kyū Hyūga bettei / Burūno Tauto” (“The Former Hyūga-tei / Bruno Taut”) (Terunobu Fujimori’s “Nihon no modan kenchiku: 20-seiki no meisaku jūtaku” [“Japanese Modern Architecture: Masterpieces of Housing in the Twentieth Century”], File 2), *Modern Living*, vol. 227, 2016. The residential area on Mt. Ikoma is also discussed in the context of wartime attempts at building residential areas in the mountains in Yoshihiro Hotta, “*Sanrin toshi*”: *Ryōtarō Kurotani no shisō to sono tenkai* (“*Cities in the Mountains and Forests*”: *The Thought of Ryōtarō Kurotani and its Development*), Shōkokusha, 2012.

94. *Sendai-shi hakubutsukan chōsa kenkyū hōkoku sho (Sendai City Museum Survey Research Report) (feature on Bruno Taut’s instructions for lamps)*, 1994.

95. *Burūno Tauto no kōgei to kaiga (The Industrial Crafts and Paintings of Bruno Taut)*, Gunma Prefectural Museum of History, 1989; *Gunma kenritsu rekishi hakubutsukan shōzō shiryō mokuroku (Catalog of Materials Held by the Gunma Prefectural Museum of History)*, 1986, 108-119.

96. *Burūno Tauto no kōgei: Nippon ni nokoshita dezain = The craft works of Bruno Taut: Taut’s design legacy in Japan*, supervised by Akiko Shōji, LIXIL shuppan, 2013.

of *Stadtkrone* (World War I era utopian writings) as well as translations of *Die neue Wohnung* and *Ein Wohnhaus* (from the second half of the 1920s) were published. All of this has made it easier to come in contact with concrete examples of Taut's works.⁹⁷ One especially noteworthy translation is *Tauto kenchiku geijutsu ron kōgi*, a version of the original German manuscript for *Architekturlehre*. This became the basis for the first Turkish version.⁹⁸ The tendency to actually visit and study buildings designed by Taut (as took place in a series of studies by Tatsuaki Tanaka) has steadily become more feasible, fostering better access to solid information.⁹⁹

Finally, what will likely sustain this kind of empirical research is Ryōko Sawa and others' work to organize Taut-related materials left behind in Japan. Equally important is the publication of a catalog listing each item.¹⁰⁰ The catalog was published in the form of a grant-in-aid for scientific research reports, making it difficult to get a hold of under normal circumstances. It is an accomplishment that it will now be part of the foundation for future Taut research in Japan. For example, *Tauto ga totta Nippon*, jointly written by Sawa and Michio Sakai, comprises a collection of photos taken by Taut and discovered during Sawa's material organization process. We can thus experience actual, concrete images of the Japanese lives Taut described in his writings.¹⁰¹

The five trends above removed Taut from his image as a "rediscoverer of Japanese culture." This persona arose from translations of texts written by Taut in Japan. These trends provided clues for reconsidering the full range of Taut's activities from his early years in Germany to the end of his life in Turkey. They provide significant historical background, and take into consideration oft-overlooked German sources. In particular, the materials left behind with Iwanami shoten may still be worthy of examination. Reconsideration of Taut's activities in Germany (based on primary sources) has settled down for the time being. Accordingly, we can still expect new aspects of Taut to emerge as the research of these materials continues. Since Taut completed almost no physical architecture in Japan, what we must extract from these materials is a deeper understanding of his architectural ideology as he moved toward *Architekturlehre*. To gain a comprehensive view of Taut's ideas on architecture and cities (and their evolution throughout his life), we need to consider his impressions and discussions in Japan. Considering this point, I believe future Taut research will require increased knowledge of Japan and the Japanese language.

From a different angle, information has been clarified thanks to the progress of German research. As such, we have reached a stage where we can coherently examine Taut's activities from beginning to end. New perspectives are possible, as we combine German information with the materials left behind in Japan. Especially important is analyzing how Taut successfully built *Siedlungen* in the modernist style in Germany and then understood that work to the context of a foreign culture. Such investigations will provide clues to clarify the international significance of housing construction and urban planning in Germany and Europe during the Weimar period.

