

“How Other Peoples Dwell and Build”: Erwin Anton Gutkind and the Architecture of the Other

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In 1953, the German Jewish architect, planner, and urban historian Erwin Anton Gutkind (1886–1968) published a series of articles titled “How Other Peoples Dwell and Build” in the journal *Architectural Design* (Figure 1).¹ The series comprised six brief illustrated essays describing indigenous or vernacular architecture in Polynesia, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and the Americas. The aim, as Gutkind noted in his introduction, was to show how “the building of houses in primitive and past societies is an integral part of the social and spiritual life of the people of the group” and “to explain the interplay of the ideas which move people in other parts of the world when they build their homes, and the language of form in which those ideas are expressed.”² To date, this series remains little known and rarely mentioned in writings on vernacular architecture. It also seems anomalous within Gutkind’s extensive oeuvre, given that his key professional concerns were related to the seemingly quite different themes of modern design, urban decentralization, and urban history.³

This article discusses Gutkind’s series within the context of his other writings. Although ostensibly atypical of his work, the series is in fact an integral part of it—the result of Gutkind’s sustained engagement with the global history of human settlements and, in particular, his thesis that the historical development of cities mirrors the degenerating relationships between individuals and their communities, and between human beings and the natural environment. Gutkind wanted to provide an overview of architecture’s relations



Figure 1 Erwin Anton Gutkind, 1930s (photo: Gutkind family).

to cultural identities in different parts of the world, but he also sought to communicate his belief that the relationships among architecture, environment, and community were more harmonious in traditional, non-Western places than in the modern world. At the same time, he used the *Architectural Design* series to denounce the “self-righteousness” of an architectural profession he saw as dominated by an increasingly

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dogmatic modernist movement. Using a “technique of disorientation” similar to that later made famous by Bernard Rudofsky in his book and Museum of Modern Art exhibition *Architecture without Architects* (1964), Gutkind compared traditional and modern architecture, ultimately casting doubt on the originality and quality of the latter.⁴

Gutkind was not unique in using vernacular architecture to critique contemporary practice. Commenting on modernism’s lack of authenticity or quality by comparing it unfavorably to vernacular precedents had been a common tack in architectural discourse since the Victorian era, and has remained so ever since.⁵ Gutkind’s sweeping, selective, essentialist representations often undermined the diverse and dynamic building traditions and cultures he was citing, yet his contribution is of historical value. His appears to be one of the first publications focused on global vernacular traditions, and he emphasized the need to study this architecture in its cultural and environmental contexts. The series had an important impact on at least one major scholar of vernacular architecture, Paul Oliver, who acknowledged its influence in the preface to his *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World* (1997).⁶ The *Architectural Design* series also complements Gutkind’s other writings on the history of urban development, providing insight into his perspectives on human settlements outside the modern West, a topic he intended to discuss further in his uncompleted multivolume book series *International History of City Development*.⁷

Erwin Anton Gutkind

A direct contemporary of Walter Gropius, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Walter Behrendt, Gutkind first worked as an architect in interbellum Berlin, where he was involved in reconstruction efforts after World War I, designing and building modernist suburban housing estates, or *Siedlungen* (Figure 2).⁸ With Hitler’s rise to power, Gutkind left Germany in the mid-1930s and settled in London, where, for reasons unknown, he gave up his architectural practice and became a planning researcher for the Demographic Survey and Plan project of the 1940 Council.⁹ After World War II, he was briefly employed by the British Control Commission in Berlin, where he once more worked on reconstruction before turning his attention solely to research and writing. Gutkind had always been a prolific writer, but during the 1940s and 1950s his output intensified; he produced several books, both authored and edited, as well as articles for journals, magazines, and newspapers, most of them related to issues of regional planning and urban development.¹⁰ In 1956, at age seventy and with financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation, he moved to the University of Pennsylvania, where he spent the last years of his life as an urban historian, researching

and writing the volumes of his monumental *International History of City Development* series while also teaching and publishing other books and articles.¹¹

Despite his long, diverse career and extensive oeuvre, Gutkind has so far received relatively little scholarly attention. The architect Stephen Grabow wrote a brief biographical sketch a few years after Gutkind’s death, providing an insightful overview of his life, interests, and work.¹² Rudolf Hierl, Piergiacomo Bucciarelli, and, more recently, Lutz Oberländer have analyzed his architectural output in Germany (especially the various *Siedlungen* he designed), but little has been published on his academic work and writings other than a few brief references to his relationships with and influence on figures such as social ecologist Murray Bookchin and architects Alison and Peter Smithson.¹³ His work on the reconstruction of Berlin after the two world wars has never been studied; his writings on regional planning are rarely discussed; even his *International History of City Development* series, among the earliest histories of global urbanism, goes largely unmentioned. This may be because, as Grabow argues, most of Gutkind’s colleagues “considered him an anomaly,” “impossibly utopian,” “out of step” with his contemporaries, and “antithetical to the social psychology of planning theory.”¹⁴ Still, the neglect is surprising, for although he was in many ways an outsider, Gutkind moved in prominent circles and was on friendly terms with such major “insiders” as Lewis Mumford, Karl Mannheim, George Pepler, Martin Buber, Herbert Read, and Walter Gropius.

Like many of his contemporaries, Gutkind was concerned throughout his career with the issue of uncontrolled urban growth and the social, economic, environmental, and architectural problems it posed.¹⁵ In his work as an architect, planner, and historian, he consistently aimed to address the problems caused by rapid mass urbanization, both practically (through architectural design and planning work in Berlin and the United Kingdom) and conceptually (through his theoretical and historical research and writings). His main argument, raised in his first publication, *Neues Bauen* (1919), but discussed most emphatically in later books such as *Revolution of Environment* (1946), *The Expanding Environment* (1953), *Community and Environment* (1953), and *The Twilight of Cities* (1962), was that the city—a complex human settlement containing large numbers of people and assuming a dominant economic, social, political, and geographical position within a given region—had by the twentieth century reached the end of its usefulness. What began in Neolithic times as an innovative and effective way to connect people, economies, and environments had from the Renaissance onward evolved into an entity that dominated, exploited, and sprawled uncontrollably, producing broken communities that were out of touch with their natural surroundings. The shift, Gutkind argued,



Figure 2 Erwin Anton Gutkind, Sonnenhof *Siedlung*, Berlin, Germany, 1925–27 (author’s photo).

was symptomatic of a more general change in how humanity related to nature—moving from fear and respect (what he called, following Martin Buber, an “I–Thou” relationship) to dominance and aggression (an “I–It” relationship).¹⁶

Foreshadowing later environmentalist debates, Gutkind argued that the relationship between humanity and its habitats had undergone three general stages. First came “fear and longing,” when “man feels himself a part of nature.” Second was “growing self-confidence and increasing observation,” when the environment was rationally adapted to humanity’s needs. The third stage, that of the modern world, was one of “aggressiveness and conquest,” where man “deludes himself into the role of an omnipotent remaker of the environment.”¹⁷ Echoing the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies’s well-known distinction between communities (*Gemeinschaft*) and associations (*Gesellschaft*), Gutkind believed this three-stage devolution was accompanied by changing relationships between individuals and their communities, from intimate personal connections to impersonal, individualistic, and primarily economic ones.¹⁸ These shifts were in turn related to the history of urban development, as cities grew from small Neolithic settlements that maintained symbiotic relations with their hinterlands into sprawling places of chaos, inefficiency, and ugliness. The first stage, Gutkind wrote, was “still a living reality” in the world of “primitive man.”¹⁹ The modern world was relegated to the third stage.

