SOURCES OF THE EXOTICISM IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF LOUIS SULLIVAN:

THE PRIMITIVE, THE ORIENTAL, THE NATURAL

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES

OF

THE MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

SELÇUK KÖSE

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE

IN

THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE

JUNE 2004

Approval of the Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.

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ABSTRACT

SOURCES OF THE EXOTICISM IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF LOUIS SULLIVAN:

THE PRIMTIVE, THE ORIENTAL, THE NATURAL

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June 2004, 134 pages

The aim of this study is to demonstrate the idea of Exoticism and its effect on nineteenth century architectural tendencies and especially on the philosophy and the works of Louis Sullivan (1856-1924). The study begins with an elucidation of the concept "exoticism." After the thoughts of a group of nineteenth century European intellectuals are discussed, the philosophy of Sullivan is analyzed. Following chapters are dedicated to the works of Sullivan.

Exotic world was the source of a stimulating discourse for the nineteenth century intellectuals. American architect Sullivan also found inspiration in it. In the development of his philosophy, Sullivan concentrated on the idea of "integrity of man and nature," and he realized that integrity was present in the art of primitive and especially Oriental cultures. His universal formula, "form follows function," was based on the idea that the primitive man did not put a barrier between himself and nature; hence every artwork created by him was a process of transformation of natural forms. Sullivan modeled his designs upon nature and in this way attempted to reproduce this creative process.

This study interprets Sullivan's philosophy and works and also discusses their likely contribution to the work of the contemporary architect.

Key words: exoticism, polychromy, the primitive, nature, Democracy

ÖZ

LOUIS SULLIVAN' IN MİMARLIĞI' NDAKİ EGZOTİZM' İN KAYNAKLARI:
İLKEL, ORYANTAL, DOĞAL

Köse, Selçuk

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Bölümü

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Bu çalışmanın amacı Egzotizm fikrinin ondokuzuncu yüzyıl mimari eğilimleri ve özellikle Louis Sullivan'ın (1856-1924) felsefe ve çalışmaları üzerindeki etkisini göstermektir. Çalışma "egzotizm" kavramının açıklanmasıyla başlar. Bir grup ondokuzuncu yüzyil entellektüelinin düşünceleri tartışıldıktan sonra, Sullivan'ın felsefesi analiz edilir. Sonraki bölümler Sullivan'ın eserlerine adanmıştır.

Egzotik dünya ondokuzuncu yüzyıl entellektüelleri için canlandırıcı bir söylevin kaynağı olmuştur. Amerikan mimar, Sullivan' da bunda ilham bulmuştur. Felsefesinin gelişiminde Sullivan insan ve doğanın bütünlügü' ne konsantre olmuş ve bu bütünlüğün ilkel ve özellikle Doğu kültürlerin sanatında olduğunu farketmiştir. Sullivan "biçim işlevi takip eder" isimli evrensel formülünü ilkel insanın kendisi ve doğa arasına engel koymaması ve bundan dolayı yarattığı her sanat eserinin doğal biçimlerin bir süreci olması fikrine dayandırmıştır. Sullivan tasarımlarını doğa üzerine kurmuş ve bu yaratıcı süreci yeniden üretmek yolunda çaba göstermiştir.

Sullivan' ın felsefe ve eserlerinin yorumlayan bu çalışma bunların günümüz mimarının eserlerine olası katkılarını da tartışmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: egzotizm, çok renklilik, ilkel, doğa, Demokrasi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> *The interviewer:* … the idea of a philosophy in architecture, is a strange one, a new one. Could you explain a little bit more fully what it is that you mean by a philosophy?
> *Wright:* I'm astonished. You shocked me. I think that an architect would necessarily depend upon his philosophy, his point of view, before he could perform. Maybe that is what's the trouble. Maybe that is the matter with architecture. I think they are and probably because they have no philosophy. What is philosophy?[1]

Has an architect of the contemporary world ever thought that his performance is possible only by the existence of his philosophy? This is the critical question, and as in the words of Wright, the fact is that most of the architects have "no philosophy."

This study aims to recapture and comprehend the "way" of an architect. At first glance, sources show that theorists and their ideas of the past are well recorded. That detailed attention has already been given to the ideas of the past, and that all the information of the past is complete and present in the resources have been common beliefs in the academic world.

Could the reality be away from these beliefs? Do the sources always tell us that the information of the past is complete? Among the new books, with their new binding standing ahead on the shiny shelves, there is an old group of binding on a dusty shelf. There is a forgotten part in the references. The forgotten part is about a forgotten man, Louis Henri Sullivan (1856-1924). The books about him share the same fate with his life. Neglect was with Sullivan, and so were his resources. I can hear the criticism stating that not every one disregarded Louis Sullivan. Yet, there were comparatively sensible ones who regarded Sullivan and called him as the

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[1] Patrick J. Meehan, *The Master Architect: Conversations with Frank Lloyd Wright*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1984), p. 76.

forerunner of Modernism. But, then why is this dilemma of neglecting him while calling him the forerunner of Modernism?

There might be some questions in the mind of the contemporary architect. What will you do with an old architect and his obsolete books while everywhere is full of resources on new architects and the new technologies that they use? Aren't you aware that the current age is the age of computers and high technology? In this regard, I see it is imperative to state in the very beginning of this study that Sullivan is one of the rare architects in the history of architecture, who succeeded to set up a philosophy and reflect it in his works.

The philosophy of an architect takes shape by his milieu and the characteristic of the age he lives in. Therefore, in order to understand the philosophy of Sullivan, one must look at the architectural tendencies of the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly there was one term that became especially particular to nineteenth century: Neoclassicism. That Sullivan always criticized Neoclassicism and stood against it made some writers search the source of his architecture in other movements. In addition to the common belief of Sullivan's being the forerunner of Modernism, in recent years, despite being "briefly," it has been stated that Sullivan's architecture was inspired from the architecture of exotic lands. In his well known work, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, Kenneth Frampton stated that there was "always something decidedly Islamic" about the art of Sullivan.[2] This kind of an analogy might make one ask if the architecture of Sullivan could be stated under the term, exoticism. Since, like Neoclassicism, exoticism was another favorite tendency of nineteenth century. In this regard, this study could be regarded as an acknowledgement of the fact that the philosophy and buildings of Sullivan

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[2] Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), p. 54.

maintained strong clues showing his inclination to the architecture of the exotic lands.

This study will start with an elucidation of the concept of exoticism. The idea of nineteenth century exoticism will be uncovered through its European initiators. After the meaning of exoticism is deciphered, its effect on the philosophy of Sullivan will be discussed in the following chapters. The major aim of these chapters will be to demonstrate how the "exotic" might affect an architect and how it makes him question the present condition of architecture. The explanation of Sullivan's terminology, Democracy, organic architecture and his seminal motto, "form follows function" will constitute the main body of the philosophical construction. And finally his works will be analyzed.

CHAPTER 2

EXOTICISM: EUROPEAN RESPONSE TO OTHERNESS

The term exotic "first entered the English language in the sixteenth century, simply describing something that is outside."[3] Geographically, for the Europeans, something outside was Non-European, which meant usually the Oriental. Starting from the sixteenth century, it has been an unchanging attitude to see the eastern and oceanic countries, their people, animals and fruits as exotic. In the following decades, increasing "otherness" of the Non-European excited the West much more than expected. After the conquest of new lands and confrontation with eastern cultures, West had the chance to observe the art & architecture of the exotic lands. A new conception was formed in the mind.

2.1. Curiosity for the "Other"

In the eighteenth century, the number of written works about the exotic highly proliferated. However, the literature of the century contained an imagined or presupposed exotic more than an experienced exotic.[4] Despite having an arousing curiosity, the Westerners still preferred looking at the exotic from outside. "The ideas and images about the East were largely assimilated at second hand, through the reading of others' experiences."[5] In the beginning of the century, the works of writers about the East were bound up with the voyages of other European travelers who went there mostly for trade and diplomacy purposes. Moreover, only a few of

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[3] Christa Knellwolf, "The Exotic Frontier of the Imperial Imagination," ed. Christa Knellwolf & Robert Maccubbin, *Eighteenth Century Life, Exoticism and the Culture of Exploration*, 26:3 Fall 2002, p. 10.
[4] Frances Mannsaker, "Elegancy and Wildness in the Eighteenth Century Imagination," ed. G. S. Rousseau & Roy Porter, *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 177.
[5] Ibid., p. 178.

these travelers aimed an expedition based on the social lives and customs of the Oriental people as well as their architecture, however their comments were in a conceited and contemptuous manner. In *A New Voyage to the Levant* (1696) French traveler Jean du Mont makes the following observation, which is an example to those comments on the character of a presupposed Oriental man:

> The Turks are opposite to us in almost all respects: and this opposition appears in nothing more plainly than in their obstinate adhering to their ancient customs. In our country we are never at rest till we have invented some new fashion and beauty itself would hardly please us without the charms of novelty…They are so far from studying to improve their understandings that in a manner they profess and glory in their ignorance; and that their curiosity is confined within so narrow a compass that they never undertake a voyage without some covetous or sordid design.[6]

The idea of a fictional and a contemptuous look at the exotic in the literature of the Enlightenment Paradigm was a continuing approach throughout the eighteenth century. In the end of the eighteenth century, that common genre of belittling the Oriental culture was also seen in depictions of Oriental architectural examples. In Thomas Thornton's *The Present State of Turkey* (1809) he comments on Ottoman architecture:

> Their buildings are rude incoherent copies, possessing neither the simplicity not the unity of original invention. They are the attempts of admiration, ignorant of method, to emulate perfection and sublimity; and not the effect of that combination of results into which a creative people have been successively led by a series of reasoning… (the details are) fantastical …directed neither by reason nor nature, have no use, no meaning, and no connection with the general design.[7]

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[6] Jean du Mont, *A New Voyage to the Levant*, Letter XXI, 1696, p.261, (British Museum Library, London), quoted in Sibel Bozdogan, "Journey to the East: Ways of Looking at the Orient and the Question of Representation," *JAE*, Summer 1988, 41/4 , p. 39, 40.
[7] Thomas Thorhton, *The Present State of Turkey*, (London: J. Mavman, 1809, vol.1. 69-70), quoted in Mark Crinson, *Victorian Architects and the Near East: Studies in Colonial Architecture, Architectural theory and Orientalism*, unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1989, p. 9.

Such examples of comments on the social lives, customs and architecture of the Oriental people might be multiplied, but here it is worth noting that those genres of belittling and point of views from a contemptuous perspective were common in the eighteenth century. Crucially, in all those belittling comments, including the observations of du Mont, Thornton, there was one basic point. This was the set of contrasting concept pairs believed in these ages: the West being rational, the East being emotional & spiritual; the West representing progress and civilization, and the East stagnation and decline having long exhausted its golden age.[8] The reflection of this widely believed understanding was best seen in the garden designs of the eighteenth century Europe.
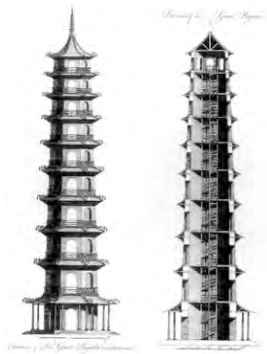
Figure 2.1. William Chambers' the Great Pagoda, Kew, 1760's
(MacKenzie, 1995, p. 79)
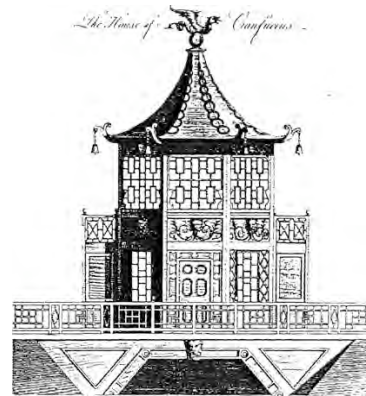
Figure 2.2. William Chambers' the House of Confucius, Kew, 1763
(Conner, 1979, p. 80)

In the eighteenth century, the Orientalist buildings were merely used as sporadic additions to gardens as if being garden furniture. The exotic forms could have only entered the West in the form of tents and pavilions having remote similarities to Chinese pagodas and Islamic kiosks. The Kew Gardens in the 1760's was one of the examples epitomizing the Oriental tendencies in garden architecture. The most prominent building was the great pagoda designed by William Chambers (figure 2.1). In addition to the pagoda at Kew, Chambers practiced many other pavilions in

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[8] John Steadman, *The Myth of Asia*, (New York: Clarion, 1969), quoted in Sibel Bozdogan, "Journey to the East…," p. 39.

Chinese taste (figures 2.2, 2.3). However, remarkably, despite having traveled in the East and his great concern for the study of Chinese architecture, what Chambers did was not more than a little attempt, for his experimental buildings were bearing distant resemblance of Oriental forms.
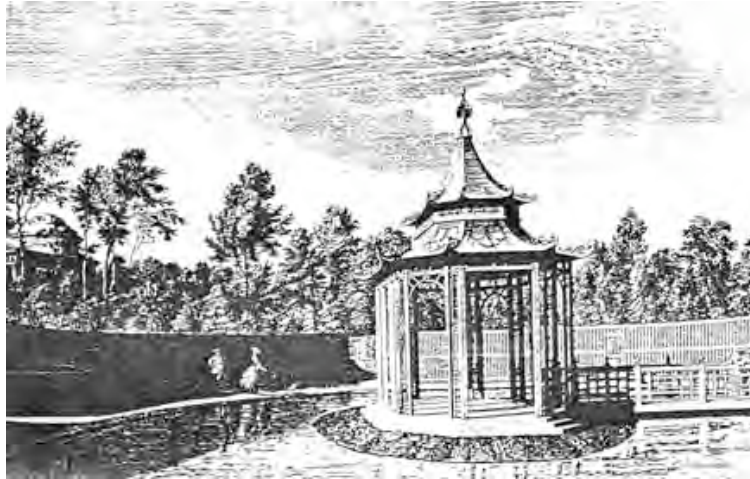
Figure 2.3. William Chambers' the Menagerie Pavilion, Kew, 1763 (Conner, 1979, p. 81)

Consequently, The West's point of view through the exotic in the Enlightenment Paradigm was the outcome of mixed feelings. West had a dislike of the East, as alien, and fear of the East, as threat, but on the other hand, West found a fascination in the East, as being the exotic, and an occasional slight sympathy towards its subject.[9] Unlike the obscurity of the exotic in the eighteenth century, the Western perceptions started to be clearer in the nineteenth century. East was no longer a threat or an alien, but it was still fascinating with an ever increasing zeal. Contrastingly, the nineteenth century exoticism was more complicated in that it has come to have a complex life of its own. It started to enter the interest of the West not only in literature and garden design but also in extensive field of art & architecture.

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[9] Ian Richard Netton, "The Mysteries of Islam," *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, p.39.

Remarkably, in the Western world, the tendency to the art and architecture of the exotic cultures increased in the nineteenth century, which was an age under the dominion of Neoclassicism. Since the imitation of the Classic created an environment of monotony, the emergence of a counter act to the Classical and Renaissance paradigms became unavoidable. A group of radical Europeans, whose thoughts will be discussed in this chapter, developed a tendency to those "other than the Greek or Roman." As Dell Upton stated, for these radicals, children and indigenous peoples with their natural tendencies were not spoiled by civilization.[10] In this regard, the exotic had been associated with the primitive cultures called as the "indigenous." The lives and habits of the indigenous people of far off climes had been analyzed more frequently and in a more detailed manner. Especially there was a particular interest in those of the Orient. It had been discovered that unlike the contemporary Europeans, the Oriental people, usually called *barbaric* or *savage* by the Westerner[11], were not living detached from "nature." Their lives and thus artistic productions were integral with "nature" and that quality of the exotic was a desired thing for the nineteenth century radicals, who were against the Neoclassicist paradigms. Moreover, for them, not only the Oriental people but also the pre-Renaissance cultures of Europe were living integral with "nature." The indigenous people of Europe, who lived in the medieval times and the indigenous people of the Orient were put into same category: *the naturals*.[12]

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[10] Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 113.

[11] It was a common belief in the nineteenth century western world that the Oriental and the indigenous pre Renaissance European cultures with their art and architecture were "barbaric" and "uncivilized." According to them the art of these indigenous people was called as the "savage art."

[12] The term *Naturals* is the common name of the indigenous people and children, who were the uncivilized and the most primitive beings, see Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States*, p. 107.

Here at the very beginning of this study, I believe it is crucial to define the boundaries of the term, exotic. Exotic preserves a general meaning inside comprising not only the Oriental but also the primitive, medieval and natural. The term medieval comprises any part of the medieval cultures and geographies in the world starting from civilizations of Far East, Middle East and reaching medieval Europe which was mostly named as the Gothic and the Romanesque. The architecture of medieval Europe, medieval China & Hindu, medieval Mediterranean, and etc. all share one common spirit; the spirit of the "medieval." On the other hand, the "primitive" comprises not only the primitive cultures of Africa and Mesopotamia but also those of Celtics and pre-Columbian as well. In this respect, although they were not situated in the east geographically as the Oriental primitives, it is important to question whether Celtic or Mayan art might also become exotic for a nineteenth century European.

The Neoclassicists of the era believed in with the Renaissance, Europeans became civilized, whereas the Orientals remained as the *savage*. In this regard, radicals, who concentrated on the lives of the *naturals*, were against such a belief. They looked at the uncivilized as the "untainted," and the primitive and the natural as "the purest." Aroused in them a profound interest in the "indigenous" and thus in the "exotic." The most famous champions of these radicals were Victor Hugo and Eugene Viollet Le Duc. On the other hand, other characters in pursuit for the "indigenous" were two of the wanderers in the exotic: Owen Jones and Gottfried Semper. This chapter is dedicated to the thoughts of these intellectuals, whose ideas became not only influential in the development of Louis Sullivan but also in the whole Western world.

2.1.1. The Nature and Polychromy: Owen Jones & Gottfried Semper

In the Victorian age Owen Jones became a critical character in the improvement of the Western look at the Oriental ornamentation. His publications on Oriental architecture, such as his seminal work *The Grammar of Ornament*, which became a wide source of inspiration, affected many of the architects' vision in Europe. Like William Chambers' *Designs of Chinese buildings*, 1757, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 1856 was also a typical nineteenth century western taxonomy. However, Owen Jones with his *The Grammar of Ornament* became influential so much that his fame reached across the continent, America. John Sweetman regards Owen Jones as "a man not without influence in Sullivan's formative years."[13]

Jones was a western architect who frequently visited the Oriental lands and made observations and drawings on Oriental ornamentation in situ, but what made him different from his colleagues, who also traveled in the East, was his extensive studies at the oriental architecture. Jones' expedition between 1829 and 1834 covered a vast area including Sicily, Greece, Turkey, Egypt and Spain. He met the French architect Jules Goury in Greece, where Goury was working with Gottfried Semper, and together they made the most productive part of their travel in Alhambra, Spain.[14] Again Owen Jones, as a typical Western traveler, made representations on the Islamic architecture, but probably for the first time Jones worked on the understanding of the method of construction of the Moorish ornamentation, which was not an attitude tried by Western travelers until that time.

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[13] John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 238.
[14] David van Zanten "Architectural polychromy: life in architecture," ed. Robin Middleton, *The Beaux Arts and Nineteenth Century French Architecture*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982), p. 209.

Despite the common belief in the West that all the principles of Islamic architecture and ornamentation had come from the Greco-Roman heritage, Jones was radical enough to support the originality of Islamic architecture. In December 1835, he stated:

> Who I would ask, that has wandered amidst the splendid works that Egypt, our great parent has handed down to us, has not felt how beautifully architecture is there the expression of an allegorical mythology; vast stupendous as the system on which it was founded? Who that has stood beside the fountain of the Mosque of Sultan Hassan in Grand Cairo, or has trod the golden halls of the fairy palace of the Alhambra, has not felt the calm, voluptuous translation of the Koran's doctrines?[15]

Figure 2.4. Title page of *The Grammar of Ornament* (Jones, 1972)
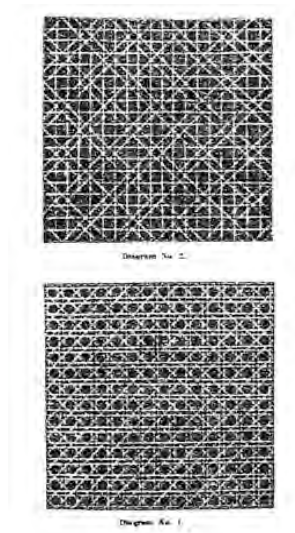
Figure 2.5. Owen Jones' study of Moorish patterns (Sweetman, 1988, p. 175)

Jones can be regarded as one of the unique personalities in the Victorian age that gave deep consideration to the ornamentation programs of historical buildings. His extensive study, *The Grammar of Ornament* includes not only the Moorish but also the Greek, Chinese, Gothic, Celtic and Egyptian ornament. *The Grammar*, a collection of historical styles, was an empirical work in its representations of different historical styles, yet this eclecticism was discerned even at the very beginning of it,

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[15] Owen Jones, *Lectures on Architecture and the Decorative Arts*, London: privately published, 1863, p. 18, quoted in Mark Crinson, *Victorian Architects*, p. 30.

on the title page (figure 2.4). However, it might also be asserted that he tried to reach a "synthesis" through the whole work. He observed ornamentation of different regions and periods of pre-Renaissance in their qualities of geometry and polychromy. Probably for the first time, he developed geometric demonstrations showing how Moorish patterns were developed (figure 2.5). He analyzed Moorish ornaments in two basic geometrical grids, "one with equidistant diagonal lines crossed by horizontal and perpendicular lines on each square, the other with horizontal and perpendicular equidistant lines with diagonal lines only on alternating squares."[16]

For Jones the source of the ornamentation was present in all of the historical styles represented in *the Grammar*. "Nature" was the source of their inspiration. Nature widely comprised the philosophy of Sullivan, but before him, this notion had created a serious debate between the nineteenth century Victorians. On one side there was Owen Jones and his follower Henry Cole and on the other side there was the Ruskinians under the tutelage of John Ruskin. Both Jones and Ruskin agreed in the potential for ornament derived from nature, but they differed in that for Ruskin the quality of ornament decreased when the representations of the nature were abstracted. In his work *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1849, Ruskin developed a hierarchy of ornament in which the ornamentation of the organic form based upon abstraction is placed on the lowest category.[17] For Ruskin, a representation of nature completely and unchangingly without any abstraction was the best ornamentation. Unlike Ruskin, Jones thought that the true ornamentation based on nature was only possible by the abstraction of nature. He realized there was an unchanging rule in nature, in even a single leaf:

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[16] John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession…* , p. 175.
[17] John Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, (London: Century, 1988), p. 142, 143.

> The single example of the chestnut leaf contains the whole of the laws which are to be found in Nature; no art can rival the perfect proportional distribution of the areas, the radiation from the parent stem, the tangential curvative of the lines, or the even distribution of the surface decoration. We may gather this from a single leaf. But if we further study the law of their growth, we may see in an assemblage of leaves of the vine or the ivy the same law, which prevails also in the assemblage of leaves. As in the chestnut leaf… the area of each to be diminishes in equal proportion as it approaches the stem; so in any combination of leaves, each leaf is always in harmony with the group; as in one leaf the areas are so perfectly distributed that repose of the eye is maintained, it is equally so in the group; we never find a disproportionate leaf interfering to destroy the repose of the group.[18]

Jones regarded that there was a strong harmony in nature (figure 2.6). He discovered that this harmony in nature was used also in ornamentation of past styles. In nature "the repose of the eye" was always "maintained." Like in nature, in ornamentation whether of Greek, Moorish, Egyptian or Gothic, the repose of the eye was also maintained. Owen Jones was probably the first Victorian designer, who tried to understand the structure of ornament in different cultures as well as that of nature, which was one of the major sources of inspiration throughout history.

Figure 2.6. Jones' representation of leaf forms in nature (Jones, 1972, p. 161)

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[18] Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1972), p. 157.

Jones' attempts on architecture mostly included interior designs of buildings. As a designer, he reflected his discoveries in his ornamentation program of interior designs of vaulted spaces. His typical application of the ornamentation onto the vaulted ceiling is discerned in the Crystal Palace Bazaar at Sydendam (figure 2.7). Jones' vaulted interiors in a series of building types were also covered by the same modes of ornamentation (figures 2.8, 2.9). In those interiors, via natural and geometrical motifs, he tried to catch the "repose of the eye," which was present in the historical styles presented in his *the Grammar*.

Figure 2.7. Jones' Crystal Palace Bazaar, London, 1858 (Middleton, 1982, p. 212)	Figure 2.8. Jones' St James's Hall, London, 1858 (Middleton, 1982, p. 214)	Figure 2.9. Jones' Osler's Gallery, London, 1858 (Middleton, 1982, p. 183)
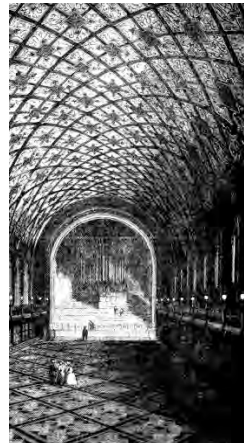
Crucially Jones combined different historical styles of ornamentation together in his projects. However, consequently, though what Jones wanted to do remained as a trial; he searched for the new and original. He concluded in the last words of *The Grammar* as:

> We are justified in the belief, that a new style of ornament may be produced independently of a new style of architecture; and moreover, that it would be one of the readiest means of arriving at a new style.[19]

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[19] Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, p. 155.

Despite having discovered an original theory or philosophy, the nineteenth century intellectual of Europe could hardly escape from the current trends of the age in his architectural works. Such an attitude probably can best be seen in the case of Gottfried Semper.

Jones and Semper met and shared their thoughts and observations in many times. In addition to their meeting in Parisian ateliers during the 1820's, they also met in Greece in 1830's as well as in Britain in 1850's during the exile times of Semper. As the probable impact of Jones on Sullivan, it is also worth discussing the philosophy of Semper for that there were crucial parallelisms between the thoughts of Semper and those of Sullivan.[20] In addition, as Harry Mallgrave informed that "the leading Semper exponent in Chicago, Frederick Baumann, between 1887 and 1897 enunciated Semperian themes again and again in lectures before various local and national architectural forums."[21] Indeed, many of Semper's views emerge in different periods of the life of Sullivan.

As analyzed by Mallgrave, Semper's life can best be divided into phases consisting of the years in which he widely practiced architecture and years in which he widely theorized architecture.[22] He became deeply involved with the practice both in Dresden in the beginning and in Zurich in the end of his career. Between his practicing years in Dresden and Zurich, when he was in exile, he widely dealt with the history of architecture and produced writings.

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[20] Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture: The Poetics of Construction in the 19th and 20th Century Architecture*, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995), p. 94, 100.

[21] Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper, Architect of the Nineteenth Century*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 365.

[22] Semper had success in Dresden as a practicing architect between 1834-1849, then he was exiled from his country because of a political decision and lived as a refugee in Paris and London between 1849-1855, after 1855 he again started to practice in Zurich until the end of his career, see Ibid.

During Semper's residence in Dresden, the city was famous of its musical activities. After the arrival of Richard Wagner, in 1842, there was an increase in those activities, and Semper, practicing in Dresden at that time, designed many theatres, opera halls and large auditoriums in the Neoclassicist taste. Wagner was in close relation with Semper in that they were together discussing the construction and design of opera halls and auditoriums. In this period of Semper's life, music was so involved with his architecture that he later said that, "music and architecture are both the highest purely cosmic (non-imitative) arts, whose legislative support no other art can forego."[23] Semper, "like Wagner in music, wanted to renew architecture from the bottom up by theoretical observation."[24] Semper's thought, architecture was closer to dance and music than to painting and sculpture, was also common in the philosophy of Sullivan.[25]

Semper's writings covered only a few part of his work when compared with his prolific Neoclassicist buildings, but he became an unusual character with his critical remarks on architecture more than his buildings. He was one of the typical Neoclassicist architects of the era whose works were quasi-replicas of the Greek and Roman classicism. However, remarkably, he was original enough in his thoughts that he had not been satisfied with the ongoing architectural improvements in his country as well as Europe. In his letter to Eduard Vieveg on September 26, 1847, his dissatisfaction was obvious in his complaint on the works of architecture: "we are as rich in writings on architecture as we are poor in works of architecture."[26]

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[23] Gottfried Semper, *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings*, ed. J. Rykwert & H. F. Mallgrave, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 196.
[24] H. F. Mallgrave, "Introduction," *The Four Elements… ,* p. 1.
[25] Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture… ,* p. 100.
[26] Gottfried Semper, *The Four Elements… ,* p. 168.