Even so, while we can clearly discern the aforementioned directions for Japanese Taut research, they are far from sufficiently developed. Firstly, multiple Taut exhibitions have helped spread information about him outside of Japan. Even so, the introduction and utilization of German Taut research findings is insufficient. Additionally, the materials left in Japan have also not been used adequately. Besides the book by Sawa and Sakai, there is not much else to go on. One exception is the German versions of Taut's writings on Japan, published by Manfred Speidel

97. *Toshi no kanmuri (City Crown)* (Toshimasa Sugimoto, trans.), Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2011; *Atarashii jūkyō: Tsukurite toshite no josei (New Living: Women as Makers)* (Tadashi Saitō, trans.), Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2004; *Ichi jūtaku (One Residence)* (Tadashi Saitō, trans.), Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2004. While they are reprints of existing Shinoda translations, Shunjūsha published *Nihon no kaoku to seikatsu (Houses and Living in Japan)*, *Nippon (Japan)*, and Chūō kōron shinsha *Nihon zakki (Miscellaneous Notes about Japan)* (an essay collection from the second volume of the "complete works") in 2008.

98. *Tauto kenchiku ron kōgi (Lectures on the Architectural Ideas of Taut)* (supervised by Ryōko Sawa, Momoko Ochiai, trans.), Kajima shuppankai, 2015.

99. Tatsuaki Tanaka and Lei Yumoto, *Kenchikuka Burūno Tauto: Hito to sono jidai, kenchiku, kōgei (The Architect Bruno Taut: The Person, His Times, His Architecture, His Crafts)*, Ohmsha, 2010; Tatsuaki Tanaka, *Burūno Tauto: Nihon-bi o saihakken shita kenchikuka (Bruno Taut: The Architect Who Rediscovered Japanese Beauty)*, Chūō kōron shinsha, 2012; Tatsuaki Tanaka, *Burūno Tauto to kenchiku, geijutsu, syakai (Bruno Taut, and Architecture, Arts, Society)* Tokai University Press, 2014. Also see Masafumi Kitamura, "'Shiryō' ni sumu: Burūno Tauto sekkei no mori no jidoringu" ("Living in the 'Sources:' The Waldsiedlung Designed by Bruno Taut), *Danchi saisei machi zukuri 4: Susumu sasutenaburu na danchi, machi zukuri (Town Planning to Revive Apartment Complexes 4: Advancing Sustainable Apartment Complexes and Town Planning)*, Suiyōsha, 2015.

100. Sawa, *Burūno Tauto ihin oyobi kanren shiryō" ni kansuru chōsa kenkyū*.

101. *Tauto ga totta Nippon (Bruno Taut; A Photo Diary in Japan)*, Musashino bijutsu daigaku shuppanbu, 2007

(emeritus professor at RWTH Aachen University). As far as I can tell, excepting these works, there have been no recent studies that have referred to the materials held by Iwanami shoten. We seem to have enough data to evaluate Taut anew. Unfortunately, his evaluation as a “rediscoverer of Japanese culture” appears to define his image in Japan to this day.¹⁰²

Conclusion

In this paper, we have looked at trends in Taut research in his native Germany and in Japan. The respective strands of research on Taut in Germany and on Taut in Japan have advanced independently of each other. In recent years, Taut’s works about Japan have been published in German, while Taut’s activities in Germany have been introduced in Japan, demonstrating early attempts at bridging the two research trends. Information about Taut in the Soviet Union and Turkey will likely be added to the research and literature in the future.

In Section 2, considering research trends in Germany, I pointed out that a challenge in Taut research is 1) analyzing both his ideas about architecture and his urban vision; while 2) placing them in a sociohistorical context. This becomes even more important here. My point in that section relates to the first topic of interest discussed in the Introduction. My first interest was clarifying the effectiveness of solutions to housing issues. These solutions were often needed in urban outskirts, as evidenced in a book I previously wrote. I hoped to focus on how residents have sought to build their own spaces they inhabit, as Holsten and Kitamura did when they examined *Siedlung* festivals. Besides factors facilitating housing construction in the time period described in the Introduction, the will of the residents was also paramount. In the future, I must examine this point in further detail; such research includes paying attention to time of construction, location, and what social groups live there, as well as conducting a sociohistorical analysis of the nearly 40 *Siedlungen* designed by Taut in Berlin. Doing so will require broadening my scope to include *Siedlungen* designed by architects other than Taut. That analysis will show not only the effectiveness of the housing reform vision since the nineteenth century; it will also highlight the social aspects of Taut’s architectural activities and vision. In this way, the historical significance of the era’s new architectural trends will be illuminated. Additionally, (despite the lack of sufficient architectural activities in the Soviet Union, Japan, and Turkey) it will be necessary to maintain a strong awareness of the social circumstances faced by Taut in each country.