Like so many of his contemporaries in interwar Berlin, Gutkind initially tried to alleviate the consequences of

uncontrolled urban growth (substandard housing conditions, overcrowding, poor sanitation) through practical, modern ways of building, or Neues Bauen. Once in the United Kingdom, however, he became more theoretical and radical in his work. What was needed to halt the degeneration of cities and change the underlying relationship between humans and nature, Gutkind believed, was a “revolution of environment,” a radically different way of relating communities to one another and to their surroundings.²⁰ Rather than inventing solutions for urban renewal (garden cities, regeneration projects, zoning) that accorded with the existing concept of cities as the dominant and ultimate way of living, what was needed was a radically different approach to organizing human settlements. The only way to achieve a true revolution of environment, Gutkind argued, would be through the decentralization and dispersal of human settlements and the dissolution of cities.²¹ Only an “expansion” of the environment, involving a radical redistribution of settlements and the establishment of new, nonhierarchical communities—with none larger or more dominant than any other, economically, socially, or politically—could solve the problems of urban sprawl and establish a renewed balance between humanity and nature, one based on understanding and responsibility rather than on fear or dominance. Foreshadowing later debates on globalization and sustainable development, Gutkind asserted that the need for such changes was especially pressing at a time when the world



- Antagonism of town and country
- Landscape tolerated
- Imperfect decentralization
- Hierarchy of localities
- The monster with tentacles
- Social stratification
- Cultural concentration
- Industrial disorder
- Rural isolation
- Archaic farming units
- Production commands

Figure 3 Erwin Anton Gutkind, "Contemporary Environments," 1953 (illustration in Gutkind, *The Expanding Environment: The End of Cities, the Rise of Communities* [London: Freedom Press, 1953], 62).

was "shrinking at an unprecedented rate" and was "sick through and through" (Figures 3 and 4).²² Such an "expanding environment" would effectively result in a fourth stage in the relationship between people and nature, with humanity made aware of its responsibilities and "act[ing] as a coordinator guided by social awareness and insight into the workings of nature."²³

Buildings and Others

The "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build" series should be seen in the context of Gutkind's wider concerns around urban growth and its connection to what he saw as humanity's degenerating relationship with nature. The series appeared in 1953, the same year that Gutkind published *The Expanding Environment* and *Community and Environment*, and just one year after his groundbreaking *Our World from the Air*.²⁴ This timing suggests that the series, although thematically quite different from Gutkind's other writings of the moment, emerged from a related set of concerns. Consisting of six articles preceded by a brief introductory essay, the

Architectural Design series was published over seven months. The introduction and the first article, subtitled "Houses of the South Seas," were published in January. The subsequent articles are subtitled "Houses of Japan" (February), "Houses of China" (March), "Indigenous Houses of Africa" (May), "Mohammedan Houses" (June), and "Houses of North American Indians" (July). Each essay is brief, around 1,600 to 3,000 words, and generously illustrated with black-and-white photographs, line drawings, and plans (Figure 5).

Gutkind notes in his introduction that he had both negative and positive reasons for writing the series. First, "the negative reason is the appalling lack of social awareness, and the consequent neglect of social considerations in housing the millions of people who are in need of new homes."²⁵ He argues that an understanding of "why these buildings of other peoples excel in functional and social clarity, why they express the social and religious aspirations, and how this has been achieved" would lead to more considerate and constructive responses to the "tremendous [global] housing problem" already identified by the United Nations in the early 1950s.²⁶ The positive reason he had for writing the articles, Gutkind

One living area
 Landscape omnipresent
 Perfect dispersal
 Equality of communities
 The loose cluster
 Social affinity
 Cultural ubiquitousness
 Industrial isolation
 Rural integration
 Rational farming units
 Consumption demands

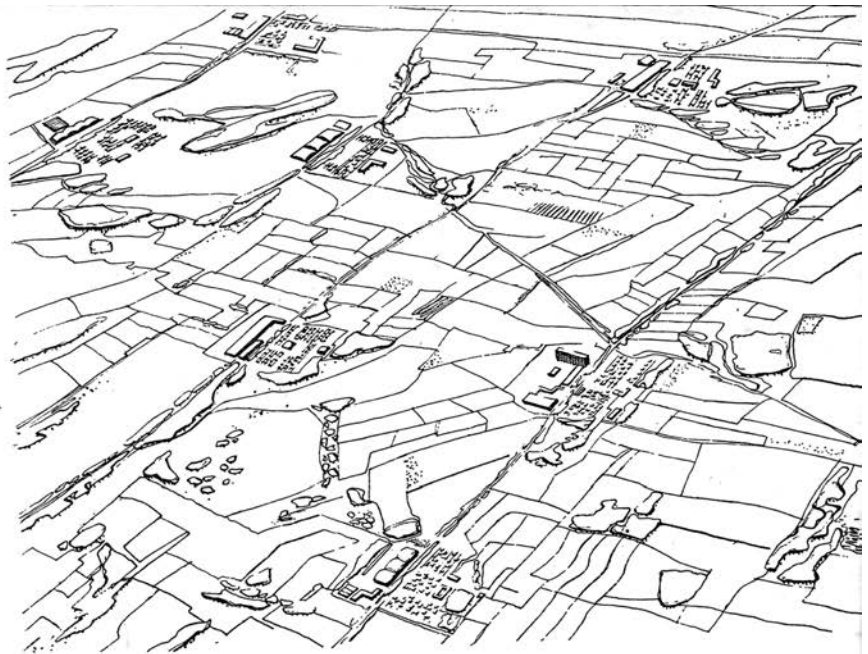


Figure 4 Erwin Anton Gutkind, "Expanded Environments," 1953 (illustration in Gutkind, *The Expanding Environment: The End of Cities, the Rise of Communities* [London: Freedom Press, 1953], 63).

claims, was to enhance awareness of architecture as a manifestation of culture and to show how different groups expressed themselves architecturally in different ways. Thus, "a standardised solution [to the housing problem] which fulfils merely the bare technical needs is out of the question."²⁷

The individual articles survey some of the ways that people in various parts of the world build and live, while showing how their architecture pertains to their specific cultural and environmental experiences. Thus, the first article, on the South Seas, describes the siting and layout of Polynesian villages and the construction, plans, and forms of houses and communal buildings. Gutkind emphasizes that the houses in the region can be understood only in relation to local mythology and its influence on the design of temples and canoes (Figure 6). In stories about the Maori god Tangaroa, he notes, "we have the perfect explanation of the concept which determines the functional form and the architectural significance of Polynesian houses."²⁸ Similarly, the second article stresses the influence of Shinto and traditional tea ceremonies on Japanese architecture, while the third, on China, discusses the role of geomancy and social status: "The social standing of

the family is, of course, decisive."²⁹ In discussing African indigenous architecture, Gutkind stresses the influence of "sorcery and magic," while he identifies gender and privacy as key determinants in Islamic architecture. In the case of Native American building, Gutkind emphasizes the impact of climate and environment over cultural factors, although he does note, in reference to the Navajo hogan, that ritual and myths are ultimately just as important as utilitarian functions.

Gutkind's depictions of these various building traditions are unfailingly positive. Much of each article consists of straightforward description of village layouts, building forms, spatial layouts, and structural systems. At times, however, Gutkind becomes more expansive and reveals his admiration for the work he is discussing. Thus, for example, he notes that "extreme simplicity, concentration on one essential feature, and great refinement of proportions, structure and forms combine to make the Japanese house the most perfect product of domestic architecture which has ever been created."³⁰ Similarly, he writes that "hardly anywhere else have the elementary functions of building been more clearly and more consistently expressed than in



Below: clustered village in West Africa. In the foreground are storage huts and in the background dwellings. (Courtesy Jones)



Below: circular grass huts in the grassland of the Cameroons.