Semper entered the architectural profession in Dresden, in which there was the favorite tendency to believe on a German-Greek affinity. German thinkers of nineteenth century looked for a somewhat "idealized Greece" as a source of ideas, art and political organization.[27] Such an environment undoubtedly became influential in Semper's architecture. It was hard for a young architect of nineteenth century Europe to leave Greek classicism. However Semper, like his colleagues in France, inclined towards the polychromatic quality of Greek architecture. A way must have been opened. A group of intellectuals, J. Ignace Hittorff, Henri Labrouste, Quatremere de Quincy, Karl Ludwig Zanth and Owen Jones believed in the idea of that not only the Greek temples but also the ancient Egyptian, Assyrian edifices were not "white" in their original presence in history. For them, both exterior and interiors of the ancient temples were covered by colors. When the stone samples of ancient monuments were chemically analyzed and it was concluded that color had been applied to broad surfaces of ancient temples, the fascination with the element of color had increased.[28] It was decided that polychromy, which worked as an inter-cultural and inter-geographical notion, was the common characteristic of ancient civilizations (figures 2.10, 2.11, 2.12).

Semper, in this polychromy campaign also took his place. He believed that there were already organized dense populations before Greeks, such as the Assyrians and the Egyptians composed of the remains of so many cultural conditions unknown.[29] For him, those cultures might have formed or influenced the paradigms of Greek civilization. He saw that influence mostly in the polychromatic ornamentation

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[27]J.Rykwert, "Gottfried Semper, an Architect and Art Historian," *The Four Elements… ,* p. viii.

[28] David van Zanten, "Architectural polychromy," p. 209, Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper, Architect of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 182.

[29] Gottfried Semper, *The Four Elements… ,* p. 101.

(figure 2.13). He suggested that the tradition of painting of monuments was a practice that had been introduced into Greece from the East.[30]

Figure 2.10. One of Labrouste's colored representations, 1828 (Middleton, 1982, p. 178)

Figure 2.11. L. de Zanth's La Wilhelma near Stutgart, 1855 (Middleton, 1982, p. 182)

Figure 2.12. J. Hittorff's reconstruction of the Temple of Empedocles' at Selinus, 1830 (Middleton, 1982, p. 179)
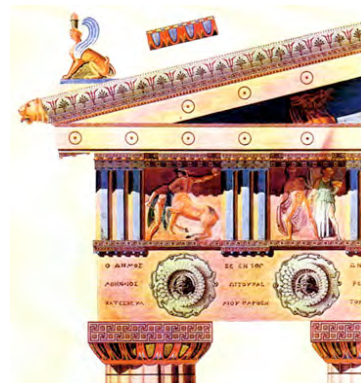
Figure 2.13. Gottfried Semper's reconstruction of the painted decoration of the Parthenon in Athen's, 1836 (Middleton, 1982, p. 180)

In Semper's writings, the most important one was *The Four Elements of Architecture*, in which Semper linked Greece historically with eastern cultures. In *The Four Elements* he analyses his observations on eastern civilizations and primitive modes of architecture. In the formation years of his work, Semper "reviewed the domestic

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[30] H. F.Mallgrave, "Introduction," Gottfried Semper, *The Four Elements…* , p. 8.

architecture of eastern Asia, India, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Persia and Egypt in ancient times."[31] Semper saw that the structural, thus tectonic configuration of a work of art was unchanging, that is to say, in the historical context; the construction of a building was made by four elements of architecture, the hearth, the roof, the enclosure and the mound. The hearth was the germ, the embryo. The hearth in history became "sanctified through religious customs; still later in modern times the fire place remained the spiritual focal point of every household and the other three elements arose to safeguard the hearth, the sacred flame."[32] The second element, mound became transformed into the foundation and stylobate for temple and the third element, the gabled roof shielded the hearth overhead from bad weather.[33] Apart from these three elements, the enclosure became Semper's major concern:

> But what primitive technique evolved from the enclosure? None other than the art of the wall fitter (Wandbereiter), that is, the weaver of mats and carpets... the carpet in its capacity as a wall, as a vertical means of protection... the use of wickerwork for setting apart one's property... wickerwork, the original space divider, retained the full importance of its earlier meaning, actually or ideally, when later the light mat walls were transformed into clay tile, brick or stone walls. Wickerwork was the essence of the wall.[34]

Semper thought that the primitive mode of enclosure was the art of weaving. He observed that the art of weaving seen in mats and carpets was also prevalent in the ornamentation of Assyrian alabaster bas-reliefs, which was a newer tradition than the making of carpets (figure 2.14). For him the ornamentation in the polychrome enclosure of the walls was borrowing this tradition from Assyrians or their prehistoric ancestors:

> The artist, who created the painted or sculptured decoration on wood, stucco, stone or metal, following a tradition of which they were hardly conscious, imitated the colorful embroideries of the age-old carpet-walls.

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[31] Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper, Architect of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 178.
[32] Ibid., p. 180.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Gottfried Semper, *The Four elements… ,* p. 103, 104.

> The whole system of oriental polychromy and consequently also the art of painting and of bas-reliefs arose from the looms and (dyeing) vats of the industrious Assyrians or from the discoveries of prehistoric people who preceded them.[35]

Semper's element enclosure, existing from the very beginning of dwellings, leaded him to his explanation of the textile character of architecture. He stated that throughout the history of architecture the naked was dressed (*Bekleidung*) as if the building was covered by a textile coat. Wickerwork of the stone walls, polychrome of Egyptian temples' facades, weaving of Assyrian carpets and weaving of mats in order to cover sides and the roof of a primitive hut were put into the same category; the act of Dressing or *Bekleidung*. The combination of the structural elements and the way of using the mat in the Caribbean hut on display at the Great Exhibition of 1851, where he saw it at first hand, exemplified for him perfectly his four elements of architecture and the act of Dressing in their prototypical form (figure 2.15).[36] Semper stated later in the prospectus of his work Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts or Practical Aesthetics in 1859 that "textile art is a primordial art (*Urkunst*). It alone generates its types from itself or from analogies in nature; all other arts, including architecture, borrow types from this art."[37] He suggested the principle of Dressing in architecture as "the real key to the understanding of ancient styles of building, their relation to each other and to the architecture of later times."[38] In ancient times, hanging carpets on the walls was both a means of vertical protection and ornamentation under the act of *Bekleidung*. Polychromatic ornamentation of facades also meant the Dressing of the surface.

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[35] Semper Archiv. Trans. Wolfgang Herrmann, *Gottfried Semper: In Search of Architecture*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), p. 206, quoted in Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper, Architect of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 181.
[36] Harry Fransis Mallgrave, *Gottfried Semper, Architect of the Nineteenth Century*, p. 198.
[37] Gottfried Semper, *The Four Elements…* , p. 175.
[38] Ibid.

Semper's comment on the ornamentation of a wall had a sublime meaning. When a work of art is ornamented, it is dressed and its materialistic character disappears. Then, there is not any difference between an ornamented stone wall and the ornamentation of an Oriental carpet. The weaving of a mat and the wickerwork of a brick wall become same. The same idea was also discerned in the comments of Sullivan, which was made in 1910:

> Manufacturers, by grinding the clay or shale course and by the use of cutting wires, produced on its face a new and most interesting texture, a texture with a nap-like effect, suggesting somewhat an Anatolian rug... When (tinted bricks are) laid up promiscuously, especially if the surface is large and care is taken to avoid patches of any one color, the general tone suggests that of a very old Oriental rug.[39]

Sullivan's idea of the resemblance of the nap like effect of the Anatolian Rug to that of the laid up bricks in buildings was in great parallelism with the Semperian philosophy, Dressing. In both the comments of Sullivan and the Semperian idea of Dressing, the source was exotic. For Semper, the similar characteristics in the ancient cultures were present in the polychromy and ornamentation of an exotic work of art, carpet.

Figure 2.14. Semper's example of relief, Winged figure carrying a wild goat (Semper, 1989, p. 25)
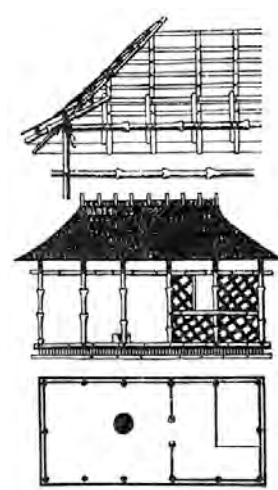
Figure 2.15. Semper's drawing of The Indian hut from Trinidad on display at the Great Exhibition, 1851 (Semper, 1989, p. 29)

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[39] Louis Sullivan, "Artistic Brick," ed., Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan: the Public Papers*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 202.

2.1.2. The Primitive and Medieval: Victor Hugo & Eugene Viollet Le Duc

Spain is half-African, Africa is half-Asian.[40]
Victor Hugo

For Sullivan's apprentice, Frank Lloyd Wright, Victor Hugo's essay, "*This Will Kill That*" in *Notre Dame de Paris* was "one of the great things ever written on architecture."[41] Hugo gave so clear historical evidence on the decline of architecture that Wright could have hardly escaped from his prophetic thoughts. It is well known that Sullivan and Wright had a strong master-disciple relationship and it is a strong probability that Hugo's visionary thoughts had created crucial discussions among them.

The chapter, "*This Will Kill That,*" having only a small part in the novel, *Notre Dame de Paris*, is overlooked in today's architectural education. However, this essay is probably the most succinct and critical summary of the history of architecture made in the nineteenth century.

Hugo, in the beginning of the essay, already explained the explanation of the title; "*This Will Kill That,*" in which this meant the printing and that meant architecture. In other words, the title meant, "printing will destroy architecture." From the beginning of the world to the fifteenth century of the Christian era, until the invention of the printing press, "architecture was the great book of the human race, man's principal means of expressing the various stages of his development."[42] Hugo summarized how architecture reigned the ideas and thoughts:

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[40] Miles Danby, *Moorish Style*, (London and New York: Phaidon, 2002), p. 7.
[41] Frank Lloyd Wright, "An Autobiography," ed. Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, *Frank Lloyd Wright Collected Writings"1930-1932" Volume 2,* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), p. 156.
[42] Victor Hugo, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, (London: Penguin Books, 1996), p. 175.

Every tradition was sealed under a monument. The first records were simply squares of rock…architecture began like writing. It was first an alphabet. A stone was planted upright to be a letter and each letter became hieroglyph. And on every hieroglyph there rested a group of ideas, like the capital of a column. Thus primitive races of the same period "wrote" all over the world…Architecture developed concomitantly with human thought: it became a giant with a thousand heads and arms…they had written those marvelous books, which were also marvelous structures; to wit the Pagoda of Eklinga, the pyramids of Egypt and the temple of Solomon…So during the first six thousand years of the world's history, from the time of the pagoda of Hindustan to that of the cathedral of Cologne, architecture has recorded the great ideas of the human race.[43]

Having defined a period in history in which the ideas were inherited through architecture, Hugo later classified civilizations and thus architecture, which dominated the six thousand years until the fifteenth century, with regard to being either theocratic or democratic. There is no doubt every civilization; every community had a preceding one and for Hugo, when the preceding community was governed by theocracy, then following one would be democracy. The theocratic architecture, while it was ending, gave way to the democratic. Three theocratic nations and their architecture generated other three democratic. After Hindu architecture, came the Phoenician, "that fruitful mother of Arabian (Saracenic) architecture." In antiquity, the Greek succeeded Egyptian architecture and finally after Romanesque architecture, there came the Gothic. Hindu, Egyptian and Romanesque architecture had same symbols: theocracy, the caste system and dogma, whereas the younger ones, Phoenician, Greek and Gothic architecture symbolized liberty, the people and man:

Let him be called Brahmin, magus or pope, in Hindu, Egyptian or Romanesque architecture, we always feel the presence of the priest, and nothing but the priest. It is not the same with the architecture of a people. Their architecture is richer and less saintly. In Phoenician architecture, we feel the impact of the merchant; in the Greek, of the republican; in the Gothic, of the bourgeoisie.[44]

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[43] Ibid., p. 175-177.
[44] Ibid., p. 178-181.

Until the invention of printing, whether theocratic or democratic, every important thought of the human race was recorded in stone; every idea that rose from the people or every religious law had its sign in monuments, architecture of nations continued to be the "book of thought." However, in the fifteenth century everything changed:

> Architecture was dethroned. The book will kill the edifice. After the discovery of printing, architecture gradually became dry, withered and naked; how the spring visibly sank, sap ceased to rise…this cooling off is hardly perceptible in the fifteenth century; the press is still too feeble, but in the sixteenth century the sickness is quiet patient. Already architecture is no longer the essential expression of society; it miserably degenerates into classic art. From being Gallic, European, indigenous, it becomes Greek or Roman; from the genuine and modern, it becomes pseudo-antique. It is this decadence that we call the Renaissance. A magnificent decadence we might add, for the old Gothic genius, that sun which is now setting behind the gigantic printing press, for a little while it still sends its last rays over this hybrid mass of Latin arches and Corinthian colonnades. It is to this setting sun that we look for a new dawn.[45]

Victor Hugo was a supporter of the French indigenous architecture, i.e. the Gothic. He saw the Gothic as the architecture of the people. According to him its cathedrals were erected by a natural and tranquil law and with this law they were changed into an organic form.[46] When these laws were activated, the cathedral grew, the sap circulated and vegetation was in progress. However, in sixteenth century France, the organic growth of architecture stopped in other words "sap ceased to rise." For Hugo the source for the indigenous French architecture was nature. The medieval spirit comprised not only the Oriental, Far Eastern, or Saracenic architecture but also the Gothic architecture of France, since the common idea was ubiquitous in the medieval spirit: nature was the source of the mother art, architecture.

On the other hand, Hugo acknowledges the greatness of the works of great Renaissance artists. Although he called the European architecture after the sixteenth

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[45] Ibid., p. 182-183.
[46] Ibid., p. 113.

century until his times as pseudo-antique, he excluded the very talented and unique individuals like Michelangelo of Italian Renaissance, who tried to keep architecture alive:

> Michelangelo, doubtless aware of the demise in the sixteenth century, made one last despairing attempt to save it. That titan of the world of art piled the Pantheon on the Parthenon, and so made Saint-Peter's of Rome, a gigantic work that deserved to remain unique, the last expression of architectural originality, the signature of a great artist at the bottom of a colossal register in stone thus closed. But when Michelangelo was dead, what then did this wretched architecture do, this architecture which only survived as a specter, as a shadow? It copied Saint Peter's in Rome; it parodied it. This impulse to imitate became a mania…each century has its Roman Saint Peter's.[47]

After architecture was dethroned by printing, Renaissance, which emerged in the sixteenth century Italy, then spread to other nations. It affected whole Europe and America for over three centuries. For Hugo, the West was so much obsessed by Renaissance architecture that it became a tradition. Victor Hugo was a radical, and so was Sullivan's apprentice, Wright. The young radical architect, Wright discovered the importance of Hugo's thoughts. "Hugo's story of the tragic decline of the great mother art never left my mind… after reading this essay (this will kill that) my own gathering distrust (towards the Renaissance) was again confirmed" said Wright in many times.[48]

Hugo ends his essay with his prophetic words: "The great good fortune of having an architect of genius may befall the twentieth century, like Dante in the thirteenth."[49]

Could the augury of Hugo have been a light for the nineteenth century European architecture? For Hugo, the nineteenth century Europe was under the rule of a

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[47] Ibid., p. 184.
[48] Frank Lloyd Wright, "The Passing of the Cornice," "The Cardboard House," *Frank Lloyd Wright Collected Writings"1930-1932,"* p. 42, 51, Frank Lloyd Wright, *A Testament*, (New York: Horizon Press, 1957), p. 17, 18.
[49] Victor Hugo, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, p. 186.

dogmatic caste system, and again it was Hugo, who said that theocratic architecture, while it was ending, gave way to a democratic one throughout history. In the words of Hugo, "sap ceased to rise" in the nineteenth century Europe. However, the democratic architecture, conformable to the civic habits and daily customs of its people, could be realized in a new land called America. In addition to Jones, Semper and Hugo, could there be another radical in Europe, whose thoughts would be the initiator for the architects of the democratic American architecture? There was one unique personality in the nineteenth century Europe, who deeply affected not only Sullivan but also many American architects of the second half of the nineteenth century: Eugene Viollet Le Duc.
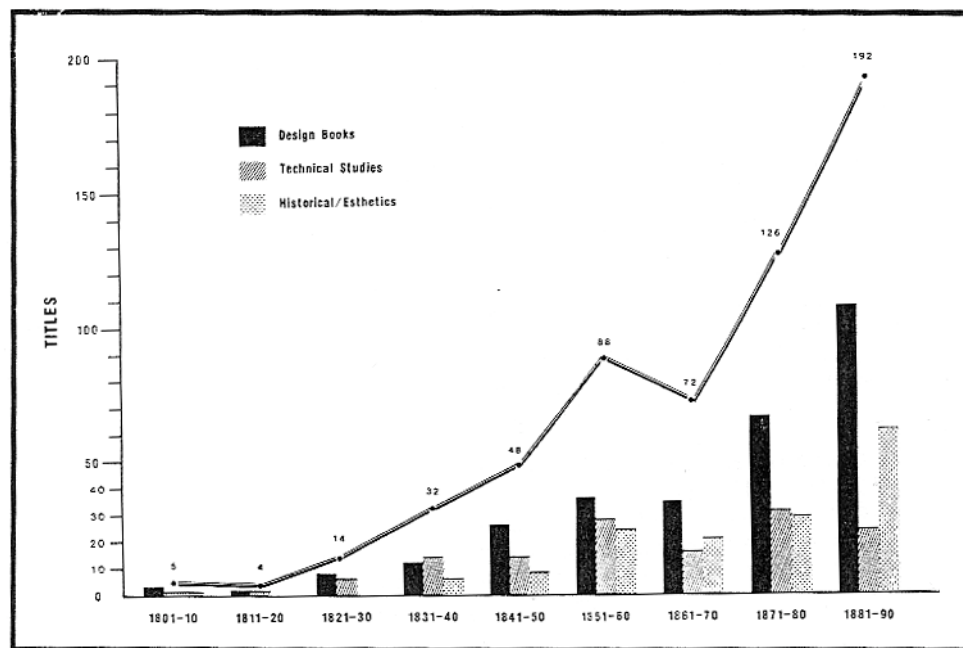
Figure 2.16. Books, pamphlets, etc. relating to architecture published in America between 1801 and 1890 (Reiff, 1988, p. 33)

During 1870's and 1880's, published books on architecture highly proliferated in America (figure 2.16). European designers' and architects' thoughts and practice influenced American architects by the increasing numbers of pamphlets, books and catalogues. Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* became present in most of the

architectural firms. In addition, Semper's comments on architecture had been frequently translated into English and became influential especially in Chicago, where German émigrés were the majority of the population. Among the European authors, Viollet Le Duc was probably the most avidly read author during these times. Yet, starting from 1869, great amounts of translations of works by Viollet were made, which undoubtedly signaled the strong interest American architects had in his writings.[50]

An analysis of the thoughts of Viollet Le Duc is critical in our way to the understanding of Sullivan's philosophy, since there is no doubt that the works of the "primitive" had been best analyzed by Viollet Le Duc among other European intellectuals. The primitive clearly means earliest, original, and basic. This explanation is also valid when we consider its position in the discourse of Viollet Le Duc. Besides, Semper's theory also dealt with the primitive modes and styles of architecture in history. However, Viollet Le Duc's difference from Semper was that Viollet Le Duc looked in the architectural styles of the past for universal principles that might be valid in all, including modern times. He discussed extensively the possibility of reinterpretation of the indigenous but bygone French architecture, which vanished after the Renaissance. On the other hand, although Semper's thoughts on architecture were original, he preserved his Neoclassicism in the profession.

Viollet Le Duc's encouraging discourse must have strongly guided radicals like Sullivan and Wright. It must have given them a stimulating way in their pursuit for the art of "the primitive." Viollet Le Duc opposed the modern critics of his era, who

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[50] Daniel Reiff, "Viollet Le Duc and American 19th Century Architecture," *JAE*, 42, 1, Fall 1988, p. 34.

divided the History of Art into periods of greatness & splendor and periods of barbarism, since for Viollet Le Duc a nation or a community, which was the so-called barbarian, might possess arts in high perfection.[51] He believed all human beings were born "uncivilized" in its simplest state and the primitive mode of a man was the purest state to produce Art.

What did that purest state of art mean? How can the purest state of art be achieved? What made Viollet Le Duc to search for the primitive? How did he conceive the Arts? To answer these questions, I will try to concentrate on thoughts of Viollet Le Duc, not by merely quoting from him, but also by "interpreting" his opinions:

Art is the production of an instinct. This instinct is omnipresent in man in all ages, but in the nineteenth century Europe, the production of art was quiet easy to be tainted in that the way Europeans lived was not simple any more. It became a complex of systems and dogmas. Arts (architecture and music, as the non-imitative arts) became the hardest thing to emerge, since the manners and habits of the people had been changing more frequently, and the artist could not overcome himself from doing the easiest thing. He imitated the forms of Classic, Greek and Roman, by strongly clinging to the dogma of that the Classic ages had the most splendor paradigms in the world and man reached this state of greatness in the period of Renaissance by the revival of these forms. The champion of Neoclassicism erected (to borrow the phrase of Hugo) Pantheons over Parthenons thousand times. By doing this, the architect's mind was affixed at forms, and he failed to consider needs of the contemporary man. No matter a building is a palace, a theatre, a barrack, a government building or an apartment block, he did not care the ever-

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[51] Eugene Viollet Le Duc, *Lectures on Architecture*, trans. Benjamin Bucknall, in two volumes (New York: Dover Publications, 1987), vol 1, p. 9, 29.

changing functions and insist on the same composition of forms. He was so blind

that he was not aware what kind of a disaster he created in the final.

> It is known that the architect's embarrassment commences. Windows must be cut through floors and partitions. Stairs must wind their way through dark stairways. Considerable spaces must be lost because they cannot be lighted. While available apartments are too small; gas has to be used at mid-day in galleries, and closets are flooded with sunshine….suites of rooms receive none but borrowed light from arched porticos through which nobody passes; that is people must be condemned to live in apartments without air or light, for the satisfaction of giving the public *the sight* of magnificent galleries.[52]

Viollet Le Duc's criticism was that man's dogmas and constant ideas veiled his

vision. He failed against the power of Greek forms. Constant forms defeated

thoughts. Then, he questioned how could a man of nineteenth century rescue himself

from this monotony? The source of the answer was present inside of man, and man

disclosed this for many times in history. Greek architecture, the splendor model in

their forms for the architects of nineteenth century, was actually the display of

"thoughts." For him, a Greek temple did not show only forms. Form was only the

final point, only the top of an iceberg. Greek architecture was splendor not in their

forms, splendor in its reflection of the thoughts, the thoughts of the Greek man

whose collection formed Greek people. Every Greek man of the community had

traces on these monuments. The primitive societies, not only Greeks, but also

Assyrians, Indians, the Orientals attained the purest state of Arts, since they were

primitive and did not have the difficulty of today's complex living conditions. For

Viollet Le Duc complexity brought by the advance of civilization hindered this

attainment of purest state of arts. The primitive societies were lucky to reach it:

> The early civilizations exhibit nearly the same creative power in Art; that they have all the same physical and intellectual cravings…Our age suffers from one disadvantage, which we cannot remedy: we come too late. The ancients, by coming before us, have forestalled us in the possession of those simple and beautiful ideas, which might otherwise

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[52] Ibid., p. 333.

perhaps have been our own. We cannot reduce things to one homogenous system as they could; our task as artists is a very difficult one. We retain a multiplicity of antiquated notions and customs, which belong to a bygone civilization, together with the wants, customs, and requirements of our times.[53]

The primitive man was the first, uncivilized man. He grew up with a natural instinct. He was together alone with himself and nature. Nature was his great teacher. He analyzed nature, dug into the depths of it. During his search, his "emotions" did not leave him. He wondered and thus reasoned the forms of nature. He wanted to be remembered and thus erected stones, carved, drew on to the walls of caves. Man's instinct in this environment was the purest Arts of all times. Nature was the teacher, man was the student, and during all the lessons he learned, he was producing Arts in every aspect. This state in Arts did not change for thousands of centuries. Then, there emerged fear, anxiety. Man used idols to set dominion over the other man. Man was not in its primitive mode any more. He was under control. According to Viollet Le Duc, in the contemporary world, man was also under control. He was under the control of the church and the caste. Could there be a way to rescue from these controlling powers? The craving, present only in primitive human beings could be the only solution and then Viollet Le Duc questioned if there was still any primitive man like that of the pre-Renaissance. The answer was yes. Children were the only primitive human beings not only at present but also forever.

> Children, naturally employ metaphors…The intelligent child makes a doll out of a piece of wood. It gives the doll a name, and takes it to bed with it: sometimes the image thus made is nothing but a strange medley of indescribable forms, some dream of that childish mind which it longs to express, and which none else can render aright. And this desire, this craving is Art. Art is therefore the form given to a thought and the artist is he who in creating that form succeeds in conveying by it the same thought to the minds of his contemporaries.[54]

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[53] Ibid., p. 29-31.
[54] Ibid., p. 24.

The craving inherent in the child was the same in that of the primitive man of ancients. Like the child made his doll by instinctive craving, the primitive man of the pre-Renaissance times produced his first edifice by the same manner. The instinctive feeling made him display his traces in monuments. He constructed monuments "out of his head." First these monuments were formed as holes as if caves were carved into stones, and then took the forms of carved temples. Architecture became stronger as a mode of expression, it became ubiquitous and the testament to the followers. The instinctive craving inside not only made man to construct temples or monuments but also the domestic buildings shaped by the contemporary manners of the communities. In different parts of the world, the native folk architecture and folk music varied in a great extent. The architecture and music were non-imitative, for they belonged to the instinct of the local man. Every indigenous culture preserved its authentic architecture and music. The Arts of Greeks were original and directly chained to the customs and manners of its own generation, and for Viollet Le Duc; it could not be imitated like the nineteenth century architects had been doing frequently.

It was clear for Viollet Le Duc that the embellishment of buildings had been as old as the mankind. Then, there was the crucial question. "Why do we still embellish parts of our buildings?" The answer was already given above. It was already present before buildings were erected. It persisted since the first man who carved depictions on the walls of caves he lived. The ornamentation was done to communicate, to be remembered, to show the following man after his death that "he was there." The cave was formed by nature, without the help of man. It was not a construction of him. Ornamentation was the precursor of architecture. Whenever, he could not find a shelter in which he could prevent himself from the rain or bad weather or any other dangers, he carved his own cave, or constructed his own shelter out of natural materials. Then he applied the ornamentation as a second

structure, a structure of emotions. He constructed the building first, but the second structure became necessary for him since instinctively he needed to write his thoughts on the buildings. Architecture was the combination of these two structures. It became the "book" of man reflecting the craving present in his own instinct.

Architects of the nineteenth century Europe were still embellishing their buildings, but for Viollet Le Duc it was not any more made by the craving of the mind. There was not any originality in depictions. They were pseudo-representations of past civilizations, especially of the Greek and of the Roman. But, in history, in the periods before the Renaissance, called barbaric by the modern critics, ornamentation preserved the basic instinct of man.

> Plate (figure 2.17) represents the interior of one of those small dwellings in Central Syria. Could construction be more frankly expressed, or could ornamentation be more simple and truthful? The portico of the ground floor consist of single stones… All the ornamentation is reserved for the first story; it is the *loggia* of the dwelling, - the part in which the family associate…These are small matters I allow: but in architecture, these small matters are very nearly everything; and the satisfaction we experience in observing them is greater than the pleasure we feel in looking at a facade covered with ornamentation, whose use or meaning we do not comprehend. In this unpretentious dwelling moreover, is not the sense of proportions profoundly manifest? Are not these in just relation to the human size? Does not the house distinctly indicate the habits of its occupants?[55]

Ornamentation of local dwellings in any part of the world was the reflection of its inhabitants and their customs. All the parts were not ornamented lavishly. The main living space, in other words gathering place was the center of the dwelling. The center was always sacred. It was the most important place deserving to be ornamented. Men, with families gathered, communicated, entertained and suffered around the center. Their emotions had to be written on buildings.

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[55] Eugene Viollet Le Duc, *Lectures on Architecture,* vol. 2, p. 185, 186.

Figure 2.17. Syrian House plate in *Lectures on Architecture vol 2*
(Viollet Le Duc, 1987, p. 186)
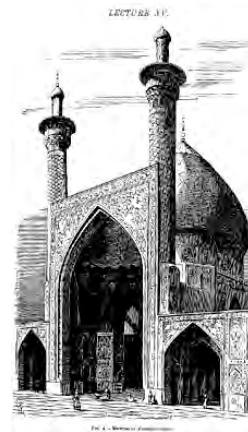
Figure 2.18. Isfahan Great Mosque plate in *Lectures on Architecture vol 2*
(Viollet Le Duc, 1987, p. 197)

The Orientals are our superiors in architectural ornamentation, because among them that ornamentation never obscures the dominant conception; on the contrary, it always powerfully aids its expression, and is its natural manifestation…The God of Mahometan is everywhere; he could not be represented by an image: he may be adored on the desert or on the ocean as well as within a sacred enclosure…What then is a mosque? There are no images, there is no ritual, no outward pomp….Mesdjid – i – Shah at Ispahan (figure 2.18) constitutes in itself a magnificent groundwork of ornamentation, because it exactly fulfils the requirements of the case, and clearly explains the ruling idea…The porch, or rather the enormous opening which admits light and air into the central part of the mosque, symbolizes to the Mussulman his idea of the One Divinity whose sanctuary is the universe…in this case the from expresses the idea.[56]

Viollet Le Duc was aware that the main aim of the architect should be first to set up the ruling idea or the thought, in other words. The architect should not first set up the form, since it was only the last point of the process. Remarkably, when an architect sensed and criticized the increasing number of Neoclassicist buildings, he inclined to other forms present in history, in order to escape those highly repeated classical paradigms. Forms of Gothic, Egyptian or any of Oriental architecture entered the vocabulary of his architecture. He selected and combined different styles and set up an eclectic building. Then, his architecture was no more Neoclassical but

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[56] Ibid., p. 193-198.

it becomes Neo Gothic or Orientalist and the result became the same as the former, which was Neoclassical. For Viollet Le Duc, to avoid such kind of conclusions, one had to learn the right way to look at history:

> We of the present day should be modest, and hesitate long before bestowing the epithet barbarous on those who preceded us in the paths of Art. I am not one of those who despair of the present and look back on the past with regret. The past is past; but we must search into it sincerely and carefully; seeking not to revive it, but to know it thoroughly, that we may turn it to good account.[57]

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[57] Eugene Viollet Le Duc, Vol. 1, p. 32.