The future direction of Taut research will involve comprehensive examinations of his activities in Japan, Germany, the Soviet Union, and Turkey, taking into consideration the historical background of each society. It will be necessary to more fully grasp the notion of Taut as someone who left Germany, and earnestly confronted foreign cultures in Japan and Turkey, while developing his ideas into the *Architekturlehre*. At present, the intellectual history of Taut study is that of someone who traveled between cultures; in this respect, studying him can be deemed a shared international challenge. Thus, Taut is a suitable model not only for an exchange of Japanese-German history and comparative history, but can help when discussing broader histories of exchange between cultures.

I wish to point out a shift from the tendency to define Taut’s activities fragmentarily (i.e. by time period). Beginning in the 2010s (outside of Germany), a context has emerged wherein researchers can analyze changes and connections outside of time periods, locating them within bigger historical trends. For example, earlier studies on the *Glashaus* focused entirely on this single building. Yet, Nielsen seeks to position Taut’s *Glashaus* in a historical context, with reference to 1) who ordered its construction; 2) the tradition of glass construction since the Crystal Palace; and 3) the Victoria amazonica design said to have served as its inspiration.¹⁰³ Also in Japan, Akira Hasegawa has started to look for correlations between the circular residential areas in eastern Germany and the Hufeisensiedlung. He is seeking to place Taut’s *Siedlungen* and his ideas about Japanese culture within the flow of German social traditions.¹⁰⁴ Elsewhere, the Turkish researcher Dündar has pointed out the need to pursue the development of Taut’s

102. This is suggested, for example, by Tatsuaki Tanaka’s subheading, *Burūno Tauto: Nihon-bi o saihakken shita kenchikuka (Bruno Taut: The Architect Who Rediscovered Japanese Beauty)*.

103. David Nielsen, *Bruno Taut’s design inspiration for the Glashaus*, London, 2016. In the English-speaking world, a pioneer in Taut research was Iain Boyd Whyte, *Bruno Taut and the architecture of activism*, Cambridge University Press 1982.

104. Akira Hasegawa, “Doitsu den’en toshi no kenkyū (sono 13): Suravu minzoku shugi kara mita Burūno Tauto no den’en toshi no honshitsu”

thought by time period.¹⁰⁵

However, all of these studies can go no further than defining one interpretation or hypothesis. Thus, there is a need to bolster such interests with empirical data in the future. The research of Hisao Miyajima is illustrative here.¹⁰⁶ He discusses the industrial crafts that Taut had no choice but to center his activities on in Japan. He traces Taut's ideas about industrial crafts to his days in Germany, and examines the features of Taut's industrial craft activities in Japan. While this research is limited to the aspect of industrial crafts, it will be necessary for future Taut research to focus on this kind of steady work in Germany, then Japan, and finally Turkey. I expect that the accumulation of such work will allow concrete understanding of the changes in trends in architectural circles that occurred before and after World War I. These are the same aspects which I identified as my second point of interest in the Introduction.

(“Research on German Garden Cities [13]: The Essence of Bruno Taut's Garden Cities as Seen from the Perspective of Slavic Nationalism”), *Tōkyō zōkei daigaku kenkyū hō*, vol. 13, 2012; Akira Hasegawa, “Burūno Tauto *Gajō katsura* no bigaku: Shoga dōtai ron to Doitsu romanshugi no zentaisei no bigaku” (“The Aesthetics of Bruno Taut's *Illustrated Katsura*: The Theory of the Equivalence of Writing and Painting and the Holistic Aesthetics of German Romanticism”), *Tōkyō zōkei daigaku kenkyū hō*, vol. 14, 2013; Akira Hasegawa, “Burūno Tauto *Hyūga bettei* to Nihon kindai kōgei: ‘Tami’ no jidai to Doitsu shinpishugi no sekaikan” (“Bruno Taut's Hyūga-tei and Japanese Modern Crafts: The Age of the ‘People’ and the Worldview of German Mysticism”), *Tōkyō zōkei daigaku kenkyū hō*, vol. 15, 2014.

105. Murat Dündar, *A study on Bruno Taut's way of thought. Taut's philosophy of architecture*, LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011.

106. Hisao Miyajima, “Burūno Tauto to Nihon no kōgei” (“Bruno Taut and Japanese Crafts”), Kaitokudō Memorial Society, ed., *op. cit.*