Below: square main street in a large village of the Tiber in the eastern grassland of the Cameroons. (Courtesy Theilacker)



Below: hut with a conical roof and gatehouse of a larger compound in the eastern grassland of the Cameroons. (Courtesy Theilacker)

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 site where the hut is to be erected; a flat and circular hole is dug in the ground and surrounded by a number of thin, long and elastic poles slightly pointing outwards. These poles are then connected with each other in the centre of the hole to a cone and interwoven in a sort of basket. This conic framework is then turned upside down, carried by the whole male population of the settlement to the actual site of the hut and fitted on the prepared framework of the wall which may consist of a number of posts arranged on a circular ground plan reinforced by horizontal ribs or of mud or clay. The roof is covered by shingle-like layers of grass or reed.

This basic principle has been developed in quite a few variations. Within the restricted space of this article it is not possible to go into a detailed description of the different types. The illustrations will help to explain at least some of the more elaborate versions of the simple bush-hut.

Hut and room are identical—the hut has only one room. This influences the layout of the whole settlement. The number of huts corresponds to the number of rooms and the grouping of these small units determines the structure of the village. Each unit serves a different purpose, e.g. cooking, storage, the use of the female and male members. The houses are the primary factor of the village plan and their arrangement is dictated by a strict social order and by the particular character of the economic activities of the community as a whole. The streets are intersections between the groups of houses separating them rather than linking them together. They are a kind of no-man's-land.

A few examples may illustrate this attitude to village planning. The Shabans are a tribe inhabiting an area in the Belgian Congo between the Kasai and Lualaba rivers. When a village is laid out, the chief traces on the ground the plan of his house and its dependencies. Then he marks with his own feet the position of the main street, perpendicular to the axis of his court. The other streets are then laid out in the situation of their own houses in relation to the whole community. The arrangement of the dwellings is the direct result of the social structure. The seat of the chief and his family occupies the end of the main street. Nearest to it are the huts of the elders who take part in the government. Then follow the houses of the lower dignitaries, while the people and the village artsmen inhabit both sides of the village street, grouped according to districts. The slaves live outside the village. Socially, it is a feudal structure which is expressed in the plan of the settlement.

The villages of the Bababobos in the western shore of Lake Tanganyika are also very systematic as far as the general plan is concerned. They are nearly perfect semi-circles. A double row of houses surrounds a rectangle with the assembly hall in the centre and the chief's compound at one end. The huts are arranged in rows running from north to south in order to prevent the mid-day sun from shining into their interiors. If the population of the village increases, one or two rows of houses are added parallel to those already existing. Behind the huts are the enclosures for the women.

In a final footnote: the description of Niger in Algeria, S. F. Nadej gives a description of the town of Rôta in the kingdom of Nijne. "Houses follow houses, as we walk. The streets branch off, winding between the compounds, a mass of small streets and paths, which are often just wide enough for a man on horseback to pass through. Here and there the

A new series of articles by E. A. Gutkind



Below: framework of house on Matsi Island, Papua.



Houses of the South Seas

The worship of the God Tangaroa is perhaps the most widespread cult of Polynesia. The God was associated with the building of houses and canoes. Both are, technologically and socially, important elements of Polynesian culture. The importance of the canoe to an island community is obvious. Canoes were needed for fishing and for frequent voyages between the islands of the group. The canoe was one of the most essential objects of material culture, a fact which found its expression in the numerous ritual usages connected with the more important vessels. The relationship between canoe, temples and houses is therefore, of particular importance. All the family houses containing images of the gods were merely wooden and thatched structures. According to a legend concerning the transformation of the God Tangaroa into a canoe, his skeleton, after his life on earth had ended, was laid on the ground, the backbone upwards and the ribs resting on the land. This became the frame of all the gods, and from this time onwards all the temples—and all the houses—were open sheds with thatched roofs, supported on posts, according to the eagle-like model of Tangaroa's remains.

Here we have the perfect explanation of the concept which determines the functional form and the architectural significance of Polynesian houses. In order to understand the structural and social meaning of the individual houses we must know something about the layout of the villages. The siting of the villages is, in the first instance, dependent on the natural conditions; only then on economic considerations; and practically not at all on tribal or historical factors. The layout varies according to the situation of the settlements on the coast, along rivers, in marshes, or in forests. The villages are either more or less compact, consisting of loosely grouped houses around an open space or stretched out along the banks of rivers. In general the ground-plan is irregular, though here and there a regular layout can be found. The villages are usually open, only rarely enclosed by a palisade, or situated in defensive positions on hillsides or ridges. But the fortifications of some of the villages in New Guinea are described in looking like medieval barons' castles with their double palisading. Each of these fortified villages is an independent unit, for the people do not trade, since they feed and defend themselves within their own "castles". In other cases the villages were not protected, but an "acropolis"

(continued writing)

Figure 5 Erwin Anton Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 4: Indigenous Houses of Africa" (*Architectural Design* 23, no. 5 [May 1953], 123).

the dwellings of the African tribes. Their simplicity is their beauty and the clarity of their form cannot be surpassed: purpose, function and form are in perfect harmony.³¹ Regarding Yemeni earthen "skyscrapers," he writes: "What an ingenious use of the material! It is 'primitive' architecture at its grandest, its most refined, its most instinctive delicacy and precision" (Figure 7).³² Gutkind's praise for the "simple" and "elementary" qualities of the buildings betrays the ethos of his era and his background as a modern architect. But it is clear that he truly admires the architecture and sees it as the result of a balanced relationship between people and environment, one "rooted in a genuine community spirit which cannot be created to order."³³

Despite Gutkind's emphasis on culture, the series concentrates more on "building" than on "dwelling." Each article features descriptions of floor plans, roof forms, structural systems, and building materials, most of which are rather brief and general. In some instances, however, Gutkind offers ample technical details and specific dimensions—for example, when discussing the roof structure of Japanese houses, the connections between columns and tie beams in China, and the construction of houses (or "huts") in Cameroon.³⁴

Figure 6 Erwin Anton Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1: Houses of the South Seas" (*Architectural Design* 23, no. 1 [Jan. 1953], 3).

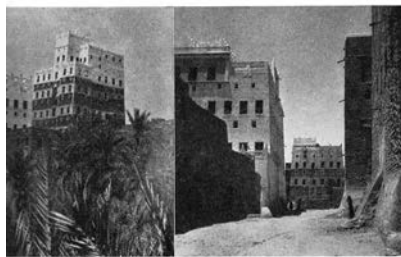
The emphasis on building is also apparent in the illustrations, which show structural frameworks, construction types, materials, and details of surface treatments; often they include some of the people who made and used the buildings. Along with treating form, structure, and construction details, Gutkind frequently turns to functional issues: the location of rooms, the activities housed in certain spaces, the positioning of doors and windows. This emphasis on construction, form, and functionality once again reveals the author's modernist sensibilities. These become even more apparent with certain recurring themes, for instance, Gutkind's frequent references to the relationship between streets and buildings, the difference between mass and volume, and the influence of decentralization. Such concerns were part and parcel of the architectural preoccupations of his contemporaries.³⁵

Despite its focus on non-Western and mostly rural traditions, the *Architectural Design* series, then, was an integral part of Gutkind's larger oeuvre. As he wrote in his series introduction, his aim was to help his readers understand how architecture is intricately related to cultural and environmental experiences. In addition, however, his analysis of the building traditions he discussed supported his broader ideas



Left: The houses of the narrow D'En valley climb one above the other at a gradient of more than 45°.
 Below: Five carved and tiled stair leads down the slope of Shibham, vestige of an almost extinct craftsmanship.
 Bottom: (Left) the old castle of Shibham, seven stories high on top of a small mound, towers over its neighbours, five to six stories at most; (right) in Shibham, at the foot of the side Wall, Mohammedan, the houses spread laterally in isolated massive cubes.