CHAPTER 3

LOUIS SULLIVAN: THE SEEKER FOR A NEW ARCHITECTURE

In the academic field, it is believed that the philosophy of Sullivan is hard to understand, and besides, he "had notoriously proved one of the most difficult artists of the last hundred years to evaluate."[58] One reason for that is his use of general terminology, which has wide-range of meanings. His discourse mainly involves life, man, spirit and nature. Preserving these impalpable words, writings of Sullivan have been discerned by some readers as esoteric. Again for these readers, a man having hardly understandable philosophy was also mysterious in his art and architecture. According to Nicolaus Pevsner, Sullivan's design is curious in its "tangles of tendrils, cabbagey, scalloped leaves and coral reef growths."[59] In addition, John Sweetman regards that kind of a curious composition to be "like an encounter with an artistic language from another planet."[60] That metaphor between Sullivan's system of design and the one from another planet already shows his philosophy and architecture was different from that of the average intellectual. Sullivan's discourse was original when compared with those of his other colleagues of the century he lived. On one side there were the attempts of imitation of the Classic and on the other, an original discourse of Sullivan. Yet, this originality emerged at the very beginning of his career.

3.1. Young Sullivan: Formation of a Philosophy

Sullivan joined M.I.T. as a student in 1872. William Ware, who was also a practicing architect in the architectural firm of Ware & Van Brunt in Boston, was the

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[58] John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession…* , p. 237.

[59] Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design,* (London: The Architectural Press, 1949), p. 57.

[60] John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession…* , p. 237.

director of the school. In addition to Ware, Eugene Letang, who was a graduate of Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, became Sullivan's teacher. In the drafting rooms of the school, Sullivan was introduced to the orders of classical architecture in the forms of columns, bases, capitals and cornices. However, young Sullivan demonstrated reaction to the "Classic" and "Orders" that he was taught there. His inclination to the exotic was aroused against the current tendencies in architecture. Sullivan realized that he was on the wrong way by attending M.I.T.:

> Louis by nature was not given to that kind of faith…These rigid "Orders" seemed to say, "The book is closed; Art shall die."…by the testimony of the world of scholarship and learning that the Greek is sacrosanct; and of all the Greek, the Parthenon is super-sacrosanct. Therefore there was and has been in all time but the unique Parthenon; all else is invalid. Art is dead…Now after centuries of ruin the Parthenon is dead; therefore all is invalid, Art is dead…much like a fairy tale. And this is all that he gathered from the "Orders"-that they really were fairy tales of the long ago, now by the learned made rigid, mechanical and inane in the books Louis was pursuing, wherein they were stultified, for lack of common sense and human feeling. Hence he spent much time in the library, looking at pictures of buildings of the past that did not have pediments and columns.[61]

Sullivan searched the architectural books with examples other than the Classic composed of the Orders and pediment. He believed that the Greek forms were "a timely demonstration of Greek thought concerning ideas" in the past, but they might not be valid in the contemporary world.[62] For Sullivan, the classical paradigms could no more become the business of the architect. After deciding to leave the Tech, which was an institution whose concern was to teach Orders of the Classic, he thought he would better try his chance in professional life.

Sullivan worked for a year in the firm of Furness & Hewitt in Philadelphia, where he had grasped the clues on Oriental ornamentation. Having experienced the

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[61] Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography of an Idea*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), p. 187, 188.
[62] Ibid.

"Orientalized Gothic manner"[63] of Furness and Hewitt, Sullivan had the chance of working on intricate Moorish ornaments, which was applied on a Masonic Temple.[64] He observed how an Oriental ornament could be traced on paper and applied on buildings during the design process.

The architecture of Furness was composed of Oriental motifs. But, where could a man, who "had never been abroad,"[65] get and apply the Oriental motifs? His use of Oriental features indicates that he borrowed the motifs mostly from one source: Owen Jones' *the Grammar*. Since it was the most profound catalogue on Oriental ornament present at that time in most of the archives of the architectural firms. In addition, as stated by James O'Gorman, it was obvious that "there was direct influence of Jones in some of Furness' floral patterns."[66] There was also strong evidence that the architecture of Furness was inspired from that of the French architect, Viollet Le Duc, who had the sympathy of indigenous French Gothic architecture (figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4). Viollet Le Duc's ideas and designs had the strongest impact on Furness, among other American architects, especially in his use of certain decorative features and structural ideas.[67]

Consequently there was a combination of Neo Islamic and Neo Gothic styles in Furness' buildings. Like *The Grammar* of Jones, one of Furness' works, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts was the combination of different historical styles (figure 3.5).

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[63] Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, p. 51.
[64] "One night George Hewitt on his way home from a theater saw lights in the office. Imagining that someone had forgotten to turn the lights off, Hewitt went in. He discovered Louis bent double over his board, and tracing intricate Moorish ornaments from a Masonic Temple which Hewitt had designed years earlier," Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan As He Lived*, (New York: Horizon Press, 1960), p. 45.
[65] Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at 19th Century World Fairs*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 167.
[66] James O'Gorman, *The Architecture of Frank Furness*, (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1973), p. 36-37, quoted in Zeynep Celik, p. 168.
[67] Daniel Reiff, *Viollet Le Duc…* , p. 35.

The Rodef Shalom Synagogue of Furness was rather an Orientalist try with its *maqsura* like dome and horseshoe-arch windows (figure 3.6). Crenellations embellished in the lotus form, seen in the Brazilian pavilion (figure 3.7), were Furness' favorite application in his designs.
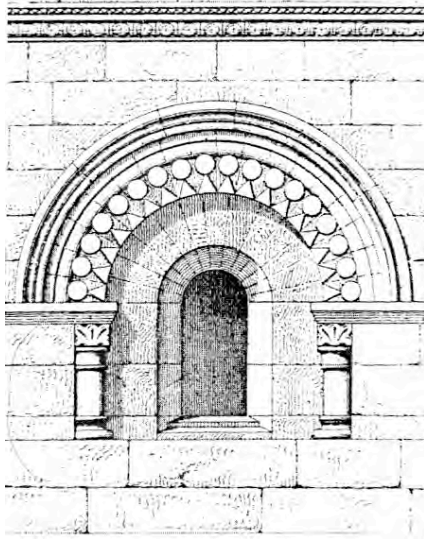
Figure 3.1. Plate from Viollet Le Duc, *Entretiens, vol 1* (Reiff, 1988, p. 42)

Figure 3.2. Furness' Thomas Hockley House, Philadelphia, 1875 (Reiff, 1988, p. 42)
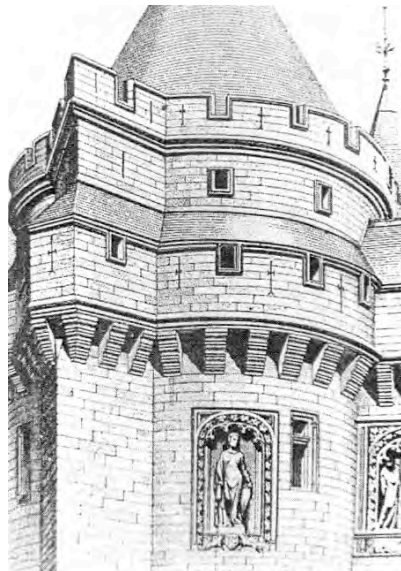
Figure 3.3. Plate from Viollet Le Duc, *Entretiens, vol 2* (Reiff, 1988, p. 42)
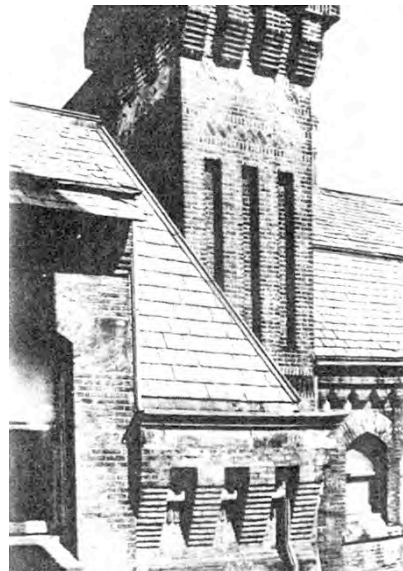
Figure 3.4. Furness' Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1875 (Reiff, 1988, p. 42)
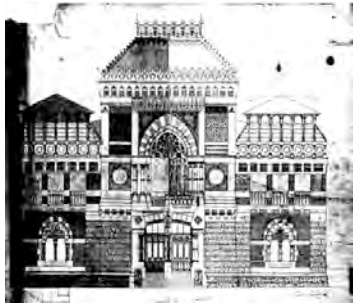
Figure 3.5. Furness' Pennsylvania
Academy of Fine Arts, 1876
(Frampton, 1995, p. 98)
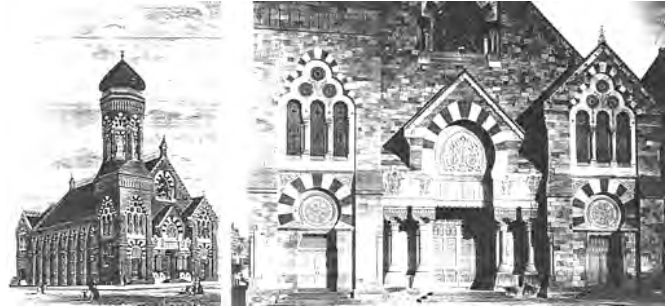
Figure 3.6. Furness' Rodef Shalom Synagogue, 1880
(Thomas, 1991, p. 150)
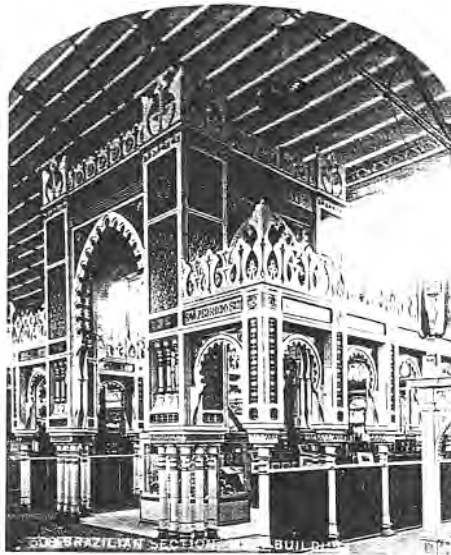
Figure 3.7. Lotus Crenellations, Furness' Brazilian Pavilion, 1876 (Thomas, 1991, p. 196)

Sullivan was used to work on the ornamentation of lotus while working in the company of Furness & Hewitt. Lotus had been an attractive ornamental feature for Sullivan since the early stages of his profession. In his *Autobiography*, Sullivan gives information on the Lotos Sports Club in Chicago, where his brother, the owner of the club, Bill Curtis and Sullivan's friend John Edelman frequently attended. *Autobiography*, which was neither a whole depiction of his life nor a complete collection of personalities that entered his life, involves activities he spent in the

Club, the meaning of Lotos and why the club was named as Lotos.[68] Yet in the Lotos Club, between the physical exercises at odd hours Edelman and Sullivan had frequent discussions on architecture. They were drawing ornaments and writing notes about the philosophy of ornamentation into Sullivan's notebook. In one of their gatherings, Sullivan analyzed a lotus bud, carefully counting and numbering its sepals, petals, stamens and pistils. Making a drawing "before fructification," with a section which showed the "position and structure of ovaries", and another drawing of the "cellular structure" of the lotus, Sullivan was "evidently offering, already, his views of possible decoration for capitals, or other architectural ornament."[69] This kind of an analysis of the lotus much resembled to the flower analysis of Owen Jones. Like Jones, Sullivan also worked on the structure of the flower and leaves in nature. There is no doubt, though being eclectic, the works of Furness and Jones had affected the young Sullivan. The Oriental ornament with its quality of abstraction of nature was not only the deal of Furness and Jones but also it became a catalyst in the forming up of Sullivan's artistic background. Moreover, like the primitivism of Viollet Le Duc, "Edelman's unusual cultivation exercised an influence over Sullivan's theoretical development."[70] In the Lotos Club, during the courses on architecture, Edelman remarked:

> A savage delights in personal decoration, especially color. An Indian paints his person in a gorgeous way that is beautiful in his eyes. The manufactures of barbaric people are almost unbelievably brilliant… then the question of unity: let us establish our definition of unity. I believe it to be the power of seeing the relations existing between a large number of apparently disconnected phenomena. A child, or a savage in walking over a field or through the forest, will note the little details, the irregularities of the path, obstacles to be avoided, berries to be eaten or perhaps a wild flower here and there. And only an artist will note the combinations of clouds and field, forest, brook, and lake, with all the…effects of color, light and shade. At the stage of cave dwellers, life was simple. All the individuals followed similar pursuits. Each was

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[68] "The owner of the Lotos Club said briefly, he preferred the Greek word *Lotos* to the Latin *Lotus*, and yet he said he had named the Club the Lotos because of his love of flowers," Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography…* , p. 210-213.
[69] Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan As He Lived*, p. 73.
[70] Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, p. 51.

> more or less a hunter, a builder…and artist. But as development went on, some developed a special aptitude for one kind of labor and some for another.[71]

Edelman's metaphor of child and savage, the unity in the lives of the primitive man helped the formation of the philosophy of Sullivan. Like Viollet Le Duc, Edelman also supported the idea of primitivism. For Edelman, in the most primitive modes of human beings, each individual was the same. They were not only hunters and builders but also artists at the same time. However, then this system of "oneness" and "unity" diminished, and disappeared with the development of life. People were divided into different categories, as laborers, priests, masters and servants. In this system the notion of art also changed. It had associated with divisions such as religion. Both Edelman and Sullivan believed that the integrity was still intact in the indigenous and the child as well. The *savage*, whom Edelman meant mostly the Oriental, used color in manufactures and architecture, in a way Sullivan desired to attain. Sullivan decided that polychromy in architecture was important in order to reach the unity present in the art of the primitive man. In addition to Edelman's views, Sullivan stated at the Lotos Club that "the object and aim of distemper decoration is to produce a combination of color which shall be harmonious in itself and with its surroundings, forming a unity of which the primary function is general effect."[72]

Sullivan was acquainted with polychromy, not only through the publications of Jones and Semper but also through the Ecole in Paris, which was the forerunner institute of the polychromy campaign. Though Sullivan had left M.I.T., which was for him a school that cannot give him anything more than to draw "Orders," he looked for another trial at education in *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* in Paris and

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[71] Ibid., p. 78.
[72] Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan As He Lived*, p. 77.

participated in it for a year. Unquestionably, in Paris, Sullivan observed the polychromy campaign whose progenitor was J. Ignace Hittorff. Having learned the polychromy effect in ancient architecture, Sullivan returned to Chicago, after again leaving the school unfinished. After brief studies and apprenticeships in architecture in Cambridge, Philadelphia, Paris, and having also worked as draughtsman in various architectural firms in Chicago, he started to "consciously explore the preconditions, social and aesthetic, of an American art of building."[73]

3.2. A Prophet's Return to "Roots" in Capitalist America

During his explorations, history taught Sullivan that there were always styles in architecture.[74] The Greek style, Gothic style, Egyptian style, Indian style, Moorish style etc. were formed in different regions of the world. Each was particular to their lands. Then, Sullivan asked whether the land of America had a particular style of architecture. The criticism of Sullivan was that the national style of America was absent.[75] Sullivan was aware of the historical styles and their unique properties. The necessity of the emergence of the American style, which was going to be the *great style* of all, became Sullivan's major aim since the beginning of his philosophical explorations. The native man of America, on his way to the attainment of the *great style*, was on the decision of his "choice." At this point, as stated by Sullivan in 1885, in his first proclamation, "architects as a professional class have held it more expedient to maintain the traditions than to promulgate vitalizing thought."[76] Traditional architecture of the Classic style was the architect's choice mostly in that

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[73] Maurice English, "Preface to "Characteristics and Tendencies of American Architecture,"" ed. Maurice English, *The Testament of Stone*, (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1963), p. 5.
[74] Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography…* , p. 188.
[75] Louis Sullivan, "Characteristics and Tendencies of American Architecture," ed. Maurice English, *The Testament of Stone*, p. 5.
[76] Ibid., p. 7.

he could apply the already present forms on the buildings without asking himself whether they could be suitable or alien to the new land of America.

For Sullivan, there was "no people on earth possessing more of innate poetic feeling, more of ideality, greater capacity to adore the beautiful, than the American people."[77] A widely practicing Chicagoan architect, the colleague of Sullivan in 1880's and 1890's, John Root stated that modern architecture could find inspiration in historical sources.[78] But, the word inspiration had to be made clearer for Sullivan, as the use of historical forms would end with a clinging to the copies of the past.[79] However, it did not mean that Sullivan was a thinker rejecting the observation of history of architecture; on the contrary he had a keen interest and thus knowledge on architectural styles of the past since his formative years starting from his times spent in the library of MIT. For him, as for Viollet Le Duc, one should look at history for not to be inspired from forms but to understand the different thoughts of mankind, which were particular to each style in history. He thought that the "way of observation" was the crucial point in discerning historical styles. "In examining a work, for purposes of analysis," one should "learn not only to look at a work, but *into it*."[80] Looking "into" history, in *Emotional Architecture as Compared with Intellectual* in 1894 Sullivan claimed that the American style in architecture would be the final point in the orderly sequence of historical styles:

> Consider but a moment the richness of our heritage from the past, its orderly sequence, its uplifting wave of power, its conservation of force. Think of the Hindoo - think of what he has left to us. Think of the Hebrew man coming out of Ur, of the Chaldees, to find for us the One Great Spirit. Think of the somber Egyptians, those giants who struggled so grimly with fate - think of the stability they have given to us. Think of

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[77] Ibid., p. 9.
[78] Robert Twombly, "Preface to "Remarks on the Subject, "What are the Present Tendencies of Architectural Design in America?""" *Louis Sullivan: the Public Papers*, p. 28.
[79] Louis Sullivan, "Remarks on the Subject, "What are the Present Tendencies of Architectural Design in America?"" ed. Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan, the Public Papers*, p. 28.
[80] Louis Sullivan, "Style," ed. Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan the Public Papers*, p. 51.

the lonely man of the Nazareth breathing a spirit of gentleness of which the world had never heard before. Think of the delicately objective Greeks, lovers of the physical, accurate thinkers, the worshippers of beauty. Think that in them the Orient, sleeping, was born anew. Think of the Goth, and with him the birth of emotion as we know it. Think of modern Music, arising in glory as the hearth took wings. Think, as we stand here now, in a new land, a Promised Land that at last is ours, think how passionately latent, how marvelous to contemplate is America, our country. Think that here destiny has decreed there shall be enacted the final part in the drama of man's emancipation.[81]

Similar to that of Hugo, Sullivan's historical analysis clearly indicates his profound interest in history. His historical scope comprises the cultures of Mesopotamia, India as well as those of Eastern Mediterranean and pre-Renaissance Europe. In addition to the power of the preceding cultures, Sullivan puts also the Music in the category between the heritage of man in history and the necessary forthcoming success of the American man. Like Semper and Viollet Le Duc, who discerned Music as the non-imitative art, Sullivan believed that Music was "a new thing under the sun."[82]

The critical statement of Hugo: the Renaissance was "the setting sun the whole Europe mistook for dawn,"[83] was stimulating for Sullivan that he believed the sun could rise in America without any mistaking. However, this rising was a slow process. To let it rise, a "gradual assimilation of nutriment and a struggle against obstacles were necessary," and one had to "disregard dreams of a Minerva-like architectural splendor springing full-formed into being."[84] The national style was yet at the very beginning of its journey. As Hugo stated, architecture in history began like writing. It was first an alphabet.[85] The re-formation of this alphabet for the rising sun was the first search for Sullivan. The preparation of the alphabet was

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[81] Louis Sullivan, "Emotional Architecture as Compared with Intellectual," *The Testament of Stone,* p. 18, 19.
[82] Ibid. p. 19.
[83] Victor Hugo, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, p. 183.
[84] Louis Sullivan, "Characteristics and Tendencies of American Architecture," p. 5.
[85] See page 23.

possible only to think and act as the first man, who was the primitive. The lessons in the Lotos Club taught that there were two people possessing the power that would guide Sullivan to the alphabet: the "child" and the "indigenous," which was mostly named as the *savage* by the nineteenth century Western world.

The synonym of the *savage* was mostly the Oriental or the Saracenic man for both Edelman and Sullivan. For Viollet Le Duc, a *savage* people might possess arts in great perfection though at the same time was uncivilized and governed by imperfect laws.[86] Having the similar perspective, Sullivan reserved most of his time to the understanding of Saracenic art.[87]

Figure 3.8. Jones' representation of Celtic Art, *The Grammar of Ornament* (Jones, 1972, p. 99)

Sullivan decided that "the Greek knew the statics, the Goth the dynamics of the art, but that neither of them suspected the mobile equilibrium of it – neither of them

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[86] Eugene Viollet Le Duc, *Lectures on Architecture*, vol. 1, p. 9.
[87] "It is hardly an accident that Wright would be as attracted to pre-Columbian and Japanese civilizations, as Sullivan had been drawn in his own time to Saracenic culture," Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture*, p. 100.

divined the movement and stability of nature."[88] For him, despite the fact that "the Greek architecture was a noble art, wherefore it was called the classic, after all it was an apologetic art, for while possessing serenity it lacked the divinely human element of mobility,"[89] and on the other hand, "the Gothic architecture, sympathizing deeply with nature's visible forms, evolved a copious and rich variety of incidental expressions, but it lacked the absolute consciousness and mastery of pure form," and most important of all "it lacked the unitary comprehension."[90] His conclusion was that the unitary comprehension could not be attained by combining the Greek, which was the static, and the Gothic, which was the dynamic architecture. For, it would be an eclectic attempt. For Sullivan, the comprehension of "unity" was the indispensable aim to let the sun rise in the land of America.

The lotus flower, which attracted Sullivan, was a frequently used form in Saracenic ornament. Moreover, the "abstraction of nature" quality and its symbolizing the "unity," as in the example of Isfahan Great Mosque, acknowledged by Viollet Le Duc, [91] were particular features of the so-called *savage* ornament. It is not mistakable to say that Sullivan had an arousing sympathy for the art of primitive cultures since the beginning of his career. In *the Grammar*, Jones remarked J.O. Westwood's suggestion that Celtic art had its origin in the East, from which it may have been brought back by Irish missionaries (figure 3.8).[92] This connection of the Celtic art to Oriental art was a "fact that must have been extremely stimulating to Sullivan's imagination, given his Irish background."[93] In his *Autobiography*, Sullivan mentions a tale, which he was told by his father:

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[88] Louis Sullivan, "Emotional Architecture…," p. 24.
[89] Ibid., p. 23.
[90] Ibid.
[91] See page 33.
[92] Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, p. 95, 96.
[93] Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture…* , p. 97.

> The scion asked his father about this name Sullivan, so his father told him this tale: Long ago in Ireland, in the good fighting days, there were four tribes or clans of the O'Sullivans: The O'Sullivan-Moors, the O'Sullivan Macs, and two others. That *We* were descended from the O'Sullivan-Moors, and that all four tribes were descended from a Spanish marauder, who ravished the west Irish coast and settled there. His name it appears was O'Soulyevoyne or something like that, which, translated, meant, The Prince with One Eye.[94]

According to Sullivan's vision, O'Soulyevoyne was a *savage*, coming from the exotic lands to the native land. He sailed far from his own land and descended to another land, Ireland. Similar to that, Sullivan had in mind the analogy between O'Soulyevoyne's coming to Ireland and Sullivan's coming to America. For him, America was a new, unshaped and pure land. It needed to be shaped without damaging its purity. Neither the Gothic, nor the Greek forms could shape the new land. The Oriental forms could also not be a direct solution. He searched for the thought-built production: the "Poetic Architecture; that architecture which shall speak with clearness, with eloquence and with warmth of the fullness, the completeness of man's intercourse with nature."[95] For Sullivan to reach Poetic Architecture, the American man first had to make an "intercourse with nature" as did the primitive man and the child.

Possessing primitive ideas, the childhood was the germinal phase of a man during his life. Childhood times meant for Sullivan the man's untainted relation with the outdoor life and nature. He told in a detailed manner about his childhood and his relationship with nature in his *Autobiography*, in which his great teacher was nature. Rivers, lakes, valleys and forests surrounded the milieu of Sullivan. The small boy, Sullivan "was living almost wholly in the world of instinct" guided by the teachings of the nature.[96] One of the earliest illuminations of the child was the sight of a tree,

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[94] Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography…* , p. 36, 37.
[95] Louis Sullivan, "Emotional Architecture… ," p. 24.
[96] Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography…* , p. 62.

whose "image became the image of all structure for Sullivan."[97] "Marvel of marvels, the gigantic solitary ash tree and the most beautiful tree of all with its tall slender grace, its broad slim fronds, the elm tree" became Sullivan's "Great Friends."[98]

Sullivan continued; the child was born with capacities of art, but at the same time "fear" was congenital within his instinct.[99] Fear, because it was not eradicated, became the determinant emotion in the evolution of man in history. Religions, nourished from the emotion of fear, emerged and have continued throughout life. Sullivan, the child, untainted, filled with the joy of the nature, was confronted with the church, where he saw the minister:

> Why did the minister bow his head and at times turn sightless face upward toward the ceiling? Why did he speak in whining tones? Why was he now so familiar with God, and then so grovelling?…He seemed afraid of something. What could it be? What was there to be afraid of? Why so bitter, why so violently, why so cruel as to wish these people, whoever they were, to be burned, throughout all eternity in the flames of awful hell?… The child suffered. Nothing in this new world agreed with his own world. It was all upside down, all distorted, cruel and sugary. It was not like his beautiful springtime, it was not even like his beautiful winter. There was no laughter, no joy as he knew these things.[100]

For Sullivan, the child, in his development, was occasionally detached from his trees, Great Friends and thus the outdoor life. He was obligated to contact with the city through its institutions of religion and education. In the city, he was away from nature. The city was poisonous for a small boy with "its crooked, filthy streets lined with stupid houses crowded together shoulder to shoulder like selfish hogs upon these trough-like lanes."[101] Grew up, became a boy at the age of twelve, Sullivan, the schoolboy, was acquainted with books of history, in which there were the buildings

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[97] Hugh Dalziel Duncan, *Culture and Democracy*, (New York: The Bedminster Press, 1965), p. 483.
[98] Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography… *, p. 28, 29, 64, 65.
[99] Hugh Dalziel Duncan, *Culture and Democracy*, p. 471.
[100] Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography… *, p. 50, 51.
[101] Ibid., p. 98, 99.

of the past. First he looked at the books, then at the buildings on the streets. "His history book told him that certain buildings were to be revered, but the buildings themselves did not tell him so."[102]

Twelve chapters out of seventeen of *The Autobiography* were all about Sullivan's childhood. The "first" impressions and experiences of the child were Sullivan's major concern. Remarkably, the title was named as *The Autobiography of an "Idea."* The idea of Sullivan was born when "he" was born. But, during his growth, "he" was effected by the current conditions of America. Church, educational institutions, buildings on the street started to interfere in the development of the child. Years passed and the primitive being, little child grew up and became an architect. But things became worse. Among the suppressing mechanism of America and its comfortable supporters, Sullivan was an unconventional man. For him, he was the lonely supporter of the "idea," which was so suppressed by the other one, the feudal idea. He was the only witness to that the purity of thought was hidden in the acts of the primitive human being, the child.

For Sullivan, the man after his childhood times came on the decision of his life. At this point man would either betray to himself or find the right way. He believed when the average man was on the decision of his "choice," he chose the easiest one, the feudal idea. Daniel Burnham, a widely practicing architect of Chicago, was one of them, who already made his decision. For Sullivan, Burnham with his "tendencies toward bigness, organization, delegation, and intense commercialism," seemed

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[102] Ibid., p. 117.

rather a businessman than an artist.[103] For Sullivan, Burnham knew the world and its rules. His lexicon of architecture was composed of trading, business and money. Sullivan believed that Burnham's vision excluded criticism, thinking and radical work. The philosophy, "intercourse of man with nature" could only be the interest of a "credulous man"[104] as Sullivan.