(All the photographs on this page are by Marguerite Rimmelin.)



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 flat, except the small cupolas which developed from the beehive huts on the barrel-vaulted roofs in certain parts of the African continent. Consequently Mohammedan houses are without the sharp distinction between supporting and merely screening parts: they are not "membranes" but hives like those of Japan. The walls provide screen and support at the same time. Their beauty lies in the relation of solids and voids, of decorated and bare parts, and of contrasting colours. They are built for a withdrawal from the hustle and bustle of life and they do not attempt to include Nature as part of the architectural conception. On the contrary almost every Islamic town is a grandiose protest against the conditions imposed by Nature. Their general appearance is always more or less aggressive, even ruthless. But it is these very features which also give them their stability and reality. The dwellings are the expression of the same spirit.

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Figure 7 Erwin Anton Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 5: Mohammedan Houses" (*Architectural Design* 23, no. 6 [June 1953], 162).

about the development of human settlements over time, with all the uncontrolled growth, fragmented communities, and imbalanced relationships this implied—in the modern West, at least. Although Gutkind never said so explicitly, the non-Western vernacular traditions he described in *Architectural Design* represented the first and second stages of his tripartite classification. He was more explicit in his International History of City Development book series, the first volume of which appeared in 1964. In that volume, *Urban Development in Central Europe*, he noted that “the settlements of the Bushmen, . . . the pile dwellings of the South Seas,” and “the *kraals* of the Bantu Negroes” evidenced his system’s first stage, while “the geomantic adaptation of Chinese towns” and “the layout of Indian, African and other towns” belonged to the second.³⁶

Thus, like so many students of vernacular architecture before and after, Gutkind turned to the past and the cultural Other to find—“in the humble huts of so-called primitive peoples or in the simple houses of previous generations”—a relationship between architecture, environment, and community that “we have lost,” a relationship destroyed in many parts of the world by modern influences.³⁷ The houses of

Polynesia, Africa, China, and Japan that he described were likely of less immediate interest to him than the evidence and lessons they provided of a balanced relationship between architecture, culture, and environment; simultaneously, this evidence supported his ideas about urban degeneration in the West, where, in his eyes, such a balance had been lost.³⁸ Gutkind’s series, then, was clearly part of his larger project of writing a global history of urban development, one demonstrating the need for decentralization and dispersal, since “the original conception of a city . . . is now approaching its end.” This would ultimately result in the International History of City Development series.³⁹ Gutkind intended to discuss urban developments around the world in these volumes, but he was unable to complete the series before he died.⁴⁰

Disorienting “Dogmatic Self-Righteousness”

Early in 1952, *Architectural Design*’s editor, Monica Pidgeon, commissioned Gutkind to write his series of articles for the magazine. In a letter dated 4 June 1952, she wrote that she had read his first essay and found it to be “the type of article we had in mind.”⁴¹ So far as I am aware, no further correspondence between Gutkind and Pidgeon survives. Steve Parnell has noted that the content of *Architectural Design* was driven by the contributing authors during Pidgeon’s editorship: “The magazine was run parsimoniously, relying largely on architects sending in their material for publication.”⁴² This implies that Gutkind initiated contact and suggested the series to Pidgeon. Her 4 June letter to Gutkind confirmed “the tentative arrangement which we made with you to publish during next year 6/7 consecutive articles by yourself . . . each article not to exceed 4 pages and to include an average of 6/7 illustrations.” She agreed to pay twenty-five guineas for each article, adding that “it is possible that we may be able to start the series in February but I cannot yet guarantee this.” As it turned out, the articles began appearing in January 1953.

Gutkind had multiple reasons for writing these articles. Drawing attention to the balance between indigenous communities and their environments was one, but he also used the series as a platform to criticize modern architectural practice. That *Architectural Design* might be a suitable venue for this made perfect sense. Under Pidgeon’s editorship, which lasted from 1946 to 1975, the journal presented itself as a forward-looking outlet for architects who were disillusioned with or felt disconnected from mainstream architectural culture in the United Kingdom, a culture then dominated by modernists such as members of CIAM and the MARS Group.⁴³ *Architectural Design* sought to represent the interests of a new generation, those like the Smithsons and the members of Team 10. According to Parnell, “AD was looking to the future, to space architecture, floating architecture,

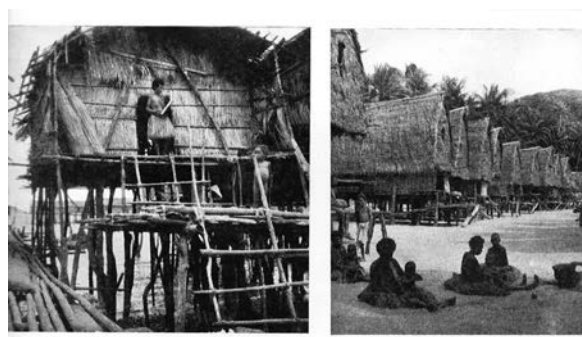
submarine architecture, inflatable architecture, foam architecture, mobile architecture, personal architecture, paper architecture, flexible architecture, cybernetics, communication technologies, domes, transport, sex, drugs and rock-and-roll.”⁴⁴ It would thus have seemed the ideal medium for Gutkind. Although he was an active modern designer during the 1920s, by the early 1950s he was disillusioned with the modern movement’s “dogmatic self-righteousness,” and his writing about it became increasingly critical.⁴⁵ Indeed, criticizing modernism and contemporary architectural culture more generally was an implicit aim of his *Architectural Design* series, one endorsed by Pidgeon, who called Gutkind’s introduction “suitably provocative!”⁴⁶

Gutkind revealed his critical stance toward modernism most clearly in his introduction, where he wrote that he hoped the series would

stimulate at least some readers into a questioning disbelief of the dogmatic self-righteousness of modern architecture, and convince them that the real implications of present day architecture should be thought out afresh. . . . It is not and cannot be the purpose of this series to describe in isolation a few building methods which may or may not be of interest to modern architects in search of “fashionable” and therefore superficial stimuli, or to provide them with a sort of pattern-book from which they can draw easy inspiration.⁴⁷

Gutkind here directly challenged the priorities of contemporary architecture, which he saw as misguided and not “real,” and its methods, which he viewed as perfunctory and flimsy. Turning to vernacular buildings, he wrote that “we must not attempt to copy them or even to imitate some of the structural details”; rather, “we should try to understand why these buildings of other peoples excel in functional and social clarity. . . and [consider] how this has been achieved.” Only such an approach, he concluded, “will help us to make up for the failure of the past century.”⁴⁸

In the remainder of the series, Gutkind’s references to contemporary architecture took on a different tone—more sporadic, sometimes subtle, often reminiscent of Rudofsky’s later “therapeutic irritant” style.⁴⁹ Rather than attacking modern approaches head-on, Gutkind employed what Andrea Bocco Guarneri, describing Rudofsky’s *Architecture without Architects* project, has called a “technique of disorientation.”⁵⁰ That is, Gutkind compared vernacular practices with modern ones, in effect casting doubt on the originality and quality of the latter and exposing their “self-righteousness.” For example, discussing communal housing in Polynesia, he said that it was “obviously a forerunner of Le Corbusier’s communal living experiment at Marseilles.” “It is reassuring,” Gutkind added, “to know that the use of the third dimension, to build higher in order to reduce the ground-area, is not the personal whim of a few modern architects but one of the elementary



Village pile dwellings in Papua.

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was built as a place of retreat. This area contained many acres of ground, well stocked with breadfruit. The walls were of solid stone reaching sometimes a height of twelve feet. The houses were inside this enclosure which could hold the entire population of the surrounding region.

In larger villages the houses are often arranged around several open places, each with its group of houses. This layout is the same as the so-called *Rally Plan* with its common courtyard surrounded by a ring of houses. The social organization is of great importance in determining the various types of houses in any particular case. If all peoples are of the same social standing without access societies and have a simple structure of religious belief, a simple type of house may be sufficient. In more complex cases, the type of houses varies greatly. There are single houses; “blocks of flats” where all families of the village live together—obviously a forerunner of Le Corbusier’s communal living experiment at Marseilles; separate houses for the men, for meetings, for secret societies (the “political clubs” of St. James’s Street); family houses; and buildings for sacred purposes. The chieftain’s house, where the adult unmarried men live are sometimes very large, fifty to seventy-five feet high in front, and can accommodate a hundred or more men. In other places they are round or square, consisting of two stories, an arrangement which is, however, rare in Melanesia. The upper story is enclosed and serves as a bedroom, the lower story, about four feet above the ground, is used as a working and “drawing” room in day-time. These chieftain’s houses serve as the general meeting places for the men. According to the size of the village there may be one or several chieftain’s houses. If there is no special guest-house, the chieftain’s house serves as “house,” and in general they fulfil the function of a sort of community center (the much propagated though heavily misunderstood special attraction of our New Towns). In the villages of the South Sea the communal institutions are rooted in a genuine community spirit which cannot be created to order, and which is not likely to develop in a civilization so singularly steeped in dealing with social problems as ours. In the chieftain’s houses the married as well as the unmarried men meet, often sleep and even keep part of their personal possessions instead of in the family-houses.

The construction of houses in the South Sea is far in advance of the cumbersome and unimaginative manner still characteristic of the overwhelming majority of modern buildings. The canoe principle is to be found everywhere, either in direct imitation of the canoe-form in accordance with the cage-like model of Tangara’s remains, or simply as a framework on a square or rectangular ground-plan. The frame is covered with a thatch of grass or leaves. The walls, if there are any, are

mostly of the same material though usually differently constructed. Either the earth is the only floor, or a special floor is raised several feet above the ground, sometimes as much as ten or twenty feet. It is especially interesting that the floor is not attached to the supporting parts of the stems of certain poles laid on poles which are supported by heavy timbers resting on the notched or forked ends of the upright posts. The nonhouse-like structure is most evident: a sharp distinction between supporting and non-supporting parts. If the floor is raised, access to the house is through a porch or veranda as either the same or a somewhat lower level than the floor. A sort of ladder gives access to the porch. Sometimes posts of different height serve as steps. With the exception of the larger houses, there is usually only one doorway, and it can be closed by mats or by a door made of a frame covered with leaves or mats. This door is sometimes suspended from a pole and can be swung open from the bottom or moved sideways on the pole.

In the “blocks of flats”—though not in the family houses—partitions wall divide the interior. The fireplace used for heating and cooking is usually near the center. Built-in furniture consists of platforms or ledges on the sides or the ends of the rooms. The insulation of the houses seems to be excellent: layers of plastered earth or grass cover the sides, sometimes as much as three feet in thickness. A very great variety of houses can be found in, for instance, New Guinea. On the coast they are rectangular and the floor is always several feet above the ground; while in the interior the circular form is more common. Pile-dwellings are built in the shallow water of lakes and bays and connected with the shore by a platform.

One of the largest communal houses was found near the Fly River in New Guinea. It was 490 feet long, 117 feet wide and 20 feet high. On both sides of a central passage the side-rooms are arranged in two or three stories, the upper ones being reached by ladders. A whole village lives together in a single house—a solution which would certainly provide the wealth of the Garden City enthusiasts with their belief in the mystique of open development. However, it is reassuring to know that the use of the third dimension, to build higher in order to reduce the ground-area, is not the personal whim of a few modern architects but one of the elementary ideas of mankind. The erection of these houses is a great achievement, the more so as the only tools used are stone axes, and the whole building is held together without nails or pins of any kind. The whole village, of course, takes part in the erection of these large houses. But every body is expected to assist in the erection of even small family-houses, and in general each individual knows that he is entitled to the same help whenever he may need it.

Figure 8 Erwin Anton Gutkind, “How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1: Houses of the South Seas” (*Architectural Design* 23, no. 1 [Jan. 1953], 4).

ideas of mankind.” Such Polynesian construction, he concluded, “is far in advance of the cumbersome and unimaginative manner still characteristic of the overwhelming majority of modern buildings” (Figure 8).⁵¹ Similarly, he compared Yemeni tower-houses in Shibam with the skyscrapers of Manhattan: “But is there really a fundamental difference between Manhattan and a town like Shibam?” His answer was unequivocal: “The skyscrapers at Shibam are a greater technological and architectural achievement than those of Manhattan which show, in the overwhelming number of cases, a very inadequate appreciation of the immense possibilities inherent in the general conception.”⁵² Elsewhere, he called the fortified granaries (*ghorfa*) of Tunisia the “precursors of the tenement house and the ant-state!”⁵³ Not restricting his attacks to modernism, he took on earlier Western practices, too, as when he noted that Chinese architecture “is far less rigid than, say, the structural system of a Greek temple or a Gothic cathedral.”⁵⁴

Like Rudofsky, Gutkind often made his arguments in a highly polemical and provocative way. Both men presented traditional buildings as precursors to modern ones, and fundamentally superior precursors at that. Both men were part

of a tradition dating back at least to the Victorian era, wherein traditional, indigenous, or vernacular architecture was contrasted with modern building, the former lauded for its authenticity, honesty, quality, and appropriateness, while the latter was found wanting. Writers such as A. W. N. Pugin, John Ruskin, and George Gilbert Scott in the United Kingdom and Norman Morrison Isham, Albert F. Brown, Fiske Kimball, and Henry Chapman Mercer in the United States celebrated traditional and vernacular architecture while emphatically criticizing and rejecting contemporary practice and production.⁵⁵ Twentieth-century modernist architects like Le Corbusier, Bruno Taut, and Frank Lloyd Wright sometimes made similar moves.⁵⁶ Indeed, this tendency remains much in evidence today, especially in writing on the environmental sustainability and resilience of vernacular architecture.⁵⁷

Gutkind's series was undoubtedly part of a long-standing discourse, yet, for his era, he took an unusually global approach, selecting examples from around the world to convey both their innate merits and the limits of contemporary practice. Whether he directly influenced others or was simply the first of a then-breaking wave of thinkers with shared but independent interests is hard to say. In 1954, however, Alan Houghton Brodrick published an article similar to Gutkind's work in the *Architectural Review*, *Architectural Design's* "closest rival."⁵⁸ James Marston Fitch and Daniel P. Branch published "Primitive Architecture and Climate" in *Scientific American* in 1960, while Bernard Rudofsky followed with *Architecture without Architects* in 1964.⁵⁹ All of these used text, photographs, and drawings much as Gutkind had done, and all conveyed a message similar to his: that "primitive dwellings" lie "at the very roots of the Functional Tradition"; that they "often outperform the structures of present-day architects"; that "the lessons to be derived from this architecture need not be completely lost to us."⁶⁰ Both the format and the message have proved enduring, as exemplified by more recent publications such as Colin Duly's *The Houses of Mankind* (1979), Paul Oliver's *Dwellings* (1987), Bill Steen, Athena Steen, and Eiko Komatsu's *Built by Hand* (2003), and John May's *Handmade Houses and Other Buildings* (2010).⁶¹