The "credulous" Sullivan was "enamored of the sciences, particularly those dealing with forms of life and the aspects of life's urging, called functions."[105] For Sullivan, form whenever and wherever followed function in nature. Also the same rule was valid for the life of the primitive man, since the primitive man was taught by nature. The primitive man and nature was one, and integral. However, the contemporary man was not any more. Feudal man set up institutions of education, to teach the young man how to destroy, to suppress the functions and to separate him from nature. Sullivan saw himself as the savior of the young man. He developed a series of stories, called *Kindergarten Chats*. There, he aimed to demonstrate the young graduate of architecture that the nature, in which always "form followed function," was the only teacher.

During the weekly emergence of *Chats*, Sullivan criticized that the conventional educational system so often meant "suppression; that instead of leading the mind

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[103] For Sullivan there were two prominent firms in Chicago, "There came in to prominence in the architectural world of Chicago two firms, Burnham & Root, and Adler & Sullivan. In each firm was a man with a fixed irrevocable purpose in life, for the sake of which he would bend or sacrifice all else. Daniel Burnham was obsessed by the feudal idea of power. Louis Sullivan was equally obsessed by the beneficent idea of Democratic power. Daniel chose the easier way, Louis the harder," Ibid., p. 288, 314.

[104] "Louis was absurdly, grotesquely credulous. How could it be otherwise with him? He believed that most of the people were honest and intelligent. How could he suspect the eminent?" Ibid., p. 289.

[105] Ibid., p. 290.

outward to the light of day it crowds things in upon it that darken and weary it."[106] In 1900, only one year before the *Chats*, Sullivan addressed the young man in architecture that, because they could not be truly educated in the schools, the young architects had to educate themselves.[107] But, how would the young architect educate himself? The way of self-education was step by step told to the young man by Sullivan.

> The architectural elements, in their baldest form, the desire of the heart in its most primitive, animal form, are the foundation of architecture. Try to read it. If you find this for the moment too difficult and obscure, try to study a plant as it grows from its tiny seed and expands toward its full fruition. Some day, watch the sun as he rises, courses through the sky, and sets. Some year, observe how rhythmically the seasons follow the sun. Note their unfailing, spontaneous logic; their exquisite analyses and synthesis- their vital, inevitable balance. Whenever you have done these things attentively, there will come to your intelligence a luminous idea of a resultant organic complexity, which together, will constitute the first significant step in your architectural education, because they are the basis of rhythm. A little later you will become aware with amazement that this same impulse is working on your minds. This will be the second step in your architectural education. Later you will perceive that there is a notable similarity, an increasing sympathy between the practical workings of your own minds and the workings of nature. When this perception shall have grown into a definite, clear-cut consciousness, it will constitute the closing of the first chapter and the opening of all the remaining chapters in your architectural education, for you will have arrived at the basis of organized thinking.[108]

Sullivan's proclamation to young man was that in all beings in nature, and thus in the capacities of man, there was the basis of a rhythm. Endless interrelations of forms and functions in nature constituted this rhythm. If man was the part of the nature, so had to be his thoughts and acts in conformity with this rhythm. The acts, in other words the buildings of the primitive man were inseparable from nature. Why would then the buildings of the contemporary man be separable from nature?

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[106] Louis Sullivan, "Emotional Architecture… ," p. 11.
[107] Louis Sullivan, "The Young Man in Architecture," *The Testament of Stone*, p. 41.
[108] Ibid., p. 34, 35.

Frank Furness, whom Sullivan worked for as an apprentice, was one of the most influenced architects in America from the thoughts of Viollet Le Duc.[109] Both Viollet Le Duc and Furness believed that "a building should proclaim its use."[110] This statement at first glance was like the synonym of Sullivan's motto, "form follows function". However, Furness' words were inadequate when we consider the meaning of form and function in the philosophy of Sullivan. For Sullivan, a building could "proclaim its use" by only at the same time "proclaiming that it was organic." Buildings were parts of nature, since men, as their architects were the parts of nature. Buildings were not inanimate things. They were living creations, which were springing from their native land, and thus from the people of this native land. For Sullivan, the outward appearance of "a building," and of "any form in nature," resemble inner purposes:

> For instances: the form, oak tree, resembles and expresses the purpose or function, oak; the form, pine tree, resembles and indicates the function, pine;…the form, cloud, speaks to us of the function, cloud… And, so does the form, man, stand for the function, man; the form John Doe, means the function, John Doe;…. are not function and form moving in their rhythm?…I speak, you listen-Jon Doe lived… He lived and he died…But John Doe lived the life of John Doe, not of John Smith: that was his function and such were his forms. And so the form, Roman architecture, means, if it means anything at all, the function Roman; the form American architecture, will mean, if it ever succeeds in meaning anything, American life; the form, John Doe architecture, should there be such an architecture, must mean nothing, if it means not John Doe.[111]

According to Sullivan, when the forms of Roman architecture took place in American architecture, there occurred a queer situation. If a pine tree always indicated the function of pine in nature, then there was no difference between a house in the land of America that took the form of a Roman temple and "a pine tree that took the form of a rattlesnake."[112] In other words, there was not any difference

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[109] See page 37.
[110] Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan As He Lived*, p. 200.
[111] Louis Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats*, quoted in Maurice English, p. 92, 93.
[112] Louis Sullivan, "The Young Man in Architecture," p. 38.

between the John Doe architecture in the form of John Smith architecture and "Tarantulas" in the form of "potatoes."[113]

For Sullivan, the young man, who was never given the chance of learning from nature, could hardly differentiate Tarantulas from potatoes. When he decided to become an architect, the young potential was first directed to take and complete higher education. In his education, he became too dependent on the books. Being under the influence of a "bookish" history, he was graduated as a "bookish" architect in the end. Written about the same time as the *Chats* in Chicago, the work of another Chicagoan radical, Torstein Veblen's *The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Businessmen* was a proclamation of that "higher education was anti-democratic- a commonplace charge in Chicago."[114] The educational institutions, under control by the businessmen, were under the attack of both Sullivan and Veblen. Veblen argues that "businessmen think of society as a structure, based on status, whose pervading norm in the predatory community's scheme of life is the relation of superior and inferior, noble and base, dominant and subservient, persons and classes, master and slave."[115] The division of man into categories and classifications was against the "oneness" and "unity" of a society. Unity was the only way that would lead the people of America to "democracy." How could an already dead style of the past be the reflection of an organic being, a people? The organic, living building was the reflection of the people. However, businessmen were dominating the architecture by their "illegitimate commerce with the mongrel styles of the past."[116] For Sullivan, eclectic architecture

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[113] Ibid.
[114] Hugh Dalziel Duncan, *Culture and Democracy*, p. 212-214.
[115] Torstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: an Economic Study of Institutions*, (New York: The Modern Library, 1934), quoted in Hugh Dalziel Duncan, *Culture and Democracy*, p. 215, see also for brief information on the thoughts of Veblen, Bernard Rosenberg, *Thornstein Veblen*, (New York: Thomas Crownwell Company, 1963).
[116] Louis Sullivan, "The Young Man in Architecture," p. 39.

with forms of Gothic, Roman, Greek etc. was the favorite of the "feudal idea." Whether being commercial, religious or educational, buildings became the reflections of this "feudal idea."

3.2.1. World's Columbian Exposition

When Sullivan was at his age of thirty-seven, in 1893, Sullivan's "idea" had the greatest disappointment. For him, the American nation and the Chicagoans had missed the greatest chance. The man of America had never been so close to the attainment of the *great style*, that would constitute the poetic architecture until that time. However, according to Sullivan, the World's Columbian Exposition first seemed to be a little cloud, but "following the white cloud was a dark dim cloud more like a fog," which was going to "last for half a century, from its date."[117] Undoubtedly, the Exposition was the turning point in the history of American architecture.

The periphery of the centre of the Fair was covered haphazardly by smaller scale buildings representing different countries and cultures of the world. On the other hand, the main exhibition buildings, in which the materials of science and arts were exhibited, were situated near the lake Michigan. These large buildings were integrated with artificial lagoons, canals and basins (figure 3.9).

The exhibition was under the supervision of Daniel Burnham, the "feudal tradesman of architecture" in the words of Sullivan. Burnham's partner was John Root at that time. Unlike Burnham, John Root gained Sullivan's confidence for his talent as well

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[117] Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography…* , p. 314, 325.

as for his unusual thoughts.[118] Burnham and Root were commissioned to direct the architectural program, but John Root's sudden death meant that the program would be under the control of Burnham. Burnham planned that the major buildings of the Fair would be designed by the Eastern American architects.[119] Richard Morris Hunt and Charles Follen McKim were commissioned to design the Administration and the Agricultural Buildings, which were in the Neoclassicist taste. In addition, the Manufactures Building, designed by George Post, and the Palace of Fine Arts, designed by Charles Atwood were also in Classical and Renaissance styles (figures 3.10, 3.11, 3.12).[120] All these buildings were white in color, and so the main part of the Fair, where these Neoclassicist edifices and artificial lakes and ponds were positioned around them, was called as the White City. For Sullivan "most Americans were cowards about color" and so were the architects of the White City.[121] The white cloud coming from the East with it brought also the feudal idea, and according to Sullivan the white cloud and its idea were not transient. The White City was a virus, which "began to show unmistakable signs of the nature of the contagion," and later "there came a violent outbreak of the Classic and the Renaissance in the East, which slowly spread westward, contaminating all that it touched, both at its source and outward."[122]

The terminator of Sullivan's *Autobiography*, was the White City of the Fair. But, could the White City be also the terminator of the *Idea*? Would not after every problem come its solution? The "idea of Democracy," against the "feudal idea" was the solution for Sullivan. According to the historical analysis of Hugo, after every

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[118] "Louis missed him sadly. Who now would take up the foils he had dropped on his way, from hands that were once so strong?" Ibid., p. 320.
[119] Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient… ,* p. 81.
[120] Stanley Appelbaum, *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1980), p. 7-14.
[121] Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan As He Lived*, p. 154.
[122] Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography… ,* p. 324.

anti-democratic system there always came the democracy. The discourse of Sullivan both had the pessimism and the hope together. The bitter lessons of the White City meant for Sullivan the start of the great cultural debris. However he did not leave his hope and struggled to search for his "idea."
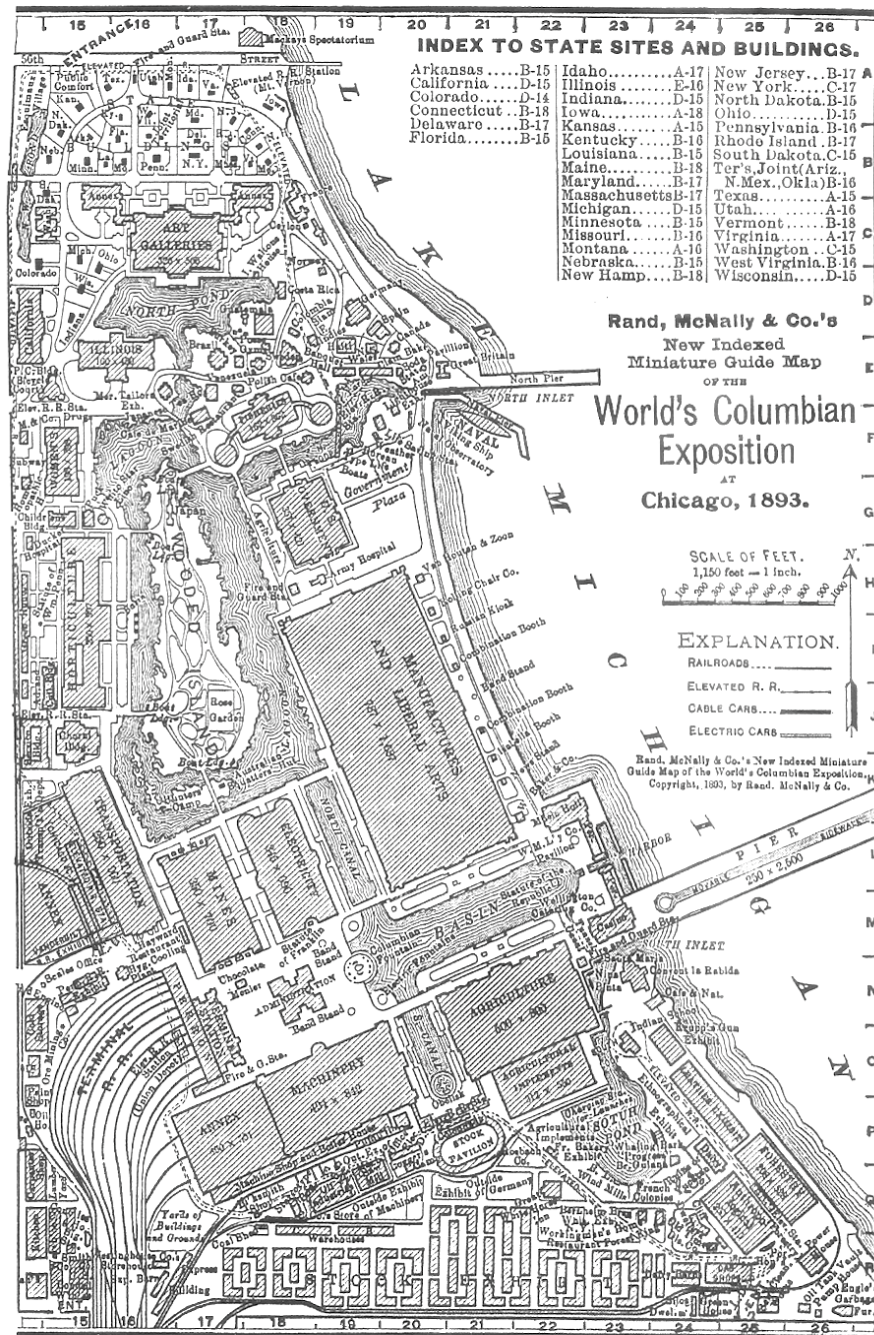
Figure 3.9. Map of World's Fair Exposition Chicago, 1893 (Appelbaum, 1980)

Figure 3.10. The west-end of the basin, Administration Building on the left and Manufactures Building on the right (Appelbaum, 1980, p. 12)

Figure 3.11. General view of the South Canal, Agricultural Building on the left (Appelbaum, 1980, p. 10)

Figure 3.12. Atwood's Palace of Fine Arts (Appelbaum, 1980, p. 9)

3.3. Sullivan's Search for the "Integral Man"

The story of "man," since the most primitive times until the present, constituted Sullivan's concentration. In this respect, Sullivan started his man-search by questioning what made the earlier man, create:

> What underlies man's desire to create? His idea was to do something, for his immediate use; to satisfy his immediate physical wants. And this germinal notion still survives, in its simplicity, through all the complexities of ensuring civilizations, up to the present day of our calendar… In man's emotional nature lay a germ, an unshaped idea…This germ was the inarticulate beginning of the desire to express himself wholly.[123]

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[123] Louis Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats*, quoted in Maurice English, p. 99.

Sullivan's philosophy was based on primitivism. In the creations of the first man, as in nature, form followed function. He did things "for his immediate use, to satisfy his immediate physical wants." This rule was present not only in the earlier man, but also in the contemporary man. For Sullivan, as for Viollet Le Duc, art was an instinctive desire. This instinctive craving was the source of the "creative impulse" of the man. In the contemporary world, this impulse was within the germ, which was "unshaped," unsophisticated, in its most simple form, waiting for its revelation. Sullivan believed that the early man thought and acted via nothing but his instinct.

> Why did man wish to create? Was it not that he felt lonely? That he desired emotional, psychic companionship? How did early man solve this unique problem which would prostrate a modern mind if it were suddenly new? Still guided emotionally by instinct, he sought the solution by instinct, and found it precisely where it was within himself. He did not formulate laws on the subject; he simply acted out his instinct. He infused his bare work with the quality of his emotions and thus found in them the companionship he yearned for – because they were of himself. His growing intellect might have gone on satisfying his physical needs and amplifying their expression. Instinct alone, in inspiring the work of his hand and his intellect, could satisfy the craving of his hearth, the hunger of his soul.[124]

Sullivan thought that the instinct of a man was composed of the interrelation of two notions, emotion and intellect. In history, Sullivan saw that when one of these notions dominated the other, the "unity" could not be achieved.[125] Then, which one the Americans possessed more of these two notions? Could the Americans achieve to reveal the instinctive craving present inside?

> There exists in us the same power (as that of the early man) to make something, the same vague, instinctive yearning for emotional and psychic companionship, the same inarticulate desire to image ourselves forth. But intellect has long held repressive sway, while Instinct had been biding its time. We have been practical so long that what we have imaged forth is relatively monstrous, and by the sane standards unreal,

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[124] Ibid.
[125] Sullivan's instance was that in the Greek art was intellectual and the Gothic, the emotional, see page 46.

untrue to man's oneness: true only to his dualism. Modern man is a traitor to himself in suppressing one-half of himself.[126]

Sullivan' colleague, Edelman believed that "function" was "suppressed" in the modern society.[127] On the other hand, for Sullivan "a fibrous super-husk of intellectual misconceptions"[128] covered the germ, in which the "integral" man was residing. In other words the integral man was "suppressed" by the super-husk around it. The "suppression of function" was the synonym of the "suppression of the integral man" and Sullivan's motto "form follows function" was the same as the "form follows integral man."

Thoughts of Sullivan intersected in one term: the "integral man." Deciphering the integral man might mean a complete understanding of Sullivan's unity and Democracy, and thus his philosophy.

Sullivan's search for the integral man was perhaps nowhere as exhaustive as in *Democracy: A Man-Search*. Finished *Chats*, Sullivan had in his mind an organic nature that functioned through balanced and recurring seasonal rhythms, ceaselessly unfolding, growing and dying.[129] Nature was a "fluent conception of continuity."[130] Sullivan then studied man in his relation to both history and society. In *Democracy*, Sullivan's exploration of the reality of democratic man received its fullest expression.[131] Elaine Hedges states that the style and tone of Sullivan in *Democracy*

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[126] Louis Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats*, quoted in Maurice English, p. 100.
[127] Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan As He lived*, p. 90.
[128] Louis Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats*, quoted in Maurice English, p. 101.
[129] Elaine Hedges, "Introduction," Louis Sullivan, *Democracy: A Man-Search* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961), p. xi.
[130] Louis Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings*, (New York: Dower Publications Inc, 1979), p. 153.
[131] Elaine Hedges, "Introduction," p. x, xi.

"seem clearly indebted to his reading in Nietzsche."[132] Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* was one of the books that Sullivan had in his archive, in which also were the books on Japan and Japanese art, rugs from the Middle East as well as rare bric-a-brac images and figurines from the Far East.[133] It is well known that Nietzsche's philosophy had Asiatic references.[134] In this regard, *Democracy* could be regarded as a criticism of the Western world and civilization as well as an effort to search for the "uncivilized", the "unsophisticated" and the "primal."

Sullivan believed that man has not sought man as in his way before. He asked in *Democracy* that if anyone had ever thought the meaning of word, Democracy and if man had "sought to remove the husks that surround Democracy and get to the kernel." It was Sullivan who had "caught a glimpse of its spiritual meaning."[135] The time was so close. Man could open the door, set in a wall, but who were sitting beside the door? There was a "specter," a man made barrier to prevent Sullivan's entrance. The specter said repeatedly. "What is the use?" "Return whence you came." "You are not the first." "Millions came, but all have failed."[136] There were two choices, in other words, two ways. One was to insist, to strive to open the door, and the other was to obey the rule of the phantom. "Which way? For thou art the man! Which way?"[137]

There was not one door in Sullivan's search. After passing each door and thus the phantom by each door, there came the other. Phantoms were the priest, the philosopher, the ruler, the businessman, and etc. Phantoms were ubiquitous in both

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[132] Ibid., p. xiv.
[133] Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan As He Lived*, p. 152, 153.
[134] For the exotic impressions and references of Nietzsche see *Nietzsche and Asian Thought*, ed. Graham Parkes, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
[135] "Well, I have caught a glimpse of its spiritual meaning; and that is my chief reason for arranging these marks on paper," Louis Sullivan, *Democracy A Man-Search*, p. 37.
[136] Ibid., p. 12, 14.
[137] Ibid., p. 20.

history and modern times. The philosopher and the priest made the man think that he was highly complex in his physical structure, processes, thoughts, emotions, regrets and etc. Endless bulks and details were worshipped when words were uttered by phantoms. Two of these, religion and education were the webs surrounding the germ outside, forming up the cocoon. Sometimes, two of them together were twisted into a powerful strand and used to rope the man off and apart with.[138]

For Sullivan the phantoms of present were the same as those of the past. The priest had ever worked as a businessman. They were the feudal lords of not only history but also the modern world. Feudalism, the chosen way by the phantoms, had ever been the potent expression of man's illusion of dualism. In it were "involved the coupled and dual notions of Master and Man, of Rich and Poor, of Good people and Bad people, of good God and bad Devil."[139] When one of these divided men, the poor had ever demanded from the priest by saying "Let not the Good God get away, O, holy father," priest the specter, had ever answered: "I will not let him get away if you are faithful children! Give me pennies!" The poor would be secured if he did not ever hesitate to give pennies to the Church.[140] Like the priest of the past, businessman of present was an obstacle in the man-search. Like in *Chats*, composed of the dialogues of Sullivan and a young graduate of architecture, in the *Man-Search* also there were dialogues, but this time the dialogues were with the phantoms and the integral man. In the heart of the businessman was ever a familiar disturber:

- *Listen to me!*
- Silence, I want my way!
- *Which way?*
- Business is business. That is my way.
- *Knowest thou?*
- Yes I know Man, what of it?

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[138] Ibid., p. 36, 58.
[139] Ibid., p. 154.
[140] Ibid., p. 118, 119.

- *Knowest thou?*
- Cease! That is not business.
- *Dost thou remember?*
- Hush!! Thou knowest that I know! Away! My will is fixed – I shall prevail. I must!
- *Why dost you betray?*
- Lest you betray.
- *Speak! Am I not thyself?*
- No, No!- Yes, my weaker self.
- *Hearest thou me: Am I not truth?*
- Yes!! – No! I hear: when it is still. You persist, ah Dreamer of dreams; you are no solid part of me, but a stranger, an intruder. How did you come to unlock the door? This is no place for you and me. You are not of the world.
- *Listen – now! Where goest thou this day?*
- To business.
- *To kill?*
- No! to acquire.
- *To acquire what?*
- Power.
- *Power to do what?*
- Power over men.
- *Why power over man?*
- They wish it.
- *Have you put that question to them?*
- No need: I know.
- *Do you know what is best for yourself?*
- Fool!
- *Will you put that question to them?*
- Imbecile!
- *I am thy hearth!*
- Maniac, you have crept into my hearth, to ransack it.
- *Hear me, I am thy heart!*
- Then it is good I have a brain.
- *Listen: I know thy brain. Thy brain knows me. It sees but cannot feel. It hears but cannot feel. It builds and destroys but does not feel. It knows me, yet it cannot feel without me. It is thou who kepest us apart. Thou keepest thyself apart from me.*
- So much the better: I have a brain.
- *Again! Knowest thou me? Knowest thou me?*
- Enough! You are torment, my disturber. Would that I was rid. And yet no: no: I would not be rid of you –not wholly rid.
- *Why? – Why?*
- Because of the dark.
- *Thou speakest in a darkness! Even though thou knowest me not, yet am I Creator, Preserver; I am life, I am thy hearth! I am Disturber, Aspirer. I am Truth. I murmur to thy brain the while thou sleepest, the while it sleeps. I will awaken it. It will awaken thee: Then, will thou know and call me Friend.*[141]

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[141] Ibid., p. 239-242.

Sullivan saw the businessman, priest, philosopher, teacher and etc. in the society as "unreal." They constituted the veil that covered the integral man. Sometimes, the "voice" coming from the "hearth" disturbed the veil of phantoms. The modern man lacked the integrity of the heart and the brain inside. Since the "birth of the conscious intellect of the brain, man's troubles began." It was the "conscious intellect of the brain that frightened him." The presence of the intellect activated his "fears and betrayals." Cheating and betrayal became man's shields to hide behind. The betraying man in Sullivan's words was the man of "hypocrisy" and with this hypocrisy, the Western man made "civilizations."[142]

Sullivan severely criticized the Western civilization. For the typical Western critic of the nineteenth century, the opposite of modern Western civilization was the Orient, as the uncivilized. However, "questioning" was with Sullivan. His questions involved the following: Did the man always fail to find himself throughout history? Was anyone in the world that was not hypocritical? For a seeker, having already decided the Western civilization was hypocritical, it was unavoidable look at the other parts of the world.

> It is true that once upon a time a man said: Man's salvation lies within himself alone: - He needs neither God nor priest. That another man said: The Kingdom of God is within you. But these statements were both, oriental; thus for Westerns, they could contain little if any suggestion of practical interest. They belonged rather in the domain of poetic fantasy; that is to say, from our point of view, unreality; and the sayers –visionaries.[143]

Continuing his questioning, Sullivan asked: How did the Westerner, for whom the oriental thought was fantastic and impractical, look to "man?" What was the characteristic of the Western mind?

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[142] Ibid., p. 5, 6.
[143] Ibid., p. 59.

> The Western mind formulates, lays down laws, rules and regulations. It subdivides, systematizes, organizes, dissects, analyses, synthesizes…It looks upon men in the same way. It loves force because force is something it can understand; it loves matter, material objects, because it understands them…It loves to build up, and tear down, and build up again; it loves to destroy. It lives on excitement, on feverishness. It is always approaching exhaustion, and insanity…The Western intellect is a thimble rigger, a truculent cheat, a charlatan…The Westerner is a madman. What he calls his reason is a blight-disease. What he calls his civilization is intricate cruelty, and an elaborate denial of man. the Westerner is a huge giant with the beak of an eagle. He is predatory from tip to tip. He lives upon prey; and if there be not living prey –carrion will do.[144]

These thoughts indicate the fact that Sullivan's philosophy reflects an outsider's point of view. Besides, the exoticism in Sullivan's discourse is discerned more overtly in his effort to put himself to a "wanderer," who came to America from a foreigner country. After his return to his native land, he begins to tell:

> I have returned at last, my friends, from a long sojourn in a strange, far-off country, where, singular thought it may seen, men think and act in a closed circle of inversions, and falsify in unanimity. … This land is known to you, no doubt, under its politico-geographical name: The United States of America. …When I went abroad in the land, I early noted its fair face, but as quickly observed that its cities, of which there are many, were blemishes thereon. …I soon began to surmise that these people were, in fact, leading double lives. … Then I noted the buildings, which lined the streets- and found them just like the faces. And concerning the buildings, likewise, no one made any comment; no one sought to interpret them, no one suggested or sought an underlying explanation common to buildings and faces. … That, in stale fact, their philosophies and economic doctrines had been taken by them from the European civilization and culture, and were and are therefore, in their very nature, a monarchical and feudal dead weight upon a naturally free people. … That was enough! With a feudal philosophy, a feudal doctrine of economics, and a feudal religion as guides, the rest of the way was clear. …Meanwhile, my friends, I fear I have fatigued you with this long tale.[145]

Sullivan, the wanderer had observed that America had chosen Feudalism, the easy way, which had ever been the urge of the phantasmal fear, nurtured on dualities. Then, what could be the solution to get rid of Feudalism? Searching for the answer,

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[144] Ibid., p. 59, 60, 61.
[145] Ibid., p. 82-93.

Sullivan tried to recapture the feelings of primitive man.[146] His effort was to leave all the complexities, brought by civilization. Not only did he look to the indigenous, who was the uncivilized, and the child, who was the unsophisticated but also, looked to the primitive Christians and Muslims. He discussed how religions in their primitive form could be democratic.

> The primitive Christians had been slowly forming into religious groups within secular communities. Their life was large exemplary, simple and upright… then the simplicity gradually became complex; it soon fell under the spell of the existing feudal program. … From the time of its Roman incorporation, the Church became distinctly and definitely a business institution. … About this time a new and strange power had arisen in the East. … Mahommed's conception of one God was simpler and purer than that of the prevailing Christian doctrine; his rules of conduct terser and more practical. His earlier administration policy tended to establish a novel sort of democracy; -a small solidarity of men who cohered, with enthusiasm, in the idea of a single impartial God for all, thus rendering all equal.[147]

It may seem to anyone that Sullivan's discourse had an anarcho-socialist character, which was against religious, educational and economical systems in the civilization. However, it should be made clearer that he was aware that these notions were ever present in history. For him, what man disregarded throughout history until modern times was the primitive instinct, which was the definition of art. In other words, man in his development had everything, but the art. He set up a civilization and society, lacking art. Sullivan's sympathy towards the primitive ideas and culture was because of his desire for starting from scratch. He wanted that the "man" could start from scratch and form up a new civilization by adding the "lacking notion, the art." Sullivan was an "artist," who tried to integrate art into society. For Sullivan, Democracy was "the ancient primordial urge within man of integrity or oneness."[148] The integrity and oneness was present not only within man but also in the universe. There was no dualism in the Cosmos. Nature was integral. The Cosmos was

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[146] Elaine Hedges, "Introduction," Louis Sullivan, *Democracy… ,* p. xv.
[147] Ibid., p. 190, 197, 200, 201.
[148] Louis Sullivan, *Democracy… ,* p. 151.

integral. The universal spirit was integral. Hence was man, himself integral.[149] Was there still an obscurity on where the integral man was? The final strike would make it clearer. The Cosmos and all therein might be expressed by the word Ego:

> The ancient Jews questioned their God, Yahveh, asking who art thou?
> And he said: I am.
> And because this was the first and the last word that god could say of himself, so is it the first and the last word that man can say of himself.
> And man cannot logically say Ego without including All-Ego.
> Nor can he speak of an All-Ego without including himself.
> Ego is therefore the I AM of all things.[150]

The integral man was the man himself. The question of where the integral man was answered. It was in "I am," the Ego. To do, to construct, to build, to put forth and so on were the series of a man's powers. These powers were the full expression of Ego. Art was the expression of Ego. Therefore, architecture was the expression of Ego, which covers all powers in the motto of the integral man, "I am." Now, the phantoms by the doors would vanish. The function was no more going to be suppressed. The form would be the expression of function.

> The dawn is breaking.
> NOW BEGIN![151]

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[149] Ibid., p. 154.
[150] Ibid., p. 385.
[151] Ibid., p. 388.

CHAPTER 4

WORKS OF LOUIS SULLIVAN AND THEIR LEGACY

> …the architect who combines in his being the powers of vision, of imagination, of intellect, of sympathy with human need and the power to interpret them in a language vernacular and true –is he who shall create poems in stone…[152]

The idea of "Poetic Architecture" had never left Sullivan's mind until the end of his life. He thought that to create poems in architecture was possible only by the use of man's powers in the right way, the way of Democracy. In one of Sullivan's last written works, *A System of Architectural Ornament According with a Philosophy of Man's Powers,* he stated that powers, "the sub-activities or the phases of Ego," were so varied and their actions and inter-reactions were so hidden to the prejudiced eye that it was believed they were not related to each other. The integrity of them was quite often ignored. But, for Sullivan all these powers commonly radiated from a definite spiritual centre. The germ was the seat of identity and thus of the powers (figure 4.1).[153]

THE GERM: THE SEAT OF POWER

Figure 4.1. Sullivan's drawing of two cotyledons efflorescing from the germ (Sullivan, 1967)

Sullivan saw architectural ornament as one of the fields that man could show his powers. The integral powers of man, efflorescing from the germ, had the ability of

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[152] Louis Sullivan "Concerning the Imperial Hotel," in Frank Lloyd Wright, *Genius and the Mobocracy*, (New York: Horizon Press, 1971), p. 242.

[153] Louis Sullivan, *A System of Architectural Ornament, According with a Philosophy of Man's Powers*, (New York: The Eakins Press, 1967).

the transformation of inorganic forms into organic ones. The rigidity of forms could be turned into a mobile medium under the hand of the architect. The *System of Architectural Ornament* with its plates was unique in Sullivan's demonstration of the evolution of organic forms deriving from the inorganic. First Sullivan had taken the naked form of a square and started to apply his idea of the "movement into the organic." The development began; however, the rigid frame was still mechanical in form (figure 4.2). That the square could not reach the desired plastic phase made Sullivan consider other forms already present in nature. Like Jones, Sullivan worked on the leaf forms in nature. He saw that in nature there had ever been the manipulation of forms. There was an endless "continuity" in the changing of leaf forms. The rule was simple. The process was starting from the tiny, simple, pure seed, which was the germ of the beginning. The two cotyledons (figure 4.1) were the indicators of the movement. Once the mobility started, the development became continuous until the flower reached its full fruition. Then the conclusion was again the seat of identity, the seed - germ. This never-ending loop in nature was also the same for human beings. All organic things in Cosmos were one and integral. Different from the hypothetical work, *The Grammar*, in *System of Architectural Ornament*, the man with his powers participated in the "continuity." Sullivan, as the "man," interpreted this continuity with his integral powers (figure 4.3).

From now on, even the most rigid forms could be mobile. They could also manipulate as those in nature. The ancient discoveries: forms of circle, triangle, square, pentagon, hexagon and etc. had one thing in common, the "lines of energy." The mechanical forms changed into plastic ones via the organic developments around the energy lines (figure 4.4). For Sullivan, a new faith was advanced. His method was "a series of morphological and geometrical transformations" in which

the simple seed germ was "exfoliated into ever more complex organic forms structured about traditional Platonic armatures."[154]

Figure 4.2. *Plate 1* of *A System of Architectural Ornament* (Sullivan, 1967)

Figure 4.3. *Plate 2* of *A System of Architectural Ornament* (Sullivan, 1967)

Figure 4.4. *Plate 3* of *A System of Architectural Ornament* (Sullivan, 1967)

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[154] Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture…* , p. 99.

THE AWAKENING OF THE PENTAGON
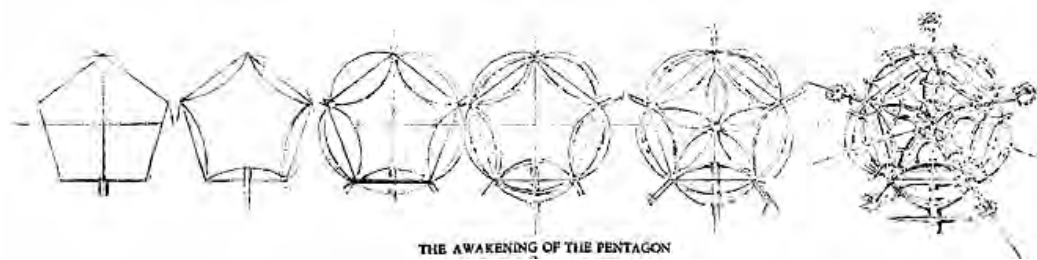
Figure 4.5. The awakening of pentagon, *Plate 4, A System of Architectural Ornament* (Sullivan, 1967)

If the plant organism derived its impulse from the seed germ, the container of energy, an organic ornament could also be derived from a typical form of pentagon, having the energy already present in it. In its growth, there might "develop sub-centers of further growth" but crucially the developments were decided by "man's free choice, intelligence and skill." Then the conclusion was the already vanished rigidity and the emergence of the mobile medium (figure 4.5) and according to John Sweetman, the result, the activation of the pentagon by "vital impulses" was a treatment similar to the Oriental way of ornamentation (figure 4.6).[155]
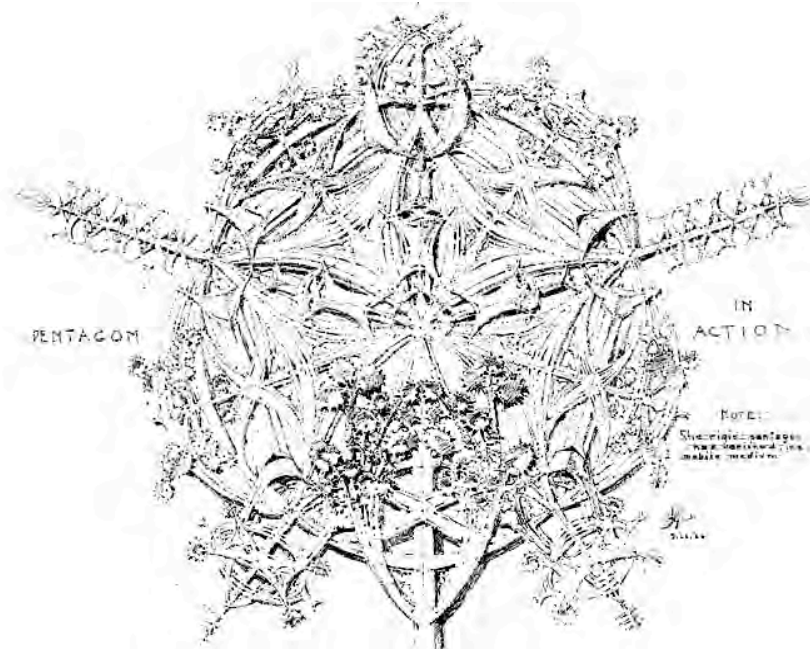
Figure 4.6. Pentagon in action, *Plate 4, A System of Architectural Ornament* (Sullivan, 1967)

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[155] John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession…* , p. 240.
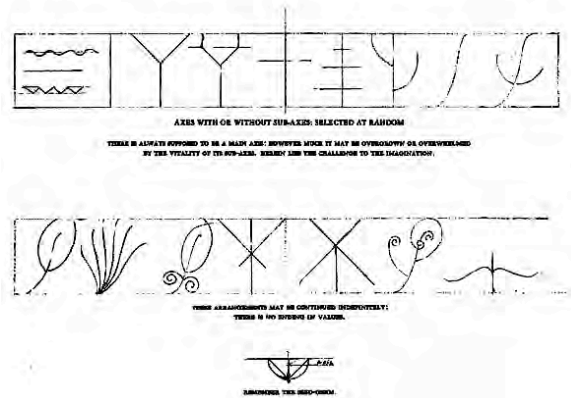
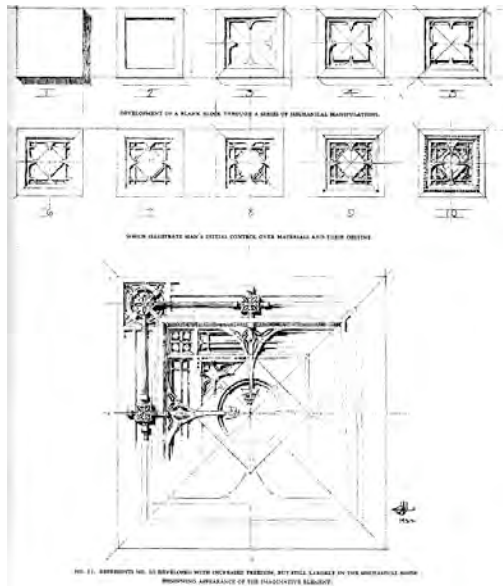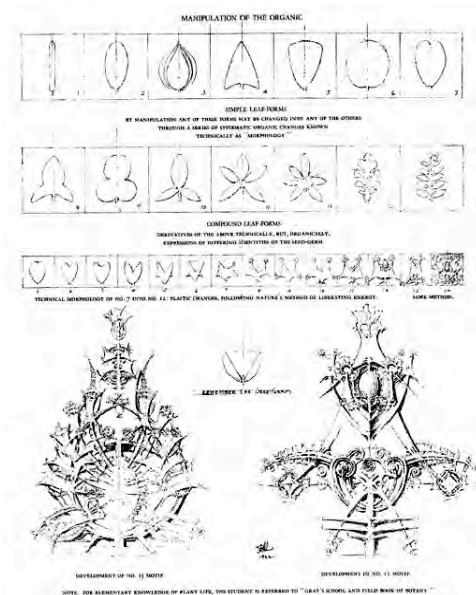Figure 4.7. *Plate 5, A System of Architectural Ornament* (Sullivan, 1967)
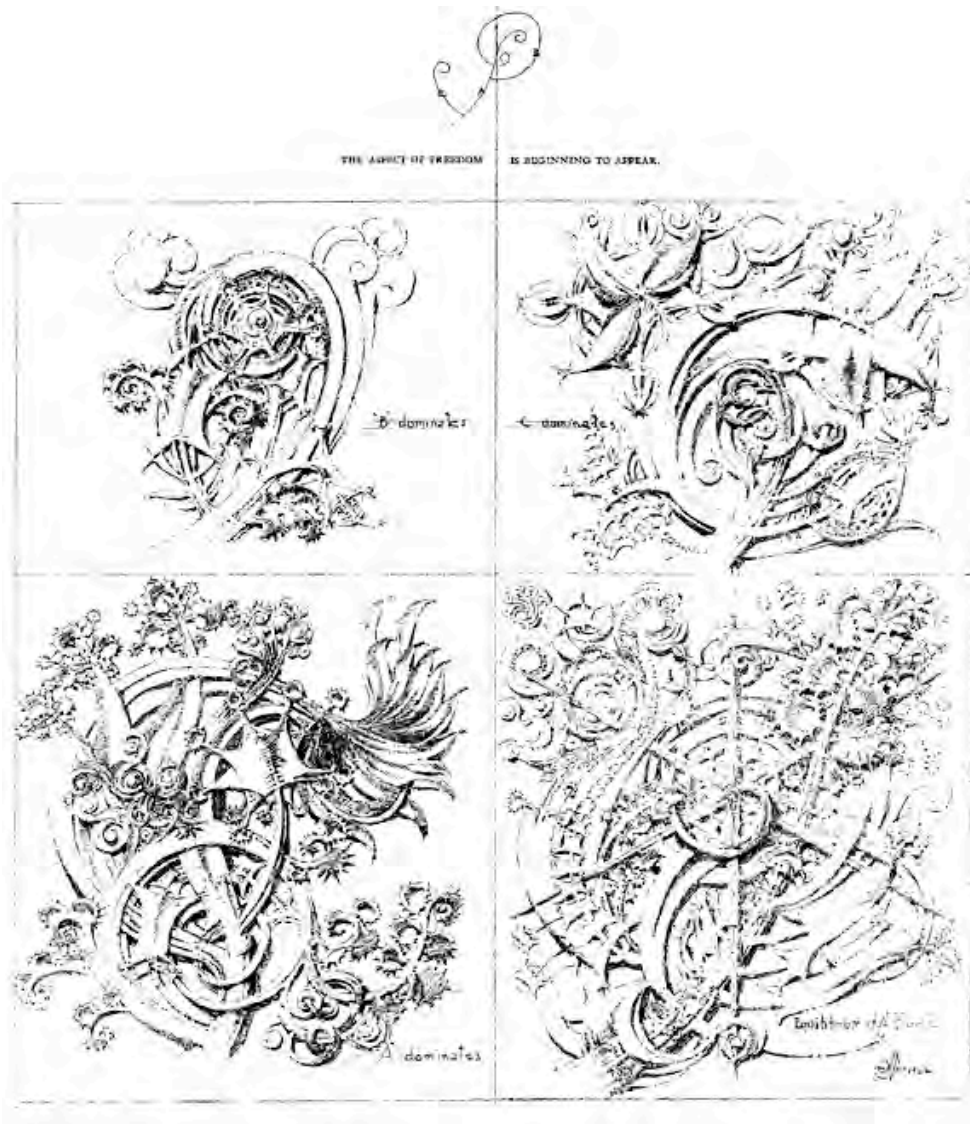
Figure 4.8. *Plate 6, A System of Architectural Ornament* (Sullivan, 1967)

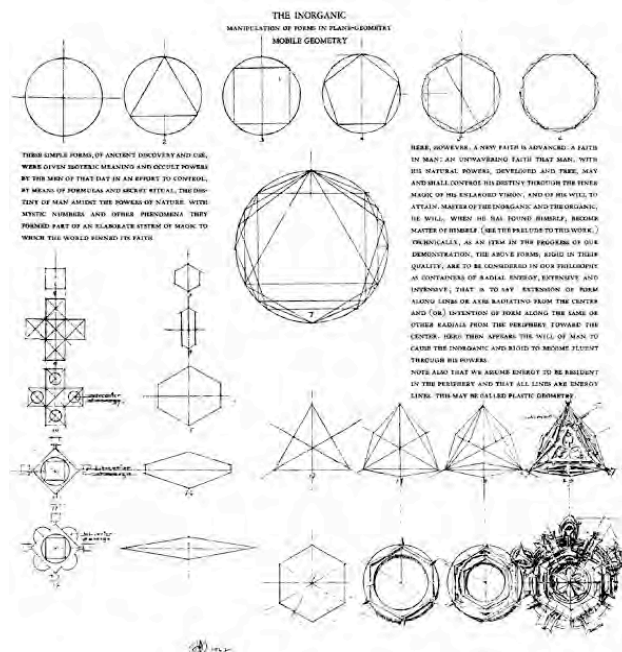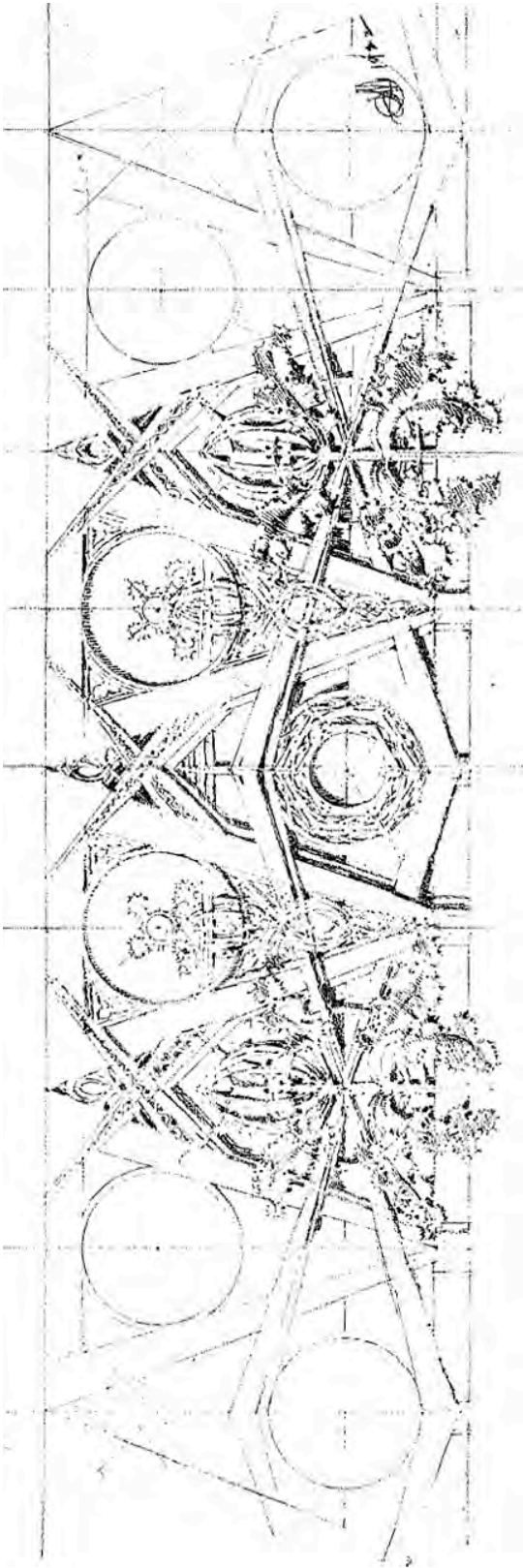Figure 4.9. *Plate 7*, *A System of Architectural Ornament* (Sullivan, 1967)
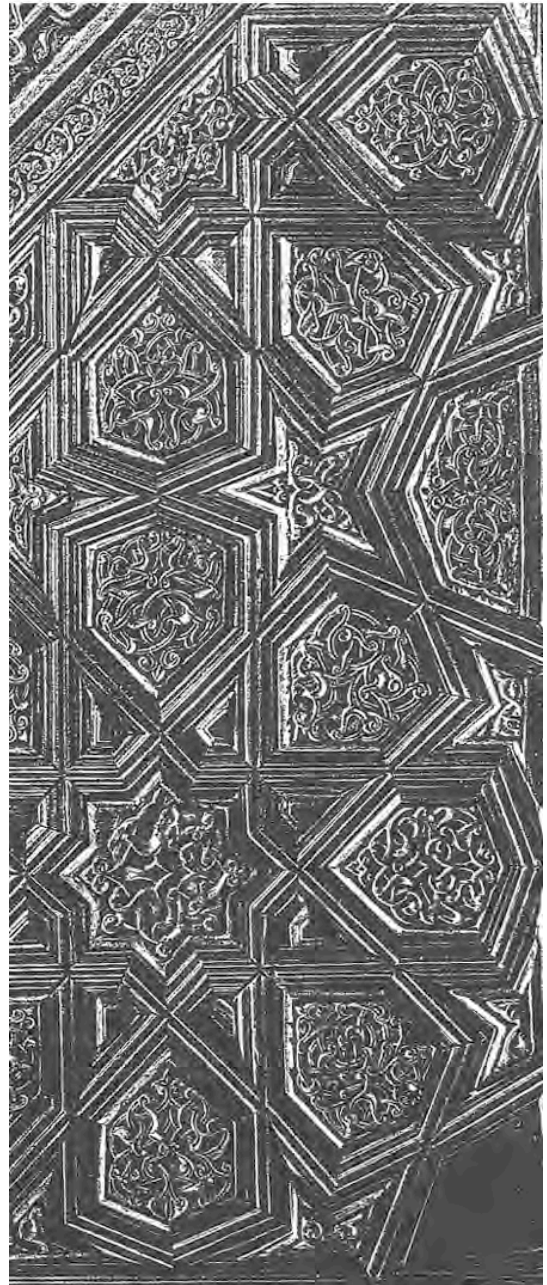
Figure 4.10. An example of Seljukid *Kündekari* (Ertug, 1991, p. 204)

After the construction of the organic ornament from the inorganic, Sullivan demonstrated sub-factors in addition to the notion of continuity. In nature, there were always axes, which were either with or without sub-axes. Like the composition of the main axe and sub-axes on a single leaf, the axes could also construct the architectural ornamentation. Yet, any line, straight or curved, might be considered as an axis, and therefore a container of energy and a directrix of power (figure 4.7). Each directrix of lines contained with them the energy required for the efflorescence. Then via the free choice, intelligence and skill of the man, the endless possibilities were performed (figure 4.8). The system of ornament was completed with the final sub-factor, "parallelism." For Sullivan, the architectural ornamentation was not an ending process. The ornament was a series of transitions from inorganic toward organic and parallel axes were organizing this continuity (figure 4.9). Undoubtedly, there was an obvious similarity between Oriental and the Sullivanesque ornament not only in their abstract symbolization of universality and integrity but also in their use of parallelism. As in Sullivan's composition, in a typical Oriental ornament, *Kündekari*, the structure was formed by the interrelation of multi parallel lines creating blank surfaces. The Oriental craftsman carved blank surfaces between parallel lines "with his free choice, intelligence and skill (figure 4.10)." It may not be wrong to say that Sullivan's ornamentation has great similarity with that of the Oriental and especially the Eastern Mediterranean cultures.

Remarkably, the architectural ornament constituted a crucial part not only in the architecture of Sullivan but also in the architecture of all times in history until the Modern Movement. Today for a contemporary architect, following the Modern trends in the world, the ornament in architecture can be regarded as an obsolete occupation. However, when the ornament in architecture, especially that of Sullivan is considered as a "language" among all other languages that form buildings, one will see that how a language of a building integrates with the overall composition by

being not "on" the building, but "of" the building. Ornamentation and the mass were inseparable in Sullivan's "integral architecture."

Admittedly, a complete understanding of Sullivan's integral architecture requires an analysis of his buildings. In the evaluation of the buildings of an architect, the crucial point is that the quality of buildings and thus architecture takes progress via the development of the architect himself. In other words, the more experienced is the architect the better becomes his architecture and thus the better one can understand Sullivan's idea of "oneness." It has to be made clear that Sullivan's relatively earlier works can lack or partly have true reflections of his philosophy. Therefore, in this study, his earlier pre-mature buildings are neglected. Rather, it is suggested that the evaluation of the buildings of Sullivan be divided as works before World's Fair, and works after World's Fair, for World's Fair was a turning point not only in the career of Sullivan but also in the history of American architecture.

4.1. Before the Chicago Fair (1888 - 1893)

It may be stated that during a short period of time, between 1888 and 1893, Sullivan had almost his largest and most lucrative commissions. In addition, in this period the number of buildings he designed comprised nearly half of his whole commissions. Sullivan received his first great commission of his career in 1888. It was eight years after he set up his own firm in partnership with the architect-engineer, Dankmar Adler. Adler was an already experienced engineer when he met Sullivan, and this experience was a great opportunity for Sullivan in that Adler's eminence brought the firm as great a commission as the Auditorium of Chicago. The

Auditorium was Adler's greatest engineering success with its one of the biggest constructed halls until that time (figure 4.11).[156]
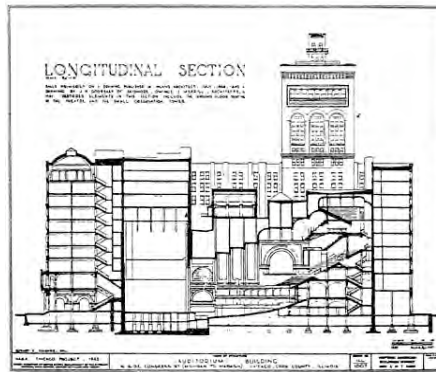
Figure 4.11. Section of the Auditorium of Chicago, 1888 (Frampton, 1987, p. 53)

Figure 4.12. Marshall Field Wholesale Warehouse, Chicago, 1887 (www.arthistory.upenn.edu, 5/3/2004)

Figure 4.13. Exterior view of the Auditorium (Wright, 1971, p. 186)

The Auditorium project, that kept the firm busy between 1888 and 1889, was the largest project of Sullivan that he ever designed. It is however imperative to note that Sullivan's idea of "integrity" in architecture was not in its complete form until 1890. The Auditorium and other relatively smaller buildings of Sullivan until 1890 were preparatory to his mastery.[157] Having a Romanesque taste with its rusticated masonry, the Auditorium followed the tradition of eight to ten storey masonry buildings of Richardson (figures 4.12, 4.13). Because of the Auditorium's being one

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[156] Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, p. 53.
[157] Albert Bush Brown, *Louis Sullivan*, (New York: George Brazilier, 1960), p. 17.

of the first and thus experimental buildings, Sullivan's overall composition was in an eclectic mode. Nevertheless, resembling a Richardsonian building on the outside, the Auditorium was unique maybe not for its exterior appearance, but for its ornamentation program of the interior. Hundreds of drawings for the interior of the Auditorium were produced.[158] Two conceptions, polychromy and plasticity were the major principles of the interior design. The ornamentation was deeply involved in the fluent organic expressions. Clay and stucco, which had been the nearest materials to the plastic quality that Sullivan desired to attain, were the ideal materials (figure 4.14). Besides, as in Wright's words, "whether executed in stone, wood, or iron, all materials were clay in the master's hands."[159] Wooden screens in the Auditorium's hotel rooms, stained glass in the concert hall skylight, and colored tessera on the floors were only a few of examples to the organic art of Sullivan in different types of materials (figures 4.15, 4.16, 4.17). Resemblance to the ancient cosmogram, *Mandala* was the common point in these examples (figure 4.18).

Figure 4.14. Clay ornament detail in the Auditorium Hotel Lobby (Wright, 1971, p. 189)

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[158] Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan As He Lived*, p. 116.
[159] Frank Lloyd Wright, *Genius and the Mobocracy*, p. 74.
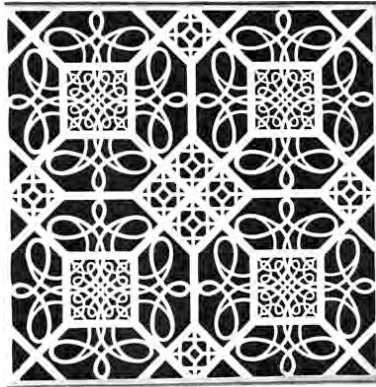
Figure 4.15. Fret-sawed wooden screen, upper part of door between main dining room and kitchen, the Auditorium Hotel (Wright, 1971, p. 187)
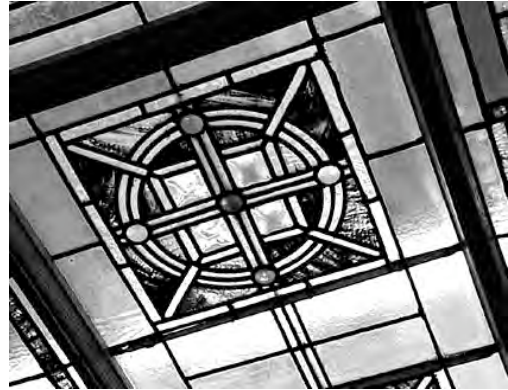
Figure 4.16. Stained glass detail of the Auditorium Main Hall (ah.bfn.org, 18/4/2004)

Figure 4.17. Colored tessera on the floor of the Auditorium Banquet Hall (ah.bfn.org, 18/4/2004)

Figure 4.18. Buddhist cosmogram of the central mountain of the world with the corresponding colors of the four directions (Pennick, 1979, p. 95)

The Auditorium was Sullivan's first exhaustive trial for the full expression of his polychromy campaign. In one of his essays, *Plastic and Color Decoration of the Auditorium*, Sullivan informs the principles of polychromy in the Auditorium:

> A single idea or principle is taken as a basis of the color scheme, that is to say, use is made of but one color in each instance, and that color is associated with gold. The color selected varies with each room treated, but the plan of using one color with gold is in no case departed from. Thus the main Auditorium is in old ivory and gold, the recital hall in white and gold, the restaurant in brown and gold, the ladies' parlor in blue and gold…[160]

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[160] Louis Sullivan, "Plastic and Colour Decoration of the Auditorium," ed. Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan The Public Papers*, p. 74.