Essentialist Representations

Today, more than sixty-five years after Gutkind's articles first appeared, we may question or critique many of his assertions and his characterizations of the customs, beliefs, and architecture of other cultures. His methodology was selective and generalizing, focusing on a few buildings or traditions and drawing from them broad conclusions that he applied to whole countries (China, Japan), cultural areas (the Islamic world), or even continents (Africa).⁶² The selectivity of his approach reduced the validity and reliability of his information, while his descriptions, often romantic and primitivist in

tone, were commonly phrased in the ethnographic present and rarely supported by citations. His efforts resulted in essentialist readings of the sort that later came under substantive critique by anthropologists and others.⁶³

But Gutkind wrote long before the complexities of representing other cultures became a significant source of academic concern. Sweeping, essentialist assertions about the Other were common during the time he was writing, even among anthropologists.⁶⁴ Further, the scholarly sources available to him would have been limited in terms of number, variety, and depth of information. Gutkind wrote well before the study of vernacular architecture outside Europe and North America became fashionable among architects, anthropologists, and geographers. Before the 1960s, architectural studies of non-Western vernacular architecture were few and far between. Lawrence Wodehouse, for example, in his 1980 overview of sources on "indigenous architecture worldwide," identified no published global studies of vernacular architecture predating Gutkind.⁶⁵ Rudofsky's *Architecture without Architects*, commonly credited with stimulating interest in the worldwide study of vernacular architecture during the 1960s, appeared more than ten years after Gutkind's series for *Architectural Design*. Other studies treating non-Western vernacular architecture on a global scale likewise appeared only after Gutkind's series.⁶⁶

If globally framed studies of vernacular architecture were unavailable to Gutkind, analyses of specific regional traditions were not. Most of these were by anthropologists, some of whom probed architecture's relationships to environment and society, either in specific contexts or more generally.⁶⁷ There were also studies of particular vernacular traditions written by architects, most of them modernists, mostly focused on Europe or Japan.⁶⁸ Architectural studies of non-European building traditions were rare before 1953, but some did exist.⁶⁹ As Oliver has noted, most early publications on non-Western vernacular architecture took the form of travelers' accounts, colonial administrators' reports, or missionaries' writings.⁷⁰ Wodehouse's compendium, although not comprehensive, confirms this and indicates that in many cases, such accounts were embedded in more general writings about places or people and sometimes consisted of no more than a few lines about building materials, forms, or functions.⁷¹ The few sources that Gutkind did mention in his articles—Siegfried Frederick Nadel's *A Black Byzantium: The Kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria* (1942), William Harold Ingram's *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Condition of the Hadramaut* (1936), Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea C. Leighton's *The Navaho* (1946)—indicate his debt to such literature.⁷² In view of the postwar context in which he operated, even this material must have been difficult to obtain.

Despite its shortcomings, Gutkind's series remains a remarkable and original study—one of the first publications to

look at indigenous and vernacular architecture on a global scale, and one of the first to articulate the need to examine the traditions of such architecture within their cultural and environmental contexts. Architecture as a cultural expression was a theme previously explored by anthropologists such as Lewis Henry Morgan, Franz Boas, and Daryll Forde, and Gutkind might well have drawn upon their work; he was clearly indebted to the anthropological work of Nadel and that of Kluckhohn and Leighton for his articles on African and Native American building, respectively. But among architects and architectural historians such perspectives remained rare. Well into the 1960s and 1970s, scholars such as Amos Rapoport and Paul Oliver still felt the need to argue, almost defiantly so, for the important role that religion, cultural norms and values, social organization, and economic structures played in determining architectural form. In so doing, they reiterated—in much the same generalizing, selective, and essentialist manner—what Gutkind had described in 1953.⁷³

Conclusions

As a scholar, Gutkind dedicated himself to understanding the processes of rapid urban growth and solving the problems associated with it. At first glance, his little-known *Architectural Design* series seems out of place within his oeuvre. Perhaps this is why it is so rarely mentioned in discussions of his life and work.⁷⁴ Yet the series was integral to Gutkind's larger project. Over the course of five decades, his central theme was that the history of urban development mirrored the changing relationship between individuals and their communities, and humanity's changing relationship with nature. As he saw it, both relationships had degenerated from states of intimacy and harmony to ones of exploitation and aggression. As a result, cities also degenerated—what had begun as small Neolithic settlements symbiotically related to their hinterlands had turned into the sprawling, chaotic, inefficient, ugly urban centers of the twentieth century.

All of Gutkind's major publications dealt with this issue in one way or another, either by suggesting practical solutions (*Creative Demobilisation; Revolution of Environment*) or by developing a philosophical case for support of his proposed solutions: decentralization and dispersal (*The Expanding Environment; Community and Environment*). In the International History of City Development book series, he aimed to substantiate his argument by providing a historical overview of the ways in which cities had developed in different times and places. Yet, although the series was meant to be global in scope, the volumes he published dealt solely with European examples. Gutkind intended to supplement these volumes with one treating other parts of the world, but he failed to obtain the necessary funding before his death. His *Architectural Design* series gives us insight into his notions of non-Western

urban development, ideas that he likely would have expanded into book form had money and time allowed. For Gutkind—with his romantic, primitivizing language, selective examples, sweeping statements, and limited sources—non-Western vernacular architecture belonged to an earlier time, a time when relationships between individuals and their communities and between human beings and nature were harmonious and symbiotic. That time was lost for the modern West. Still, the architecture of “other peoples” helped to substantiate his theories while bolstering his critique of modern Western architecture's “dogmatic self-righteousness.”

Gutkind's *Architectural Design* series remains little known within the field of international vernacular architecture studies. Oliver acknowledged its influence, though he mentioned it only briefly in the preface to his *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World*. Others such as Rudofsky, Rapoport, Douglas Fraser, and Enrico Guidoni likely knew Gutkind's articles and were affected by them, but none mentioned him. One may reasonably argue that the series is of historical value as one of the first publications advocating the study of vernacular architecture around the world within its specific cultural and environmental contexts, yet its actual impact is difficult to measure. This reminds us that the historical study of literature on non-Western vernacular architecture remains in its infancy, despite recent writings that have begun to explore the work of its pioneers.⁷⁵

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Notes

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Erwin Anton Gutkind, “How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1: Houses of the South Seas,” *Architectural Design* 23, no. 1 (Jan. 1953), 2–4. This first article included Gutkind's introduction to the series. The remaining articles were published over the course of the following months: “How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 2: Houses of Japan,” *Architectural Design* 23, no. 2 (Feb. 1953), 31–34; “How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 3: Houses of China,” *Architectural Design* 23, no. 3 (Mar. 1953), 59–62; “How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 4: Indigenous Houses of Africa,” *Architectural Design* 23, no. 5 (May 1953), 121–34; “How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 5: Mohammedan Houses,” *Architectural Design* 23, no. 6 (June 1953), 159–62; “How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 6: Houses of North American Indians,” *Architectural Design* 23, no. 7 (July 1953), 193–97.

2. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1," 2.
3. For overviews of Gutkind's oeuvre, see Stephen Grabow, "The Outsider in Retrospect: E. A. Gutkind," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 41, no. 3 (1975), 200–212; Marcel Vellinga, "The End of Cities: Erwin Anton Gutkind and the Inevitability of Decentralization and Dispersal," *Planning Perspectives* 34, no. 4 (2019), 621–41, doi:10.1080/02665433.2018.1427618.
4. Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture without Architects: A Short Introduction to Non-pedigreed Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1964).
5. Marcel Vellinga, "The End of the Vernacular: Anthropology and the Architecture of the Other," *Etnofoor* 23, no. 1 (2011), 171–92.
6. Paul Oliver, ed., *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), vii. Discussing the origins of his interest in vernacular architecture, Oliver noted that "it was a series of six articles by the planning historian E. A. Gutkind, 'How Other Peoples Dwell and Build,' in the *Architectural Review* [sic] of 1953, which first drew my attention to the diversity of the world's traditional building."
7. This series, published from 1964 to 1972, consists of eight volumes. Despite the word *international* in the title, it covers only urban developments in Europe. Gutkind died in 1968, so volumes 4 through 8 were published posthumously.
8. Less known today than many of his contemporaries, Gutkind was a prominent modernist whose work was frequently mentioned and published beside that of Erich Mendelsohn, Walter Gropius, and Bruno Taut. See, for example, "Das Neue Bauen: Die Deutsche Bauausstellung Berlin," *Berliner Tageblatt*, 26 Apr. 1931; "Die Entwicklung des Guten Neuzeitlichen Innenraumes," *Der Baumeister* 29, no. 5 (May 1931), 188–91; "Baukünstler und Bauten," *Central Verein Zeitung*, 3 July 1931, 337–39. Although he was on friendly terms with many of the members of the architectural collective Der Ring, he does not appear to have been a formal member himself. See the announcement of Der Ring's founding in *Die Form* 1, no. 10 (July 1926), 225.
9. See Erwin Anton Gutkind, "The National Plan for Great Britain," *Journal of the Town Planning Institute* 37, no. 3 (Mar.–Apr. 1941), 76–79. The Demographic Survey and Plan project aimed to "assemble data and material which can be useful for the activities of the Government later on in regard to the final drawing up of a National Plan for Great Britain." See Erwin Anton Gutkind, "Demographic Survey and Plan," *World Review*, May 1942, 78. The project had been initiated by the 1940 Council, a little-known organization apparently established by the 7th Lord Balfour of Burleigh, among others. The Demographic Survey and Plan later continued independently, although it is not clear for how long. Gutkind, "Demographic Survey and Plan."
10. Among Gutkind's early publications, see E. A. Gutkind, "Typisierung und Individualismus als Künstlerisches Problem," *Bauwelt* 38 (1918), 3–6; E. A. Gutkind, *Neues Bauen: Grundlagen zur Praktischen Siedlungstätigkeit* (Berlin: Bauwelt, 1919). His publications of the 1940s and 1950s include E. A. Gutkind, *Creative Demobilisation*, 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, 1943); E. A. Gutkind, *Revolution of Environment* (London: Kegan Paul, 1946); E. A. Gutkind, *Our World from the Air* (London: Freedom Press, 1952); E. A. Gutkind, *Community and Environment* (London: Freedom Press, 1953); E. A. Gutkind, *The Expanding Environment: The End of Cities, the Rise of Communities* (London: Freedom Press, 1953).
11. Particularly notable among Gutkind's publications from his time in Philadelphia is *The Twilight of Cities* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).
12. Grabow, "The Outsider in Retrospect."
13. Rudolf Hierl, *Erwin Gutkind, 1886–1968: Architektur als Stadtraumkunst* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1992); Piergiacomo Bucciarelli, *Erwin Anton Gutkind, 1886–1968: Un outsider nell'architettura berlinese degli anni venti* (Berlin: Vice Versa, 1998); Lutz Oberländer, *Der Aufbruch in die Moderne: Die Siedlung "Neu-Jerusalem" von Erwin Gutkind und Leberecht Migge* (Berlin: Disserta, 2016); Vellinga, "The End of Cities." On Gutkind's influence on Bookchin, see Janet Biehl, *Mumford Gutkind Bookchin: The Emergence of Eco-decentralism* (Porsgrunn, Norway: New Compass, 2011); on his influence on the Smithsons and Team 10, see Stephen Parnell, "Architectural Design 1954–1972: The Contribution of the Architectural Magazine to the Writing of Architectural History" (PhD diss., Sheffield University, 2012).
14. Grabow, "The Outsider in Retrospect," 200, 207, 206, 210.
15. For a detailed discussion of Gutkind's work on such issues, see Vellinga, "The End of Cities."
16. Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1937).
17. E. A. Gutkind, *Urban Development in Central Europe* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 34. This book was the first volume in the International History of City Development series. Gutkind explored this theme in more detail in *Community and Environment*.
18. Ferdinand Tönnies, *Community and Society* (1887; repr., Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 2002).
19. Erwin Anton Gutkind, "Our World from the Air: Conflict and Adaptation," in *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, ed. William L. Thomas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), 18.
20. Grabow, "The Outsider in Retrospect," 204.
21. Grabow notes that Lewis Mumford was convinced that Gutkind "had completely turned his back on the city" and saw no place for central cities in the future. Grabow, 208.
22. Gutkind, *Urban Development in Central Europe*, 3; Gutkind, *Community and Environment*, xii, 33.
23. Gutkind, *Urban Development in Central Europe*, 32–34. Gutkind's proposals were more radical than those of other planners and architects of the time, in that he argued for the dissolution of cities rather than for their reconfiguration. As such, his suggestions were not always well received by his contemporaries. See Vellinga, "The End of Cities."
24. Also in 1953, Gutkind completed a 118-page handwritten manuscript for a fictional story titled "The Wondrous Tales of Toopie Toop, F.R.S.U." He sent it to Herbert Read for comment, and Read responded, "I think that in general it is very good indeed. The plot has many admirable turns and twists & the thing as a whole has considerable wit, invention and insight." Sadly, the story was never published. Herbert Read to Erwin Anton Gutkind, undated note, Series A.2, 056.129, Erwin Anton Gutkind Collection, Architectural Archives, University of Pennsylvania (hereafter Gutkind Collection).
25. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1," 2.
26. Gutkind, 2. Gutkind cited "the last Report of the United Nations on world social conditions" as his source but did not provide further details. Presumably, he was referring to the annual report of the U.N. Economic and Social Council of 1951 or 1952. Although Gutkind raised the housing issue in his introduction to the series, it did not appear again in any of the subsequent articles, nor did he discuss it in any of his other publications. Paul Oliver frequently put forward the same argument, but neither author ever specified just how the study of vernacular architecture could benefit efforts to house the world's homeless.
27. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1," 2.
28. Gutkind, 3.
29. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 3," 60.
30. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 2," 31.
31. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 4," 124.
32. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 5," 160.
33. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1," 4.
34. Gutkind refers to "huts" only in his article on Africa. In the other articles he writes of "houses" or, in the case of Native Americans, "dwellings," "shelters," or "lodges." The use of the word *hut* in relation to African indigenous architecture has a long and persistent history. On early uses, see Paul Oliver, ed., *Shelter in Africa* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1971). On contemporary use, see Silje Erøy Sollien, "The Persistence of the Myth of the Native Hut and the Cradle of Portugueseness on the Indian Ocean," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Working Paper Series* 253 (2012), 1–26.