Also being the frequently used color in Alhambra, which Jones had given detailed information in *The Grammar*, the color of gold surrounded the whole interior of the Auditorium. Polychromy was used probably for the first time in the Western world in an unusual way. In the main concert hall the major concentric elliptical arches were covered by relief patterns, colored by gold and cream. In addition, electric lighting, which was at that time in infancy, was used to illuminate these golden reliefs "of" the arches (figure 4.19). Lighting was "for the first time made more or less integral" with the whole interior.[161]

Figure 4.19. Ornamented concentric arches with electrical lighting, the Auditorium Main Hall (Wright, 1971, p. 188)

Figure 4.20. Prismatic column capitals the Auditorium Banquet Hall (Connely, 1960, p. 173)

Sullivan's distrust to the Classic orders since the beginning of his education, led him to the search for the "unusual" column capitals in his buildings. The column capitals in the banquet hall were the outcome of Sullivan's philosophy of primitivism (figure 4.20). Simple, prismatic capitals were the outcome of his rebellion against the Orders. The source of the prismatic capitals was the "opposite" of the civilized. Prismatic form was selected since it was one of the most primitive and purest modes. Stencils on the upper wall of staircase landing took their source from an indigenous art, the art of the Celts (figures 4.21, 4.22). One of the most ancient

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[161] Frank Lloyd Wright, *Genius and the Mobocracy*, p. 66.

figures, "tree of life" participated in the lexicon of the ornamentation (figures 4.23, 4.24). The ornamentation program of the Auditorium comprised features that were reminiscences of those of primitive and medieval cultures. Sullivan had found the primal instinct in the indigenous art. For American architects of his times, the common belief was that the pre-Renaissance people and their arts were barbaric. Exceptionally, only Sullivan thought on the "unusual" way. The prismatic capital and the primitive ornamentation were used not only on the interiors but also on the exteriors. One of another reminiscence of Richardsonian buildings, but leaving rusticated masonry this time, Walker Warehouse had its original ornamentation on the exterior details (figures 4.25, 4.26). Ornamentation was less and applied in the manner of Celtic art (figure 4.27).
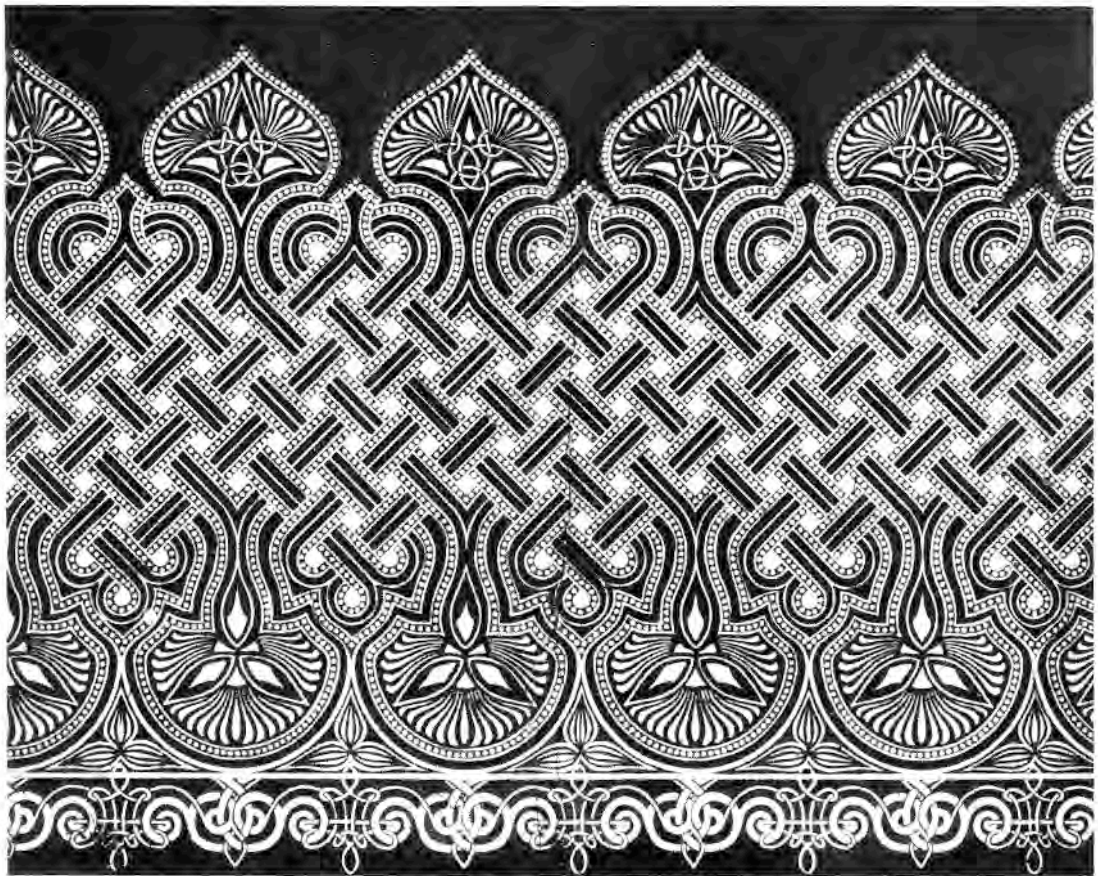
Figure 4.21. Stencil on upper wall, staircase landing, the Auditorium (Wright, 1971, p. 190)

Figure 4.22. Ornamented upright stone slabs, Celtic Art (Daniel, 1968, p. 210)

Figure 4.23. Ornamentation detail in the Auditorium (Szarkowski, 1960, p. 47)

Figure 4.24. Taq-i Bustan, Tree of Life relief from face of central iwan (Pope, 1965, p. 67)

Figure 4.25. Exterior detail of Walker Warehouse, 1889 (Wright, 1971, p. 193)

Figure 4.26. Exterior detail of Walker Warehouse, 1889 (Wright, 1971, p. 192)
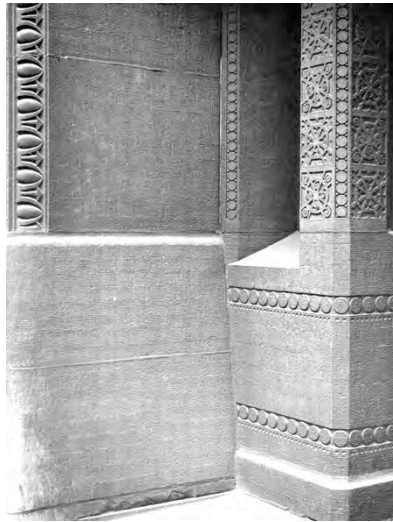
Figure 4.27. Exterior detail of the Walker Warehouse, 1889 (Wright, 1971, p. 194)

Considering the architecture of Sullivan and his times, some questions should not be left unanswered. Was it possible to think of a nineteenth century building, leaving ornamentation, completely naked in its form? It was often impossible to think a serious building without ornament in nineteenth century. Then, could "the idea of leaving ornament" make a nineteenth century architect as the man of revolution and originality, since it would be an unusual act? In this regard, could Louis Sullivan be a revolutionary man who hardly thought to leave ornament unlike Adolf Loos who had the revolutionary motto, ornament is crime? The revolutionary idea in Sullivan's mind was not to leave ornament but to integrate it with the structure. He left ornament in only a few of his buildings. It was a necessity for his buildings since:

> The possibilities of ornamentation, so considered, are marvelous; and before us, open, as a vista, conceptions so rich, so varied, so poetic, so inexhaustible, that the mind pauses in its flight and life indeed seems but a span.[162]

Nevertheless, Sullivan thought that thinking a building without ornamentation was another possible tendency, but the decision had to be given at the very beginning of

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[162] Louis Sullivan, "Ornament in Architecture," *Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings*, p. 190.

the design process.[163] For Sullivan, once the ornament and the mass became "one," there was no need to have buildings devoid of ornament. In Sullivan's philosophy, the "unnecessary ornament" meant the ornament that did not participate in the integration, in other words the ornament "on" the building. This kind of an ornament was crime also for Sullivan, but this did not mean to leave ornament, which was "of" the building.

In 1889, Sullivan made another attempt to integrate exotic but this time in monumental architecture. The monumental architecture was under the dominion of pseudo-antique paradigms in the nineteenth century Western world. The Greek pediments with gabled roofs in marble were the ideal shelters for the tombs of the period (figure 4.28). The opposite concept came from a radical. Sullivan designed Ryerson tomb, which had "an Egyptian motive: a truncated pyramid with its four main lines curving out at the base, and a smaller pyramid superimposed, the whole in blue-black granite, polished to reflect the greenery close by (figure 4.29)."[164]

Figure 4.28. Monuments of the period
(Szarkowski, 1960, p. 127)

Figure 4.29. Ryerson Tomb, 1889
(www.graveyards.com, 18/4/2004)

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[163] Ibid., p. 188.
[164] Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan As He Lived,* p. 127.

Figure 4.30. Getty Tomb, 1890
(Szarkowski, 1960, p. 131)

Figure 4.31. Analysis of the balance between
ornamented and unadorned parts at Getty
Tomb (Connely, 1960, p. 178)
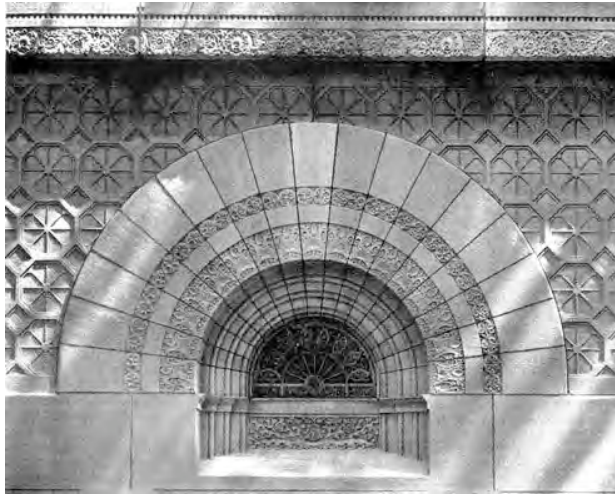
Figure 4.32. Getty Tomb, detail
(Szarkowski, 1960, p. 130)

Figure 4.33. Getty Tomb, detail
(Wright, 1971, p. 199)

After preparatory years came Sullivan's crucial revolution in architecture. The year
of 1890 involved a series of projects under the talented hands of Sullivan. Following
Ryerson Tomb, Getty Tomb was built as a monument to a woman, Carrie Eliza
Getty in 1890. Unlike Ryerson Tomb, there was a graceful and feminine sense in its
general form and ornamentation.[165] As stated by Wright, Getty was "entirely
Sullivan's own, a great poem addressed to human sensibilities."[166] The first example

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[165] Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture*, (New York: Peter
Smith, 1952), p. 129.
[166] Frank Lloyd Wright, *Genius and the Mobocracy*, p. 95.

to the *Poetic Architecture,* was the Getty tomb. Sullivan's accomplishment was in that the ornament and structure were united and formed the "oneness (figure 4.30)." There was a complete balance with the ornamented and unadorned parts (figure 4.31). Like in nature, rhythm and balance was simultaneously present this time in a man-made structure. Sullivan's ideas started to take shape with the Getty. Besides, the medieval sense was strong in its bronze door and side walls (figures 4.32, 4.33).
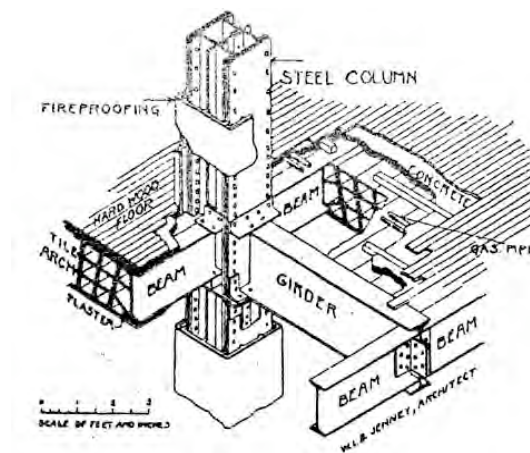
Figure 4.34. Jenney's detail drawing of fireproof steel-frame construction
(Frampton, 1987, p. 52)

In the last quarter of nineteenth century, Chicago was a booming town with its skyscrapers. As in Sullivan's words the outburst of "tall buildings were from the pressure of land prices, the land prices from pressure of population."[167] However, in order to have taller buildings, masonry was not enough, more technological innovations were needed. Elevator became one means for vertical transportation, and the steel frame construction another. As one of the contemporary critics, Montgomery Schuyler remarked in 1899, "the elevator doubled the height of the office building and the steel frame doubled it again."[168] Sullivan was not an architect being not familiar with these innovations, on the contrary before he set up his firm,

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[167] Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography… ,* p. 310.
[168] Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History,* p. 52.

he worked for William Le Baron Jenney, who was one of the pioneers of steel frame construction (figure 4.34). Notably, neither Sullivan nor Jenney was the inventor of steel frame skyscrapers. There were already high rise buildings in steel, but the Wainwright Building (1890-1891) not a thing that was thought before. It was Sullivan's first skyscraper project, his first unique contribution to the high-rise architecture of the period.

The distinguished character of Wainwright Building may become more obvious when its comparison is made with those of other high rise buildings of the period, which were mostly in the Neoclassicist taste. Two of reputed firms, McKim, Mead & White and George Post were highly practicing in the tall buildings. The Pulitzer Building in New York by George Post and the New York Life Insurance Building in Kansas by Mc Kim, Mead & White were built in 1890 and 1891, the years during which the Wainwright Building was under construction (figures 4.35, 4.36). The major characteristic of these buildings were "the use of elaborate decoration to exalt the mere office building into a mercantile palace" and "the use of single stories or groups of stories as units of design, dividing the building horizontally so that through suggesting traditional modes of composition in lower buildings the effect of height might be diminished."[169] The facade of Pulitzer building was divided horizontally into groups of two storeys under classic entablatures. There was the dominating effect of pseudo-Renaissance forms of Palladian motives, a pediment, and an elevated dome. Besides, dressed in Italian Renaissance details, the Life Insurance building, like the Pulitzer, was "merely a polite pretense of architecture."[170]

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[169] Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture*, (New York: Peter Smith, 1952), p. 142.
[170] Ibid., p. 144.

Figure 4.35. Pulitzer Building, 1890 (www.ou.edu/class/arch4443, 18/4/2004)

Figure 4.36. New York Life Insurance Building, 1890 (ci.omaha.ne.us, 18/4/2004)
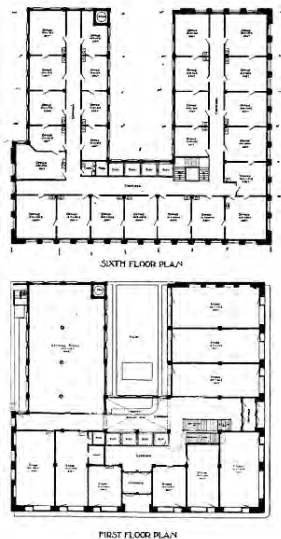
Figure 4.37. Plans of Wainwright Building, 1890 (Morrison, 1952, p. 149)

Figure 4.38. Wainwright Building, exterior view (Szarkowski, 1960, p. 66)

However for Sullivan a tall office building needed neither horizontal divisions nor pseudo-classic elements on its facade. Sullivan's idea of primitivism brought forth with it the idea of simplicity. In general, an office building has a quiet simple program. It is usually composed of typical office units; as well as comparatively larger spaces called as stores which have to be easily accessible, thus have to be related directly with the ground floor. The attic of the tall office building is for the

preservation of mechanical units that are necessary for the heating, plumbing, air conditioning and etc. Sullivan's idea of primitivism and thus simplicity was in great conformity with this usual simplicity of the office scheme.

The plan of Wainwright Building was not different from other tall office buildings, since it followed the same rule, the unchanging office plan scheme (figure 4.37). However, because the major problem was on the exterior view of office buildings, Sullivan gave great importance to the exterior view of Wainwright Building. In his article published in 1896, just after one of Sullivan's most renowned skyscrapers, Guaranty Building was built, *the Tall Office Building Artistically Considered*, Sullivan stated facts on the exterior composition of tall office buildings that were not only valid for the Guaranty Building, but also valid for Wainwright Building as well.

> Beginning with the first story, we give a main entrance that attracts the eye to its location, and the remainder of the story we treat in a more or less liberal way –a way based exactly on the practical necessities, but expressed with a sentiment of largeness and freedom. The second story we treat in a similar way, but usually milder pretension. Above this, throughout the indefinite number of typical office tiers, we take our cue from the individual cell, which requires a window with its separating pier, its sill and lintel, and we, without more ado, make them look all alike because they are all alike.[171]

There was a great opportunity for Sullivan in tall office buildings in that his idea of oneness might well be reflected. As, all men were alike and they were integral in Democracy, the office units were also alike. As the germ was the seat of identity, the man in the office was the seat of identity. The architecture was the true reflection of the society. As husks and phantoms surrounded the germ or the integral man, pseudo-forms, dead styles of Greek and Roman, and thus a dead facade also surrounded the office unit. An already dead facade meant buildings for the dead, not for the organic. However the office unit was organic, since it was for a living

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[171] Louis Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered," *Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings*, p. 205.

thing, the man. And all men were the same; integral and so the exterior appearance of office units had to be same (figure 4.38).

For Sullivan, the office buildings of the period were lacking the true reflection of the simplicity of the plan to the exterior. He believed these buildings were the symbols of "hypocrisy." There was a dual character in them. On the other side, the Wainwright Building was the symbol of democracy, the idea of oneness. Since, as pine tree was not in the form of an elm tree in nature, the office building with its simplicity could not be in the form of a "mercantile palace." The rule, "form follows function," that was valid always in nature, was also valid for the tall office building. The office units inside, which were all alike, also had to be all alike from exterior.

> …that form ever follows function. This is the law… Is it really then, a very marvelous thing, or is it rather so commonplace, so everyday, so near a thing to us, that we cannot perceive that the shape, form, outward expression, design or whatever we may choose, of the tall office building should in the very nature of things follow the functions of the building, and that where the function does not change, the form is not to change? Does this not readily, clearly and conclusively show that the lower one or two stories will take on a special character suited to the special needs, that the tiers of typical offices, having the same unchanging function, shall continue in the same unchanging form?[172]

For Sullivan, "suppression" was common in Neoclassicist tall buildings (figure 4.39). Sullivan rescued functions from their suppression in his Wainwright Building (figure 4.40). Wainwright Building was the first achievement of Sullivan in the skyscraper design in that his idea of "integrity" was in its complete form. The inner quality of the building, its function was seen from outside, its form. With the interrelation between form of the exterior and function of the interior, the building turned into an organic medium. The building was free to rise. As in the words of

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[172] Ibid., p. 208.

Sullivan, there were no suppressing efforts against the rising of the Wainwright Building:

> … The tall office building must be tall, every inch of it tall. The force and power of altitude must be in it, the glory and pride of exaltation must be in it. It must be every inch a proud and soaring thing, rising in sheer exultation that from bottom to top it is a unit without a single dissenting line.[173]

Figure 4.39. A typical Neoclassicist building of the period (Szarkowski, 1960, p. 62)

Figure 4.40. Wainwright Building, exterior detail (Szarkowski, 1960, p. 64)

According to the philosophy of Sullivan, the integrity was achieved only by reaching the purest state of art. There had to be no webs and confusions nurtured on civilization. Celtic art as the "primitive" and the "natural" again became a model for Sullivan (figures 4.41, 4.42). The Ornamentation of Wainwright Building was inseparable from its structure. Besides, only the ornamentation, integrating with the mass-composition could complete the emotional expression of the exterior view for Sullivan:

> The mass composition and the decorative system of a structure such as I have hinted at should be separable from each other only in theory and for purposes of analytical study. I believe that an excellent and beautiful building may be designed that shall bear no ornament whatever; but I believe just as firmly that a decorated structure, harmoniously conceived, well considered, cannot be stripped of its system of

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[173] Ibid., p. 206.

ornament without destroying its individuality. It has been hitherto somewhat the fashion to speak of ornament as a thing to be put on or omitted, as the case might be. I hold to the contrary –that the presence or absence of ornament should certainly in serious work, be determined at the very beginnings of the design.[174]
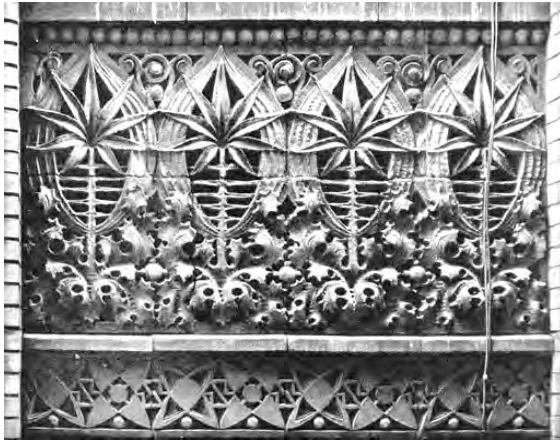
Figure 4.41. Exterior detail, Wainwright Building (Szarkowski, 1960, p. 69)
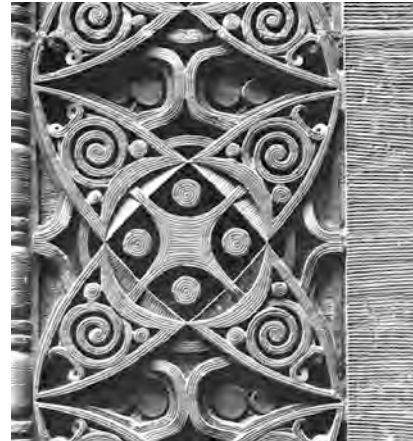
Figure 4.42. Exterior detail, Wainwright Building (Wright, 1971, p. 201)

Sullivan determined that the main decoration of the facade of Wainwright Building would be made on terra cotta panels, which were going to be placed as spandrels between brick covered piers. In addition, ornamented terra cottas would terminate the rise of the piers, and finally the attic part would be covered by circulating ornamentation around the circular windows of the final storey. The composition of ornamented spandrels and unadorned brick piers was in such a great balance that the whole facade was in an integral quality (figure 4.38). As in Sullivan's words, a building that bears no ornament might be an excellent building. However, on the other hand, as in the Wainwright, once the ornament and mass becomes one, a building is also excellent, since its system of ornament cannot be easily stripped from the integrity.

When considering the architecture of Sullivan in general, it is not hard to see that the "medieval" played a major role in his architectural vocabulary. That is to say most

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[174] Louis Sullivan, "Ornament in Architecture," p. 188.

of the motives that took place in his buildings have great similarities with the forms of ancient and medieval times. At first glance, it might obviously come to one's mind that Sullivan's architecture preserved eclecticism in some of his buildings. To a certain extent, that was true, since in his works, some of the motives preserve strong reminiscences of the architecture of medieval times. However, it is also necessary to note that in the architecture of Sullivan, forms of the past, especially of the Gothic or Saracenic, transform into a different charm particular only to Sullivan himself. After the transformation of historical motives, they became neither Gothic nor Saracenic. Their new medium was Sullivanesque, which was the outcome of an intense individuality. This situation was probably most overt especially in one motive in his buildings, the colonnaded portico.
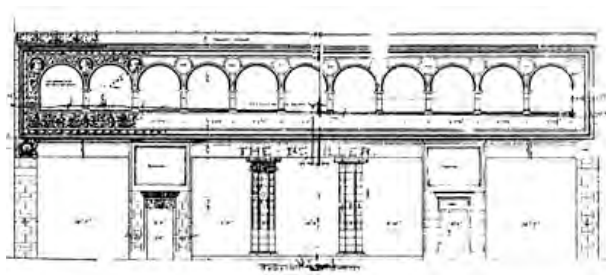
Figure 4.43. Colonnaded portico of Schiller Building, 1891 (Mollman, 1989, p. 56)

Figure 4.44. Furness' Provident Life and Trust Building, 1876 (www.ou.edu/class/arch4443, 18/4/2004)
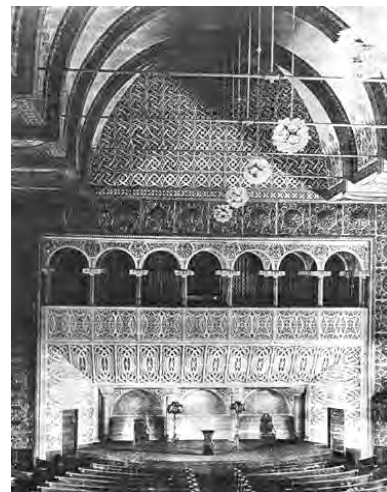
Figure 4.45. Interior of Synagogue of Chicago Sinai Congregation, 1892 (Siry, 1988, p. 64)

Figure 4.46. The Court of the Myrtles, north facade, Alhambra Palace
(www.majbill.vt.edu, 18/4/2004)
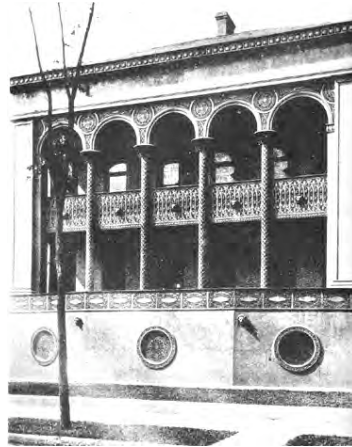
Figure 4.47. Exterior of Standard Club Addition, 1893 (Morrison, 1952, p. 336)

Moorish portico was used firstly above the main entrance of Schiller Building, built just after Wainwright Building (figure 4.43). The stone columns of the portico was comparatively shorter than usual sizes and this shortness was a quiet obvious evidence to the impact of the architecture of Furness and thus his "Orientalised Gothic style," which can be seen on the exterior of Provident Life and Trust Building (figure 4.44). Besides, notably, in the past, the use of short columns was mostly seen in Gothic architecture, which was also in the architectural vocabulary of Viollet Le Duc (figure 3.1). The portico of Sullivan did not only take place on the exterior but also on the interior of buildings. In 1892, the portico, whose columns were more

slender than those in Schiller Building, participated in the remodeling program of Synagogue of Chicago Sinai Congregation (figure 4.45). There is undoubtedly an overt similarity between that portico and those of the Moorish palace, Alhambra (figure 4.46). Similar kind of application in the remodeling process was multiple. The additional part to the Standard Club of Chicago in 1893 maintained the portico on its facade (figure 4.47). There is no doubt that there was the reminiscence of Gothic, Romanesque and Saracenic models in that portico. It is hard to differentiate which of them resembles most, but notably the medievalism of Sullivan is best discerned in this feature. In addition, Wright, who worked for Sullivan between 1888 and 1893, makes it clear that most of Sullivan's works were under the spell of the "medieval."

> I can see the drawings (of Sullivan) were no less truly graph of the ancient philosophy of Laotze, Jesus, or the thought of great moderns like… Nietzsche, Victor Hugo… and the integrity of so many of the early Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, Chinese, Japanese…[175]

It is an undeniable truth that Wright learned to think and act like Sullivan during the years they worked together. The medievalist forms were also used by Wright especially during 1890's. Besides, not only did the medievalist forms of Sullivan become effective on young Wright, but also one must acknowledge that Sullivan was the progenitor of Wright's architecture. In a short period of time, "a fine sense of camaraderie existed between them, giving at taking with fine accord and equanimity of spirit."[176] Wright's years with Sullivan passed so productive and instructive that he frequently confessed in his writings that Sullivan was his "Lieber Meister" and his idea of organic architecture had its roots in Sullivanesque philosophy. In retrospect, Sullivan called Wright while drawing:

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[175] Frank Lloyd Wright, *Genius and the Mobocracy*, p. 80.
[176] These were the remarks of George Elmslie, who entered the firm of Adler & Sullivan at the same time with Wright, Grant Carpenter Manson, *Frank Lloyd Wright to 1910, the First Golden Age*, (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1958), p. 21.

Bring it alive man! Make it live!
Take care of the terminals, Wright. The rest will take care of itself.
He did "make it live", and I learned to do it his way.[177]

Having learned "making it live," Wright designed his first organic building in 1892, in collaboration with his *Meister*. Charnley House was the product of their fine accord and equanimity of spirit (figure 4.48). It was a different, unique design compared to other house designs in the Victorian era. Simplicity was the major characteristic of its plan: a hall with the staircase in the centre and flanked on each floor by two units (figure 4.49). As stated by Grant Manson, "the designers of the house seemed to say, "let us begin from the beginning.""[178] The scheme of the house was shaped by the rule of simplicity. The "inner purpose" found its expression on the "outside." Sullivanesque features became dominant in the house, and thus again the portico took its place in the first floor on the exterior (figure 4.50). Made in wood this time, slender piers and ornamentation of it were in conformity with the scale of the house. The Mediterranean colonnade was the focal point of the composition.

Figure 4.48. Charnley House, 1891
(Manson, 1958, p. 26)
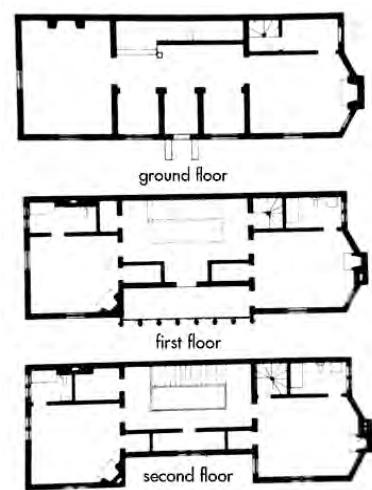
Figure 4.49. Floor Plans of
Charnley House
(intranet.arc.miami.edu,
18/4/2004)

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[177] Frank Lloyd Wright, *Genius and the Mobocracy*, p. 71.
[178] Grant Carpenter Manson, *Frank Lloyd Wright to 1910…* , p. 27.

Figure 4.50. Colonnaded portico from exterior view, Charnley House
(www.bc.edu, 18/4/2004)

In the years between 1892 and 1893, some other important features participated in the language of Sullivanesque architecture. The portico, whether one might call Romanesque or the other, Saracenic, was frequently used with twin towers having large eaves on top of them. In his sketch of Chattanooga Hotel project, dating 1892-93, Sullivan tried the combination of a gate surrounded by miradors[179] with porticos (figure 4.51). Wright's design of Municipal Boathouse in 1893 was not different from the Sullivanesque attitude: two augmented prisms combined with arcades, covered on top by overhanging eaves, tied via the connecting structure (figure 4.52). This scheme, two prisms connected by a third and comparatively shorter element was first seen in the Charnley house, but then both Sullivan and Wright frequently used it during 1890's.
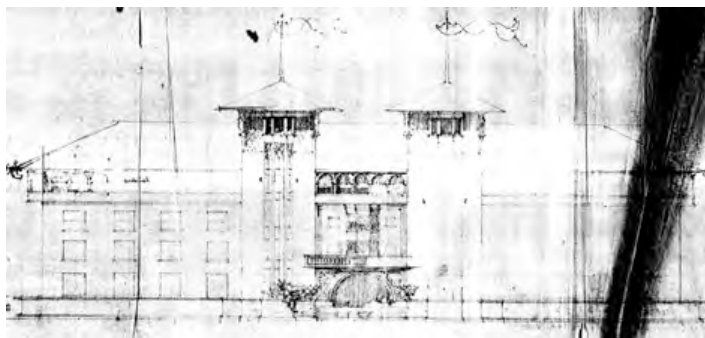
Figure 4.51. Design drawing of Chattanooga Hotel, Tennessee, 1893 (Mollman, 1989, p. 67)

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[179] Mirador is the general name for Moorish pavilions placed on top of towers. The main purpose of a mirador is to watch outside from a high view while residing inside the pavilion. The synonym, which is stated by Oleg Grabar, for mirador is "lookout", Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 87.

Figure 4.52. Wright's Municipal Boathouse, 1893 (Manson, 1958, p. 61)

There was an overt exotic influence in the buildings of 1890's mostly resembling to the *mudejar* style cathedrals of Spain and Turkish style houses. The towers of Eliel Building, 1893 were designed in a manner that as if it was done by a Moorish designer who also designed palaces and *mudejar* style cathedrals of Spain (figures 4.53, 4.54, 4.55). Besides, one can hardly deny the Turkish look in the Victoria hotel of 1893, which has a reminiscence of the traditional Turkish house with its wide eaves and different materials used between the entrance and first floor continuing along the whole facade (figure 4.56). Another exotic impact was in Sullivan's last mausoleum commission for Charlotte Wainwright, the wife of Ellis Wainwright. Constructed in 1892, Wainwright tomb preserves traces of Oriental monuments of the past. That Wainwright Tomb consists of a domed cube maintaining two graves inside and that it was built for the wife of the widower, Ellis Wainwright made Sullivan's biographer, Connely consider its resemblance to the story of Shah Jehan's Taj Mahal (figure 4.57).[180]

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[180] Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan As He Lived*, p. 146.

Adler & Sullivan.

Auditorium Building Tower.

Chicago _____ 189___
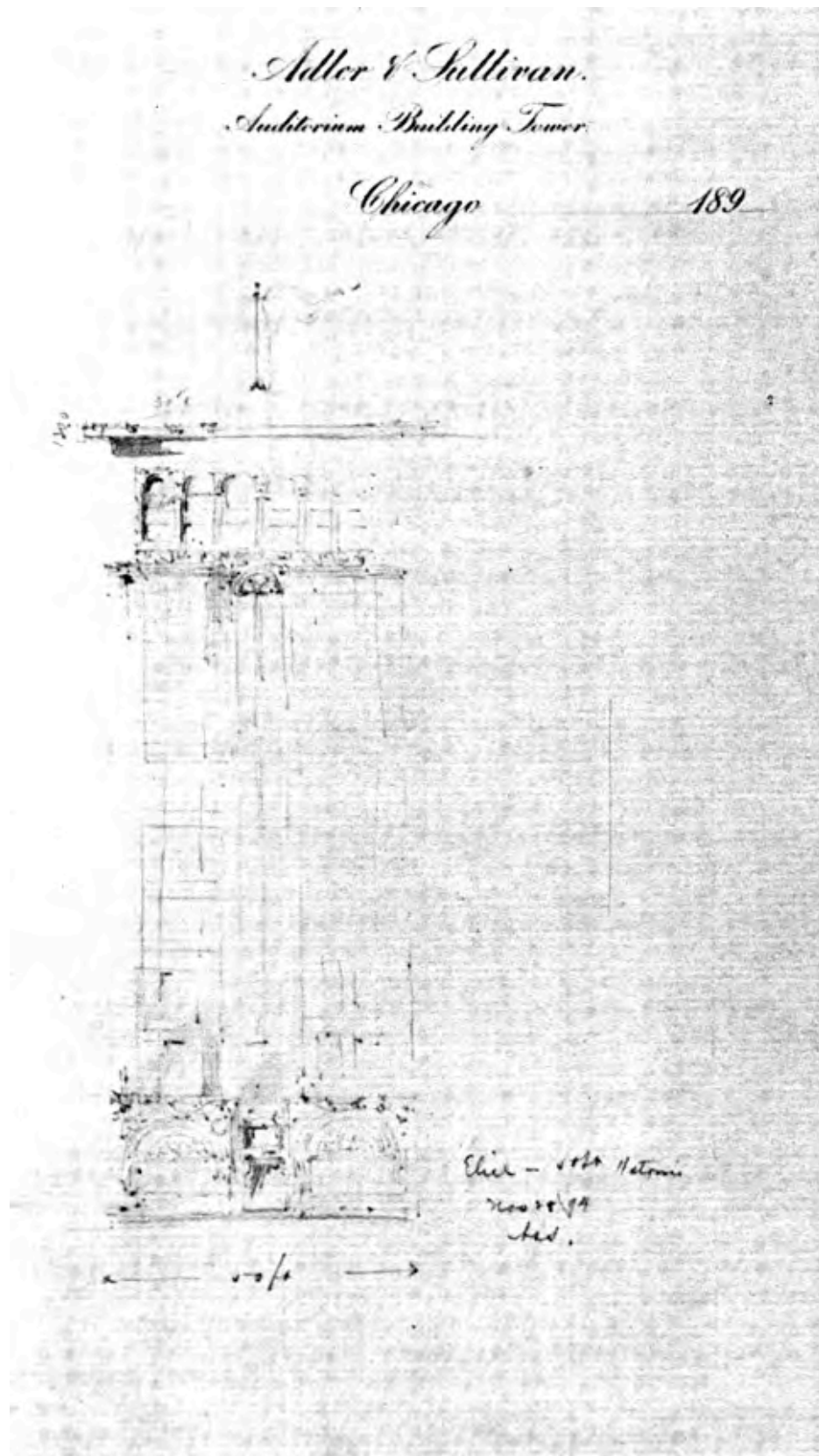
Figure 4.53. Conceptual sketch for Eliel Building, 1893 (Wright, 1971, p. 178)
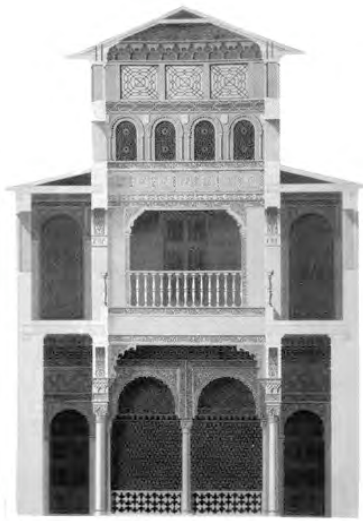
Figure 4.54. Section of one of the rooms in Alhambra palace (Danby, 2002, p. 83)

Figure 4.55. Mudejar style cathedral towers of Spain, left: San Martin cathedral, right: Teruel cathedral (Danby, 2002, p. 39)

Figure 4.56. Victoria Hotel, 1892 (Mollman, 1989, p. 59)

Figure 4.57. Wainwright Tomb, 1892 (Wright, 1971, p. 206)

The architecture of Wright in 1890's is a wide topic and requires another comprehensive study. However, it is crucial to note briefly that the exoticism in Sullivan's works created a strong impact on the architecture of Wright. Certainly one cannot deny the contribution of Japanese architecture on Wright's formation years after the end of his apprenticeship in Sullivan's firm in 1893. Besides it is frequently repeated that the Hooden temple and Japanese tea gardens in the Fair of 1893 worked as an impetus for young Wright. However, in these years there was another source of inspiration. There is a crucial and comparatively forgotten period between 1893 and 1900 in Wright's career, in which his architecture was mostly constructed under Sullivanesque forms. His buildings of this period were under the influence of Mediterranean architecture, mostly of Saracenic, Turkish and Romanesque. With the beginning of the twentieth century, the Mediterranean exoticism in his architecture transformed into Pre-Columbian and Japanese exoticism. Japanese contribution to his experience became influential only after he visited Japan in 1905.

Figure 4.58. Winslow House, 1893 (Manson, 1958, p. 63)

Winslow house, constructed in 1894, is worth displaying in this study for that it is the best example preserving the variations of Sullivanesque forms. Wright repeated the same attempt of horizontal facade division, used in Victoria hotel, in the Winslow house (figure 4.58). Besides, the ornamental frame around the main entrance was undoubtedly an overt replica of the Wainwright tomb. The

Sullivanesque colonnade this time appeared at the interior, as a partition between the central hall and the alcove of the fireplace (figure 4.59). Nevertheless, the best example to Wright's exoticism of 1890's was seen in the additional building of his home at Oak Park, having the scene from *Arabian Nights* over the fireplace (figure 4.60).[181] Besides, another important clue to his exoticism of 1890's was hidden in his sentences stated in 1928:

> When in early years I looked south from the massive stone tower of the Auditorium Building, a pencil in the hand of a master, the red glare of the Bessemer steel converters to the south of Chicago would thrill me as pages of the Arabian Nights used to with a sense of terror and romance.[182]
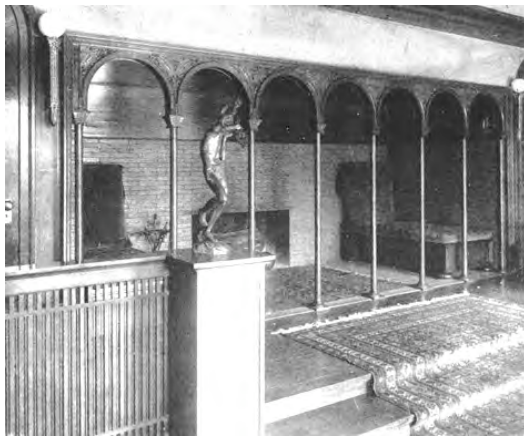
Figure 4.59. The attenuated arcade in front of the fireplace, Winslow House (Manson, 1958, p. 66)

Figure 4.60. Wright's own residence at Oak Park, the picture over the fireplace is on a scene from Arabian Nights (Manson, 1958, p. 47)

4.2. After the Chicago Fair (1893 - 1924)

Man's ancient polychromatic thought is turning white.[183]

For Sullivan, the Neoclassical White City of the World's Fair was a turning point for the future of American architecture. After the Fair, the Classical and Colonial

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[181] Grant Carpenter Manson, *Frank Lloyd Wright to 1910…* , p. 46.
[182] Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture a Critical History*, p. 57.
[183] Louis Sullivan, *Democracy A Man-Search*, p. 4.

revivals in architecture became more popular for the people of Chicago and consequently they stood against the innovative architecture of Sullivan stronger than were they before. Sullivan selected Daniel Burnham, the director of the Fair, "both as an antithesis to his personality and as a symbol of the generation they both lived in."[184] In this respect, Sullivan had the thought in his mind that "Daniel Burnham sold out his Chicago colleagues when he hired the New York clique"[185] for the design of the Fair's buildings. However, because Adler & Sullivan Co. was a prolific firm in these days, it was impossible to think of the construction of the Fair without the participation of Sullivan in spite of the most passionate champion of Neo Classicism, Daniel Burnham.

Figure 4.61. Transportation Building, World's Columbian Exposition, 1893
(Morrison, 1952, p. 350)

When the Fair opened its doors on May the 1st of 1893, visitors saw one of the most memorable structures, the Transportation Building (figure 4.61). One of these visitors, Andre Bouilhet, a Commissioner of the *Union Centrale des Arts Decoratifs* of Paris, had observations on the Fair, in which there was enough information for one to see the unusual character of Sullivan's Transportation Building:

> It is a great city of palaces the architecture of which awakens no novel sensations in Europeans for we find here again more or less accomplished imitations of the monuments of Greece and Rome… Only one of these palaces, which struck me the first time that I entered the

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[184] Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture*, p. 181.
[185] Stanley Appelbaum, *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893*, p. 7.

Jackson Park, is truly original; it is the work of a young American architect, Mr. Sullivan. I refer to the Transportation Building. It is one of the most successful and original buildings, well conceived and of fine proportions; and it has the special merit of recalling no European building.[186]

Figure 4.62. Golden Gate, Transportation Building (Szarkowski, 1960, p. 25)

Figure 4.63. One of the city gates of Marrakesh (weecheng.com/morocco, 27/4/2004)

In the treatment of the surface and the color of its facades, the Transportation Building contrasted with the other buildings in the White City.[187] Especially, the Golden Gate of the Transportation Building with its concentric arches painted in gold was a unique approach in Western architecture (figure 4.62). As Bouilhet said, the Golden Gate recalled no European building. Its source was from the outside. For John Sweetman, as for many contemporary scholars, the Golden Gate resembles to the gateways of Moorish architecture called *pishtaq* (figure 4.63).[188] In addition, one of the most important characters in nineteenth century American architecture, Henry Van Brunt saw the Golden Gate in situ and noted the Oriental impression of it in his essay, *Architecture at the World's Columbian Exposition*:

> We imagine the architects reasoning as follows… the most majestic feature in the best art of the Mogul emperors, as in the closure of the great mosque at Delhi, or in the Taj Mehal at Agra, is the porch…It has no cornice (the porch), and frequently is finished with a parapet of lacework. Instructed by a study of these Oriental masterpieces, we may

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[186] Andre Bouilhet, "L'Exposition de Chicago," *Revue des Arts Decoratifs*, vol. 14, 1893-94, p. 68, quoted in Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture*, p. 189.
[187] Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient… ,* p. 172.
[188] John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession… ,* p. 238.

adjust them to our present use with but few modifications. The rigid, square, projecting mass, with its great arched opening may be reproduced here, but in order to amalgamate the whole with the work, the arch must be low and round, and its opening must diminish inward in a succession of lessening arches in the Romanesque manner (Romanesque and Saracenic art having a common parentage at Byzantium)…[189]

Remarkably, Golden Gate is a crucial design of Sullivan, not for its having the impression of Romanesque or Saracenic art, but for its being a good example that shows his idea of universality of the cosmos. According to his philosophy, the cosmos was one and integral, therefore all things in the cosmos were integral.[190] This idea of universality was symbolized in the Golden Gate by the use of color. Sullivan emphasizes the reasoning of the polychromy on his description of the Transportation Building written in 1893.

The ornamental designs for this work in color are of great and intricate delicacy; the patterns, interweaving with each other, produce an effect almost as fine as that of embroidery. As regards the colors themselves, they comprise nearly the whole galaxy, there being not less than thirty different shades of color employed. These, however, are so delicately and softly blended and so nicely balanced against each other that the final effect suggests not so much many colors as a single beautiful painting.[191]

More than thirty different colors in the Golden Gate formed one single painting. In an environment where the buildings had already turned into white, Sullivan's idea of polychromy was a challenge to the current Neo Classical situation. Unlike the Auditorium, where the color was used only at the interior decoration, the Transportation Building was a radical work in its use of polychromy both on the interior and exterior. It was a contrasting effort among all other white buildings of the White City. The polychromatic effect of the Golden Gate was an indicator to

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[189] Henry Van Brunt, "Architecture at the World's Columbian Exposition," ed. William A. Coles, *Architecture and Society Selected Essays of Henry Van Brunt,* (Cmabridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 268.

[190] See page 65.

[191] Louis Sullivan, "The Transportation Building," ed. Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan The Public Papers,* p. 87.

Sullivan's mastery in a series of bank projects, in which his talents in the use of color reached its apex, but before his delicate bank performances, he had a deferred appointment with the skyscrapers.

Sullivan returned to the format of Wainwright Building for his another best skyscraper, Buffalo's Guaranty Building, constructed between 1894 and 1895. The originality attained in Wainwright Building repeated itself this time in a different mode. The office peers did not end when they reached the attic of the building. They continued in the final storey and "made their grand turn" as in Sullivan's words (figure 4.64).[192] In Sullivan's approach, the attic part of the tall building was the place where the architect would make his terminating action. For him, the "attic gives the architect the power to show by means of its broad expanse of wall, that which is the fact –namely, that the series of office tiers has come definitely to an end."[193]

Figure 4.64. Guaranty Building, 1895
(Szarkowski, 1960, p. 107)
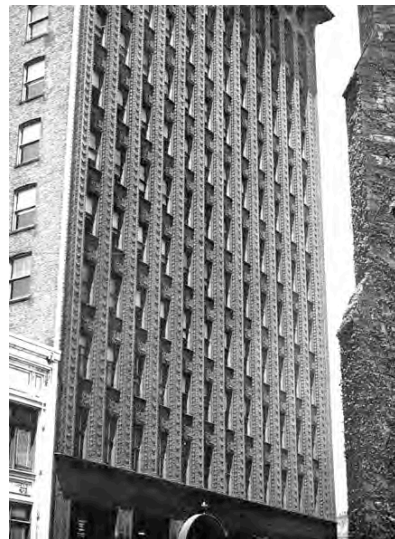
Figure 4.65. Exterior view, Guaranty
Building (Szarkowski, 1960, p. 105)

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[192] Louis Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered," p. 203.
[193] Ibid., p. 205.

Different from Wainwright Building, in Guaranty Building, there was a rich play of surface ornament, in red and green terra cotta sheathing, which covers both structural and non-bearing members and spreads across the cornice.[194] Regarding the use of ornamentation, one might argue that the balance between the ornamented and naked parts in Wainwright Building is not seen in Guaranty Building, where almost all parts were covered by the ornamented terra cottas. However, for Sullivan, the decision of the use and placement of ornament was something made at the very beginnings of the design process. In Wainwright Building, Sullivan preconceived the use of ornament mostly on the spandrels, whereas in Guaranty Building it was decided that the ornament would impregnate the entire surface of the structure like a "magical tattoo (figure 4.65)."[195]

Figure 4.66. Exterior view, Guaranty Building (Szarkowski, 1960, p. 117)

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[194] Albert Bush Brown, *Louis Sullivan*, p. 23.
[195] Kenneth Frampton, *Studies in Tectonic Culture…*, p. 99.
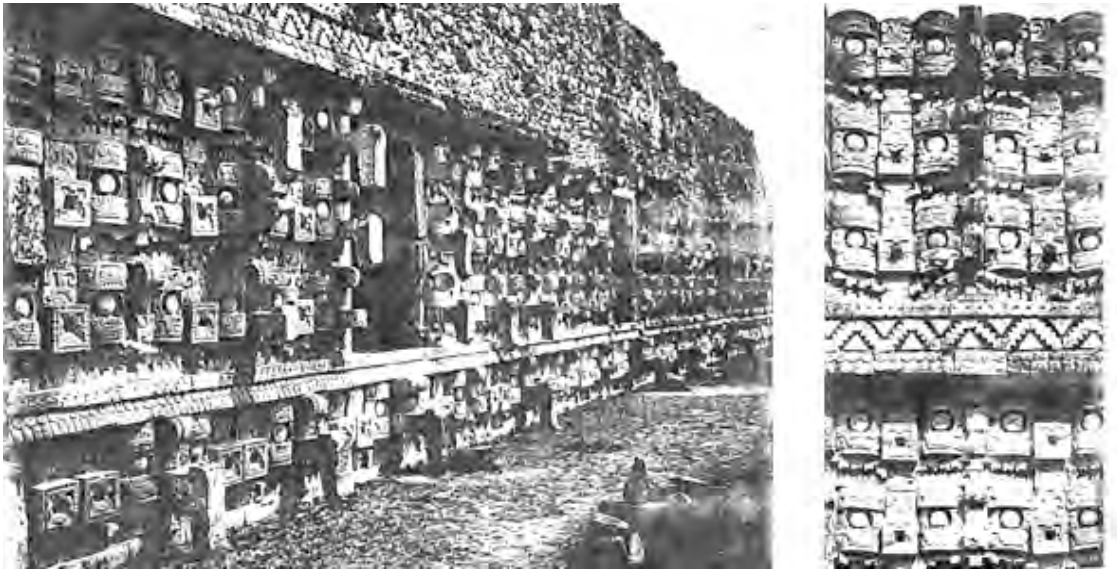
Figure 4.67. Pre-Columbian temple façade and detail, Kabah: Codz-Poop
(Heyden, 1988, p. 141)

The whole exterior of Guaranty was woven as a textile dressing by the ornamented terra cottas. Guaranty Building was the one and the only contemporary example of these times in its having the ideas so close Semper's idea of Dressing, *Bekleidung* (figure 4.66). It does not mean that Sullivan was inspired from Semper's philosophy of *Bekleidung*, however both Semper and Sullivan had the common tendency: they looked to the art of the primitive cultures in a way not made until that time. The Oriental rugs were the indicators of that the textile art was the most primitive art. Then this textile quality had moved to the alabasters and carvings on the walls and finally it was discerned on the primitive monuments, seen on walls of the Mayan temples as an instance (figure 4.67). The textile blocks of terra cotta covered the whole surface of Guaranty Building like in the primitive temples (figure 4.68). The ornamented sheathings of Guaranty took the form of a petrified textile of which the walls were as much written as they were built.[196]

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[196] Ibid., p. 100.
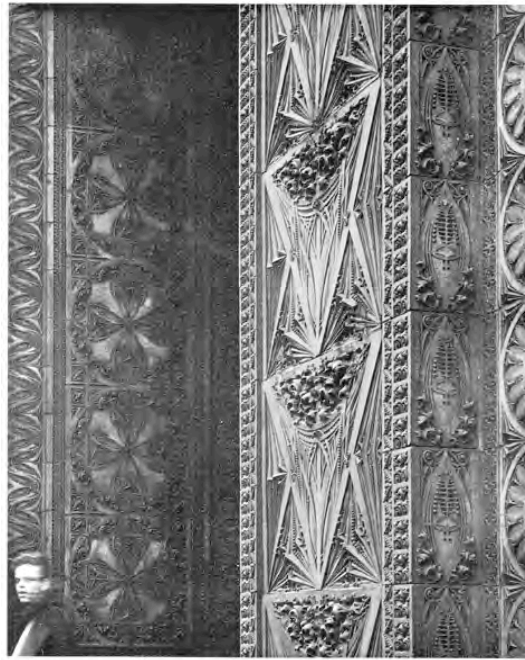
Figure 4.68. Text-tile terracotta covers of Guaranty Building (Szarkowski, 1960, p. 115)

After Sullivan, the ornament, covering the whole structure as a petrified textile, became also a model for Sullivan's pupil, Wright with an increasing zeal. Wright was already aware of *This Will Kill That*, but for him Guaranty Building was the greatest guide for his future studies. In his seminal thoughts first appeared in his address of 1901, *The Art and Craft of the Machine*, he stated that "the tall office building problem was one representative problem of the machine."[197] For him, the new art under the support of the Machine would "weave" the structural frame of the office building by "clothing Necessity with the living flesh of virile imagination, as the living flesh lends living grace to the hard and bony human skeleton."[198] Both Sullivan and Wright used the ornament as an "organic skin" covering the organic structure of the building. The idea of Sullivan, that architecture would be one and integral, when its ornament and structure could not be separated became a model for Wright. Carrying in his mind the ideas of his *Meister*, Wright frequently used the

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[197] Frank Lloyd Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," ed. Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, *Frank Lloyd Wright Collected Writings, vol 1*, (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), p. 62.
[198] Ibid., p.63.

prefabricated ornamented textile blocks, in his projects of twentieth century (figures 4.69, 4.70). Wright's use of ornament in these examples was not different from that of Guaranty Building.
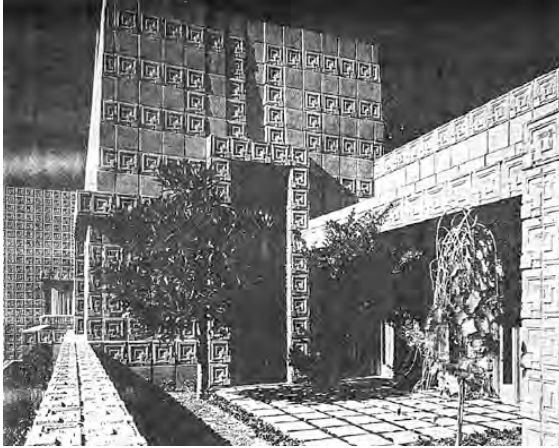
Figure 4.69. Text-tile covers of Ennis House, 1923 (Wright, 1957, p. 149)

Figure 4.70. Text-tile covers of Coonley house, 1908 (Heinz, 2002, p. 133)

By the end of the construction of Guaranty Building, in 1895, Sullivan separated from Adler and continued his career alone. In the fifteen years, during his partnership with Adler he designed more than a hundred buildings, however during the rest of his career he built only twenty buildings.[199] It is certain that the Neoclassical Chicago Fair against his authentic philosophy posed a disappointment on Sullivan. But, nevertheless, one cannot fail to see that the more he was getting older and thus experienced, the more his buildings came closer to perfection of integrity.

The Department Store of Schlesinger & Mayer (now Carson Pirie Scott) was Sullivan's final large-scale commission. Schlesinger & Mayer Building was a unique project for Sullivan, since he had not designed a department store before. Schlesinger & Mayer was not an office structure, therefore its form could not be as

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[199] Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture*, p. 178.

that of a tall office building. The tall office building was tall, "every inch of it tall." Verticality was deciding the form of the tall skyscraper. However, Schlesinger & Mayer was going to be a department store, then it had to look like a department store, according to the never-changing rule, form follows function. If form ever followed function, the interior of the building had to be reflected on the exterior. In Wainwright and Guaranty Buildings, the piers and the window and spandrel between them formed one singular module, because there were divisions of modular cells inside of an office building. But in Schlesinger & Mayer Building, there was one and integral open space (figure 4.71). Since there were no divisions at the interior, there must be no divisions of spandrels between piers. The open plan of the department store was reflected on its facade by a continuous rhythm of post and beam structure (figure 4.72).