35. For Gutkind's writings on those issues, see *Neues Bauen, Revolution of Environment*, and *Community and Environment*.
36. Gutkind, *Urban Development in Central Europe*, 33.
37. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1," 2. See also Vellinga, "The End of the Vernacular"; Marcel Vellinga, "The Noble Vernacular," *Journal of Architecture* 18, no. 4 (2014), 570–90.
38. Gutkind may well have had a personal interest. In 1935, his second wife, Anneliese Bulling, indicated to her tutor at the Friedrich Wilhelm (now Humboldt) University in Berlin, Professor Kümmel, that she too would like to study "das Haus bei den Primitiven" (the house among the primitives) or "das Haus in Ostasien, Vorderasien u. Hinterindien" (the house in East Asia, the Near East and Southeast Asia). See Andreas Vonderach, *Von Ellwürden nach Hampstead: Die Briefe der Oldenburger Emigrantin Anneliese Bulling* (Nordenham: Wilhelm Böning, 2009), 54. See also Anneliese Bulling, "Two Models of Chinese Homesteads," *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 71, no. 415 (Oct. 1937), 153–67.
39. Gutkind, *Urban Development in Central Europe*, 5–6. Gutkind's International History of City Development project really took off only after he moved to Philadelphia, but he had been working on the history of human settlements since the 1930s. Texts by Gutkind on the topic of "human settlement," numbering more than 1,500 handwritten and typed pages in a mixture of German and English, have been preserved in the Architectural Archives in Philadelphia. Dating back to 1939, these works describe the development of urban and rural settlements in various parts of the world. Series A.2, 056.103-056.111, Gutkind Collection.
40. In 1961, Gutkind applied for a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation "to aid research for [a] volume on the development of indigenous settlements in Africa, the South Seas Region and the Americas," which was intended to be a part of the International History of City Development series. "Preparation[s] for this part," he noted, "have been made during the last decade." Despite positive reviews from Lewis Mumford, William L. C. Wheaton, Ward H. Goodenough, and Gordon R. Willey, the application was initially declined; it was approved, however, after Gutkind reapplied in 1962. A request in 1964 for further funding was again declined. Gutkind informed the foundation in 1965 that "we had to interrupt our work on Africa until we receive new funds. It seems that this will be the case in the near future." Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc. Gr. 1465, "Gutkind, Dr. Erwin A., U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA—To aid research for volume on development of indigenous settlements in Africa, Oceania and the Americas," \$3,000, awarded 28 Apr. 1962, Wenner-Gren Foundation Archives, New York.
41. Monica Pidgeon to Erwin Anton Gutkind, 4 June 1952, Series A.2, 056.128, Gutkind Collection.
42. Steve Parnell, "AR's and AD's Post-war Editorial Policies: The Making of Modern Architecture in Britain," *Journal of Architecture* 17, no. 5 (2012), 773.
43. Parnell.
44. Parnell, 770.
45. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1," 2.
46. Pidgeon to Gutkind, 4 June 1952.
47. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1," 2.
48. Gutkind, 2.
49. Rudofsky, *Architecture without Architects*; see Marcel Vellinga, "A 'Therapeutic Irritant': Bernard Rudofsky and the Vernacular," in *Bernard Rudofsky: Critical Disobedience to Modernity*, ed. Mar Loren-Méndez and Yolanda Romero (Granada: Centro José Guerrero, 2014), 164–79.
50. Andrea Bocco Guarneri, *Bernard Rudofsky: A Humane Designer* (Vienna: Springer, 2003), 113.
51. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1," 4.
52. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 5," 160.
53. Gutkind, 160.
54. Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 3," 60.
55. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (1843; repr., Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969); John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849; repr., Orpington: George Allen, 1889); George Gilbert Scott, *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Present and Future* (London: J. Murray, 1857); Norman Morrison Isham and Albert F. Brown, *Early Rhode Island Houses: An Historical and Architectural Study* (Providence: Preston and Rounds, 1895); Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922); Henry Chapman Mercer, *The Dating of Old Houses* (New Hope, Pa.: Bucks County Historical Society, 1923).
56. Le Corbusier, *Journey to the East* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987); Bruno Taut, *Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1936); Frank Lloyd Wright, *Frank Lloyd Wright: Writings and Buildings* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1960).
57. See Vellinga, "The Noble Vernacular."
58. Alan Houghton Brodrick, "Grass Roots," *Architectural Review*, Feb. 1954, 101–11; Parnell, "AR's and AD's Post-war Editorial Policies," 763.
59. James Marston Fitch and Daniel P. Branch, "Primitive Architecture and Climate," *Scientific American*, Dec. 1960, 134–44; Rudofsky, *Architecture without Architects*.
60. Brodrick, "Grass Roots," 101–2; Fitch and Branch, "Primitive Architecture and Climate," 134; Rudofsky, *Architecture without Architects*, n.p.
61. Colin Duly, *The Houses of Mankind* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979); Paul Oliver, *Dwellings: The House across the World* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Bill Steen, Athena Steen, and Eiko Komatsu, *Built by Hand: Vernacular Buildings around the World* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2003); John May, *Handmade Houses and Other Buildings: The World of Vernacular Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2010).
62. Gutkind was aware of this and noted in his introduction that "it would be presumptuous to claim . . . that the following survey is anything like complete." Gutkind, "How Other Peoples Dwell and Build, 1," 2. He made similar comments about the danger of generalizations throughout the individual articles.
63. See, for example, George E. Marcus and Michael M. J. Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
64. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).
65. Lawrence Wodehouse, *Indigenous Architecture Worldwide: A Guide to Information Sources* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1980). See also Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *The Habitations of Man in All Ages* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1876); James Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments in All Countries: Their Age and Uses* (London: John Murray, 1872).
66. See, for example, Brodrick, "Grass Roots"; Fitch and Branch, "Primitive Architecture and Climate."
67. See, for example, Lewis Henry Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (1881; repr., Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003); Franz Boas, *The Central Eskimo* (1888; repr., Redditch, England: Read Books, 2013); Raymond Firth, *We the Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1936); C. Daryll Forde, *Habitat, Economy and Society* (London: Methuen, 1934).
68. For example, Taut, *Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture*. See also Jean-François Lejeune and Michelangelo Sabatino, *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities* (London: Routledge, 2010).
69. See, for example, Elisa Dainese, "Histories of Exchange: Indigenous South Africa in the *South African Architectural Record* and the *Architectural Review*," *JSAH* 74, no. 4 (Dec. 2015), 443–63.
70. Oliver, *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture*, xxiii.

71. Wodehouse, *Indigenous Architecture Worldwide*.

72. S. F. Nadel, *A Black Byzantium: The Kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1942); William Harold Ingrams, *Report of the Social, Economic and Political Condition of the Hadbarama* (London: HMSO, 1936); Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946).

73. Amos Rapoport, *House Form and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969); Paul Oliver, *Shelter and Society* (New York: Praeger, 1969). See also Marcel Vellinga, "A Conversation with Architects: Paul Oliver and the Anthropology of Shelter," *Architectural Theory Review* 21, no. 1 (2017), 9–26, doi:10.1080/13264826.2016.1256332.

74. The series is not mentioned in any of the following works on Gutkind: Grabow, "The Outsider in Retrospect"; Hierl, *Erwin Gutkind*; Bucciarelli, *Erwin Anton Gutkind*; Oberländer, *Die Aufbruch in die Moderne*; Vellinga, "The End of Cities."

75. See, for example, Bocco Guarneri, *Bernard Rudofsky*; Monika Platzer, ed., *Lessons from Bernard Rudofsky: Life as a Voyage* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2007); Mar Loren-Méndez and Yolanda Romero, eds., *Bernard Rudofsky: Critical Disobedience to Modernity* (Granada: Centro José Guerrero, 2014); Felicity D. Scott, *Disorientation: Bernard Rudofsky in the Empire of Signs* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016). On Paul Oliver, see Vellinga, "A Conversation with Architects." Work on other pioneers such as Rapoport, Fraser, and Guidoni remains to be done.