Figure 4.71. Plans of the first and third floors of Schlesinger & Mayer Store, 1904 (Siry, 1988, p. 186)

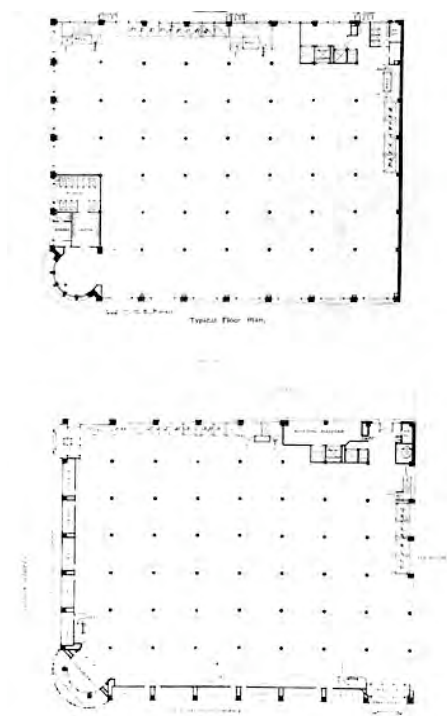Figure 4.72. Exterior view of Schlesinger & Mayer Store, 1904 (www.ci.chi.il.us, 27/4/2004)

Instead of verticality of Wainwright and Guaranty, the decision-maker of the exterior was "rhythm" in Schlesinger & Mayer Building. For Sullivan, rhythm was the overall element of significance in architecture as was it in nature. In Schlesinger & Mayer, the rhythms of solid to void presented the span of steel beams between the columns through the height of the building. Besides, the recessions of the windows, from the post and lintels covered by terra cotta sheathings, contributed to the perception of visual rhythms.[200]

In *Kindergarten Chats*, which was written during the construction times of Schlesinger & Mayer Building, Sullivan identified "the pier and lintel" as the essential beginning of architecture. For him, these first primitive types of construction were "the basic origins of our art –elements and origins independent of time, of period, epoch, style or styles."[201] The works of the "primitive" was again shaping Sullivan's conceptions. Sullivan reinterpreted the most primitive constructive forms of pier and lintel in steel frame of Schlesinger & Mayer Building. But, as stated by Wright in *The Art and Craft of the Machine*, the steel frame as a product of the modern machine was "complete in itself without the craftsman's touch."[202] Similar to thoughts of Wright, for Sullivan, the application of steel frame, despite recalling the primitive post and lintel system, was not enough to reach a complete integrity. The steel frame was only the skeleton of the organic form. The steel frame needed to be "dressed" by a "text-tile cover." After Guaranty, again in Schlesinger & Mayer the steel construction brought with it the cladding material, terra cotta necessary for fireproofing the metal, but more important from that the terra cotta material once more gained importance of its plastic property. Terra cotta was a plastic material by which Sullivan could add emotion to his building. This time the ornament participated in the dressings of

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[200] Joseph Siry, *Carson Pirie Scott, Louis Sullivan and the Chicago Department Store*, (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 223.
[201] Louis Sullivan, *Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings*, p. 120.
[202] Frank Lloyd Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," p. 62.

upper stories by integrating within the reveals of the windows along their jambs and heads (figure 4.73). The ornamentation of the reveals of the upper windows "heightened their image as festive picture frames when viewed from the street below, inviting shoppers as they look up to visit the floors of merchandise above (figure 4.74)."[203] Different from its current appearance, an overhanging slab over a colonnaded arcade terminated the top storey, where ornamented terra cottas divided the shafts of the columns (figure 4.75). In today's Carson Pirie Scott Building the colonnaded arcade is no longer present (figure 4.76).
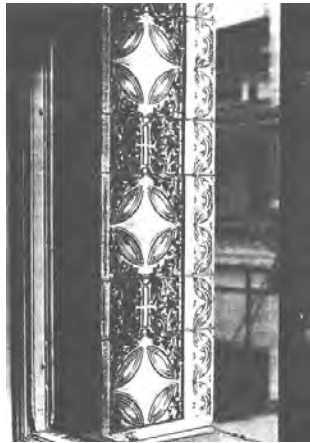
Figure 4.73. Detail of the ornamental patterns along the reveal of an upper story window, Schlesinger & Mayer Store (Siry, 1988, p. 231)
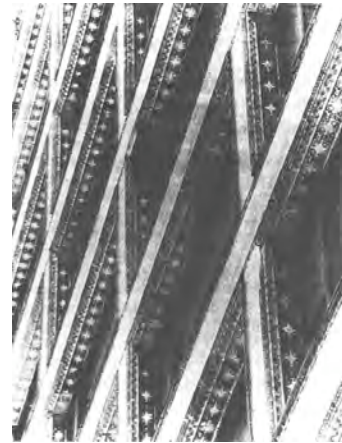
Figure 4.74. View of the ornamental reveals around the upper story windows, Schlesinger & Mayer Store (Siry, 1988, p. 232)

Figure 4.75. Colonnaded arcade on top of the façade, Schlesinger & Mayer Store (Connely, 1960, p. 188)

Figure 4.76. The present situation of Carson Pirie Scott Store (Wright, 1971, p. 218)

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[203] Joseph Siry, *Carson Pirie Scott…* , p. 230.

Undoubtedly the most characteristic feature of a department store is its display window. The ground floor of Schlesinger & Mayer Building, where the display windows took place, was of greater importance in Sullivan's architectural program. The accessibility of the display windows to all classes of people on the street reinforced the image of the stores as democratic institutions in Sullivan's conception. The display windows were thought "to be a form of cultural outreach to passersby, which would engage their imagination and curiosity as a medium of decorative art."[204]

Figure 4.77. Advertisement for the opening of the new Schlesinger & Mayer Store, 1903 (Siry, 1988, p. 129)

Figure 4.78. Advertisement for the opening of the new Schlesinger & Mayer Store, 1903 (Siry, 1988, p. 132)

Willard Connely remarks that Sullivan's aim in Schlesinger & Mayer was to court unhurried femininity to lure the susceptible women shoppers.[205] Also one of the contemporary critics of the period, Lyndon Smith stated that the treatment of ornamentation of the base of Schlesinger & Mayer Store was "essentially appealing

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[204] Ibid., p. 133.
[205] Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan As He Lived*, p. 235.

in its quality to femininity."[206] Yet, the newspaper advertisements of the period indicate that clienteles of the Store was mostly composed of women shoppers. In these advertisements, there was an attempt to relate the ornamented base of the building with plant leaves in order to attract women shoppers (figures 4.77, 4.78).

Figure 4.79. Window display for Burnham's Marshall Field and Co., 1904
(Siry, 1988, p. 135)

In other department stores of the period women shoppers also constituted the major part, and in order to attract them, "temporary decorations" were set inside of the display windows. In the Marshall Field and Co. Department Store designed by Daniel Burnham in 1902, temporary decorations, made by trimmers, were set inside of the windows in combination with the display object (figure 4.79). On the other hand, unlike his opponent, Daniel Burnham, for Sullivan "temporariness of ornament" could not be the architect's choice. Ornament had to be always "of" the building, not "on" the building that could be removed easily. Sullivan made up the ornament permanent around the display windows and left the background of the windows undecorated. An assessment, dating 1904 noted that "No ornamental backgrounds are used in the windows of Schlesinger &Mayer Building. These

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[206] Lyndon Smith, "The Schlesinger and Mayer Building," *Architectural Record* 16, July 1904: p. 59, quoted in Joseph Siry, *Carson Pirie Scott*, p. 128.

windows are wide, deep and roomy, without columns. The permanent background is mirrors, framed with highly finished dark wood, and this is all that is used to show off the goods."[207] There was no obstruction of temporary decorations. Purity and Simplicity were the principles of Sullivan. Simplicity gave also shape to the ornamentation of the two-storey base. The two-storey base of Schlesinger & Mayer was "dressed" in a casing of dark iron ornamentation composed of "nearly Celtic, interlaced leaves (figures 4.80, 4.81)."[208] This time the "organic skin" was made up of iron, but the philosophy remained same: His monogram at the center of the wreath was symbolizing Sullivan, the individual, who was sitting at "the seat of identity," "the germ," and the energy lines were efflorescing from this germ (figures 4.82, 4.83).

Figure 4.80. Exterior view detail of the two-story base of Schlesinger & Mayer Store
(Wright, 1971, p. 221)

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[207] "Along the State Street," *Merchants Record and Show Window*, 15, (August 1904), p. 104, quoted in Joseph Siry, *Carson Pirie Scott*, p. 141.
[208] Albert Bush Brown, *Louis Sullivan*, p. 26.

Figure 4.81. Detail, Cast iron ornamentation of the base, Schlesinger & Mayer Store
(Szarkowski, 1960, p. 150)
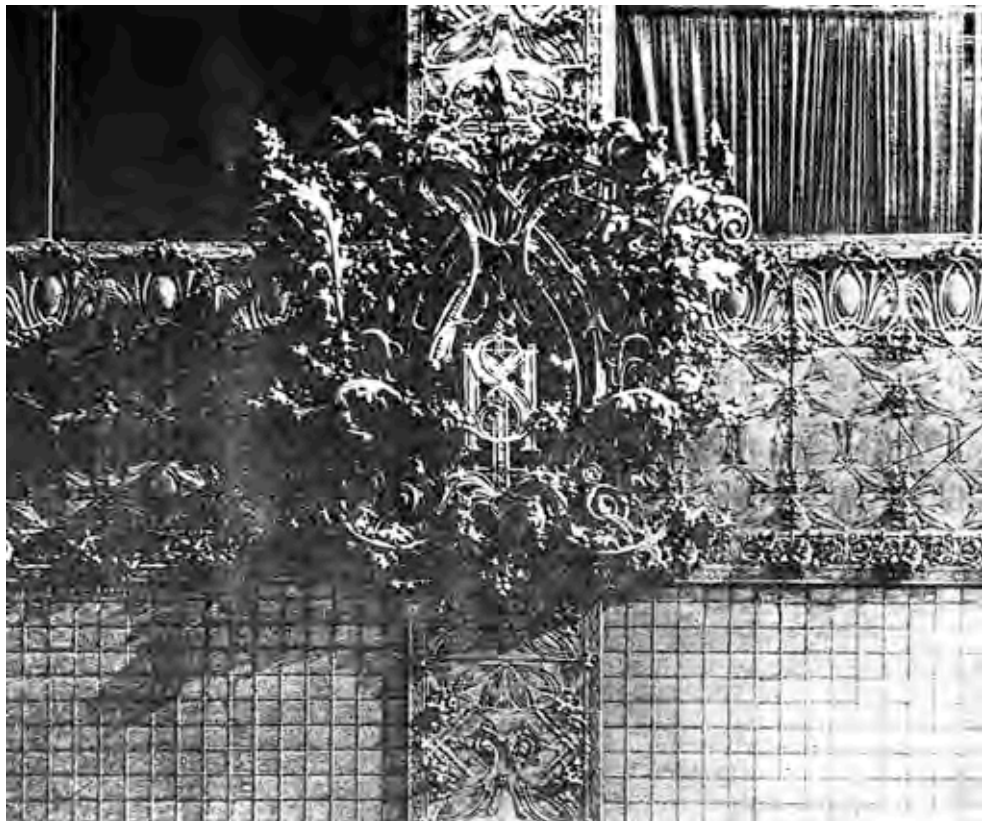
Figure 4.82. Ornamental iron wreath originally above the first floor of show windows,
Schlesinger & Mayer Store (Siry, 1980, p. 160)
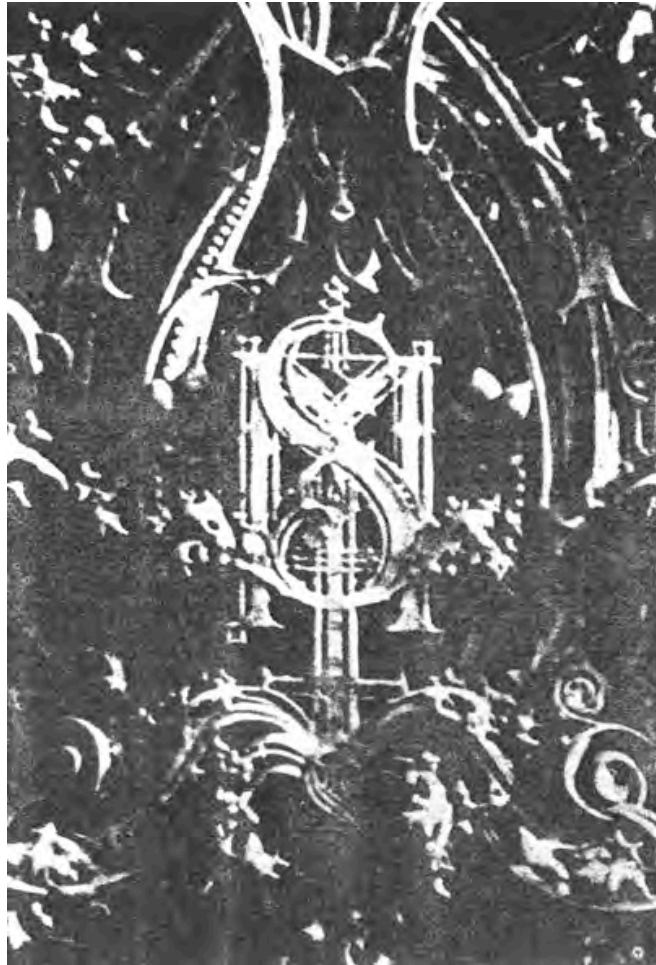
Figure 4.83. The man at the germ, and his powers efflorescing from the germ, detail showing monogram of Louis Sullivan, Schlesinger & Mayer Store (Siry, 1988, p. 168)

One day, Burnham said to Sullivan "it is not good policy to go much above the level of intelligence."[209] For Burnham, current tendencies in architecture were enough for a contemporary architect. He thought that via the forms of the Classic, designing good buildings were possible. But, for Sullivan, Burnham was not aware what he did was not more than a dead architecture. According to him, the Department Store of Marshall Field & Co was a "dead building" with its pseudo-Classicism (figure 4.84) and if imitation meant to continue at the level of intelligence, he believed that he did

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[209] Louis Sullivan, *The Autobiography… ,* p. 316.

not have that kind of faith (figure 4.85). Sullivan's architecture was "different,"

unlike the "current (figures 4.86, 4.87)."

Figure 4.84. Advertisement for the opening of the new Marshall Field and Co. Store, 1902 (Siry, 1988, p. 183)

Figure 4.85. Advertisement for the opening of the new Schlesinger & Mayer Store, 1903 (Siry, 1988, p. 184)
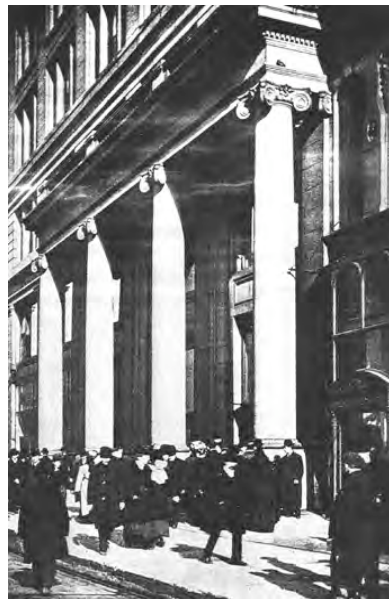
Figure 4.86. Column capitals of Marshall Field and Co. (Siry, 1988, p. 181)

Figure 4.87. Column capitals of the Schlesinger & Mayer Store (Siry, 1988, p. 210)

After disappointing years brought by the Neo Classical White City in 1893, there became another series of crisis in Sullivan's life between 1906 and 1908. In 1906, when Schlesinger & Mayer sold the building to Carson Pirie Scott, the new company wanted to enlarge the capacity of the Store by an additional building, and for this commission, Daniel Burnham was chosen (figure 4.88). It was the first shock for Sullivan that the "feudal man" in Sullivan's words gained more power than before that he started to interfere to the buildings of Sullivan. The second shock was more disappointing. In 1908, Sullivan completed his most radical work, *Democracy: A Man-Search*, but he could not find even one publisher to print his book. It was the biggest shock. His struggle to publicize his thoughts could not find any support. The American people lost the greatest chance in the Fair of 1893. Fifteen years passed and nothing changed for Sullivan. He was a "lone" artist.

Figure 4.88. Burnham's additional building to the Schlesinger & Mayer Building, 1906
(Siry, 1988, p. 112)

Figure 4.89. Burnham's Illinois Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago (Moore, 1921, p. 93)

Most extensive field of practice of Sullivan's professional life from 1908 to his death was the commissions of small town banks. For Morrison, these bank projects were the continuation of the approach attained in Transportation Building of the Fair.[210] Years later from the Golden Gate, the use of color reached its summit in the opening masterpiece of Sullivan's bank performances, the National Farmer's Bank at Owatonna, constructed in 1908. Burnham's bank projects were Neoclassicist (figure 4.89) and again Sullivan was on the opposite side. According to the motto, "form follows function," the scheme of the plan would express itself on the outside, and thus its reflection on the exterior would be the "strong cube (figures 4.90, 4.91)."
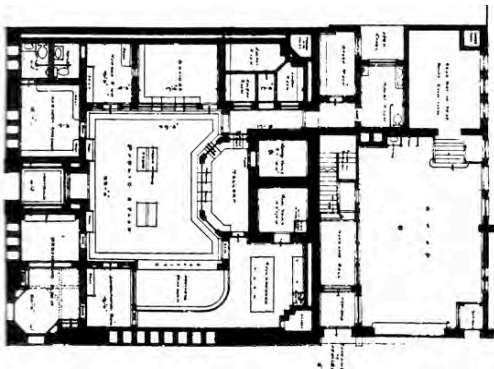
Figure 4.90. Plan of National Farmer's Bank, 1908 (Morrison, 1952, p. 211)

Figure 4.91. Exterior view, National Farmer's Bank (www.bluffton.edu, 27/4/2004)

[210] Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture*, p. 206.

Against the whiteness of the Neoclassicist banks, Sullivan's choice was polychromy. The base of the exterior was made by reddish brown sandstone ashlar. Rough shale brick in soft and variegated colors faced the main body of the wall. Great arched windows were treated by brilliant glass mosaic dominantly blue in color but with also touches of green, white and gold. Terra-cotta reliefs this time in bronze-green were used to frame the facade. The composition was finished by a cornice on top consisting of corbelled courses of brick bounded above and brown terra cottas below. Like the exterior the interior was also glowing in color. Stencilled patterns were in green, red and gold colors (figures 4.92, 4.93, 4.94).[211]

Figure 4.92. Exterior detail, National Farmer's Bank (nrhp.mnhs.org, 27/4/2004)

Figure 4.93. Exterior detail, National Farmer's Bank (www.bluffton.edu, 27/4/2004)

Figure 4.94. Interior view, National Farmer's Bank (events.mnhs.org, 27/4/2004)

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[211] Ibid., p. 208, 209.

The major color supplier was brick in Sullivan's banks. He concentrated intensely to the use of brick in his projects. In Sullivan's hands, brick became the polychromatic material by its quality of having variegated colors from pink to dark brown. It was a perfect material that will help his struggle against the whiteness of Neo Classicism. He displayed his thoughts in the essay, *Artistic Brick*, appeared in 1910 shortly after National Farmer's Bank was completed. The brick in his mind was a new one, having "a nap-like effect, suggesting somewhat an Anatolian rug."[212] Brick was a kind of textile in his banks, like the terra cotta in the Guaranty Building. In Sullivan's mind there was the idea of laying up bricks as if weaving an Oriental rug. One brick could not be the same as another because of the "accidental effect of their positions in the kiln and the kind of fuel used."[213] "Weavers" one by one would treat bricks and form up buildings of polychromy and joy as if weaving an Oriental rug:

> Inasmuch as the color scale varies from the softest pinks through delicate reds, yellows, through the light browns, dark browns, purples and steel blacks –the possibilities of chromatic treatment are at once evident. When laid up promiscuously, especially if the surface is large, and care is taken to avoid patches of any one color, the general tone suggests that of a very old Oriental rug and the differing color values of the individual bricks.[214]

For Sullivan, the colors of brick also make the designer consider the colors of other materials. The color selection and treatment of stone, terra cotta, wood, glass and metals depend on their conformity with the color range of brick. Thus "arises in the mind of the architect the possibility, indeed the certainty of a feasible color scheme for the entire building, which it is within the power to vary from a substantial monotone to the higher development of polychromatic treatment."[215] The polychromatic treatment other than that of the National Farmer's Bank was best

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212 Louis Sullivan, "Artistic Brick," ed. Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan The Public Papers*, p. 202.
213 Ibid., p. 203.
214 Ibid.
215 Ibid., p. 204.

seen in the People's Savings and Loan Association Bank at Sidney, Ohio, built between 1917 and 1918. Strongly veined dark marble forms the base along the exterior. The jambs and architrave of the door are all in richly ornamented terra cotta of a dull turtle green color. The tympanum of the arch of the entrance facade has a ground of glass mosaic in *turquoise* having the word, "thrift" in gold letters. On the side facade the window lighting the banking room is framed by terra cotta sill, lintel and mullions. The color of the glass changes from mottled green below into brown above, gradually becoming lighter and merging into warm golden buff in the cornice (figures 4.95, 4.96).[216]

Figure 4.95. Exterior view of People's Savings and Loan Association Bank, 1918 (www.bluffton.edu, 27/4/2004)

Figure 4.96. Exterior view detail of People's Savings and Loan Association Bank (www.bluffton.edu, 27/4/2004)

Sullivan's small town banks were as if a summary of his revolutionary thoughts on architecture. After completing People's Savings Bank in Cedar Rapids, constructed in 1912, Sullivan made the description of the bank that appeared in the magazine *Illuminating Engineer*, and probably it is enough to look at this building with

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[216] Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture*, p. 221.

Sullivan's own description which is as if a summary of his originality on architecture:

> The exterior of the building is a logical outcome of the plan, the building being designed from within, outward…Its plan may be called "democratic", in that the prospect is open and the offices are in plain view and easily approached….The philosophy ever present throughout the plan and design of this structure is expressed in the formula, form follows function. This law is universal.[217]

A building is democratic only by being conceived "from the inside out." Both interior and exterior of People's Savings Bank is alike and integral. There is no hypocrisy. All parts are alike, one and single. It is a universal building, since it follows the universal formula: form follows function (figures 4.97, 4.98).
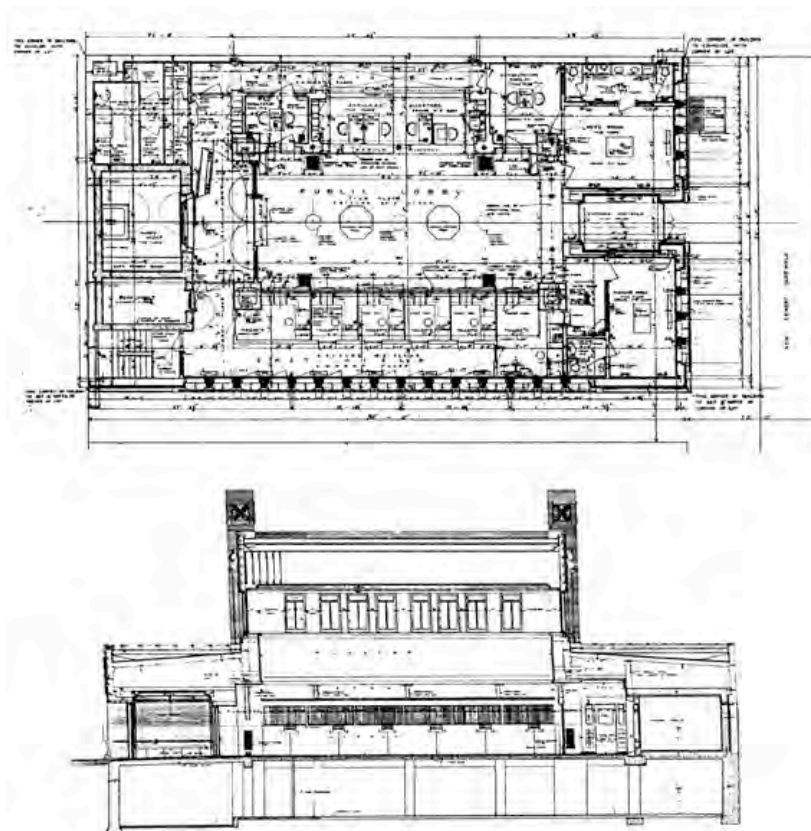

Figure 4.97. Plan and section of People's Savings Bank, 1911 (Mollman, 1989, p. 68)

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[217] Louis Sullivan, "Lighting the People's Savings Bank, Cedar Rapids, Iowa: An Example of American Twentieth Century Ideas of Architecture and Illumination," ed. Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan The Public Papers*, p. 206-208.

Figure 4.98. Exterior view, People's Savings Bank (Morrison, 1952, p. 376)

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

> Frank, our people have stopped thinking! It would be harder now to do radical work and more difficult to get radical work accepted than it ever was.[218]

These were the last words of Sullivan to his disciple, Wright before his death. It was disappointing for Sullivan that despite all his efforts; "thinking" yielded to the feudal idea. For him, the "radical work" was not the business of the contemporary architect anymore. However, he believed that "the radical" was not a hard work to attain. It was devoid of complicated solutions. The radical work was simple, since Sullivan's philosophy was simple. He believed that the artist should perform via the primal urge hidden in his "seat of identity." The acts of the indigenous people and the child were the models for Sullivan, because they were the outcome of the primal urge residing inside. He worked on the indigenous art and its historical analysis. The art of the pre-Renaissance cultures including those of the Celts and Saracens had been the focal point of his concentration.

In the nineteenth century Western world, the traditional belief was that the pre-Renaissance cultures and their arts were barbaric. In such an environment, Sullivan's approach was original. His buildings carried traces or similarities of the art of the pre-Renaissance cultures. In this study, the sources of the exoticism of Sullivan have been displayed via some of comparisons between the works of him and those of the indigenous. Traces of Celtic and Oriental ornament, Miradors and Mudejar style cathedrals of Spain were observed in Sullivan's buildings. In this perspective, one might argue, since there were selections and applications of these historical styles in his buildings, the architecture of Sullivan was eclectic. However, it must be

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[218] Grant Carpenter Manson, *Culture and Democracy*, p. 469.

understood that there is a slight difference between an eclectic work and the one based on the analysis of the historical style and reinterpretation of it. Especially it is harder to separate these two differences from each other in the works of the nineteenth century. However I might say I have come to the conclusion that Sullivan's work was the latter one.

It is now an undeniable reality for me that nineteenth century is a remarkable age in our understanding of twentieth century paradigms. This century could be regarded as the departure point of many thoughts that gave way to the contemporary architectural tendencies that we possess, and Louis Sullivan is one of the most important characters in the nineteenth century architecture.

That Louis Sullivan is the forerunner of Modernism has been a common belief in the contemporary world. Besides, his motto, "form follows function" is a classic for the contemporary architects who frequently use it in their discourse. In this study, the sources of the emergence of this seminal motto have been researched. Sullivan concentrated on the relationship between man and nature. His first discovery was that man in its most primitive and purest state was integral with nature.[219] The idea of the "integrity of man and nature" was the emerging point, which led Sullivan to "form follows function." For Sullivan, the universe was integral, and hence man and nature as parts of this universe were integral and one. He believed that there was no difference between the acts of man and those of nature. In this respect, the buildings of a man as his acts were same with the trees of nature as its acts, because both man and nature were integral and parts of "oneness" and "integrity." Realizing the sameness of a tree and a building, Sullivan concentrated on the forms in nature. He saw that in the formation of organic beings, the forms took shape via the "primal

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[219] Sullivan realized that this "integrity" was present in the art of the primitive and especially Oriental cultures.

urgings called functions."[220] For him, if the expression of a pine tree outside was in the form of a pine tree, and not in the form of an elm tree in nature, the expression of a man's building had to be in the form of this man's building, and not in the form of another man's building. In this regard according to Sullivan, a Neoclassicist building could not be the expression of function. It was not an organic building, since it was the imitation of another man's building.

Despite having very similar plan schemes, there was a great difference between the New York Life Insurance Building and the Wainwright Building.[221] The exterior and interior of Life Insurance Building were not integral. However, according to Sullivan's philosophy there should not be dualities in "man," his buildings as his "acts," and the "cosmos." The outside always had to be the expression of inside, as did it in the Wainwright Building.

During Sullivan's practicing years, Chicago was a rapidly developing city. The pressure of increasing population made the land more valuable and for this reason high-rise buildings had been the only solution for satisfying the needs of ever-increasing crowds of the city. In such an environment an architect could not make any innovative approaches in the plan schemes of buildings, because the site, on which the building was erected, was small and it made the architect usually apply the typical plan scheme. Therefore, the exterior view of buildings, their façade compositions and materials used on them became crucial for an American architect of the era. Sullivan criticized the Neoclassicist architects for that their buildings were white in color and having pseudo-Classical paradigms on their exteriors. They were creating an environment of monotony. Opposing such an approach, Sullivan was a "radical." He gave deep consideration to the use of polychromatic materials

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[220] See page 50.
[221] See page 85,86.

and ornamentation of the exteriors of buildings. For Sullivan, terracotta was a material on which he could apply his brilliant ornamentation. On the other hand brick was his other favorite material in its quality of having an Anatolian rug effect when laid up.

It is obvious that today our cities also confront with the same problem of increasing population, which creates a land pressure. It is usually hard for an architect to develop new plan schemes for buildings in the crowded cities. The plan configurations of office buildings or apartments can hardly change. In this environment very similar to the times of Sullivan, the innovative design is possible by only giving great consideration to the exterior view of buildings as well as materials used and their integrity with the whole composition of the façade. The architect, who believes in the motto, form follows function, should not forget that a great consideration has to be given to the exterior treatment of a building.

For Sullivan the exterior faces of buildings in the city were at the same time the reflections of the faces of their people. He thought that an already dead façade, which was pseudo-classic, could not be the expression of an organic being, the "society." One cannot deny that, as stated by Hugh Duncan, the study of a building is at the same time the study of a society, because what happened in our buildings determines what happened in our society.[222] It was Sullivan, who interpreted this relationship between society and architecture in his works and attained the "organic architecture," which was inspiring from "Man & Nature."

For the modern architects, "form follows function" usually meant "the physical appearance of a building is the expression of its plan scheme," and such an

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[222] Hugh Dalziel Duncan, *Culture and Democracy*, p. 587.

explanation has been quite often enough for them to call this motto and its progenitor as the forerunners of Modernism. However, has anyone thought that Sullivan and his formula possess more than that?

> When you wish to know the meaning of a word do you go to dictionary, and are you satisfied with that? Or, unsatisfied with that, feeling in a huge vacancy of meaning, do you go to man and his ways, to nature and her ways, to Life and its ways, to The Spirit and its ways?[223]

> Louis Henri Sullivan (1856-1924)

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[223] Louis Sullivan, *Democracy A Man-Search*, p. 37.

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