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## **DISSERTATION**

The good wife: Lina Loos, Adolf Loos and the Making of an Idea

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“Hodoronc tronc”

Cecilia Petrisor

“Gospodin mekani je već daleko

Budi sada moja žena Lina

Ja ću biti gospodin tvrdi

Maloj Lini teku suze niz lice”

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I dedicate this text to all the women and men in my life, but especially to my grandmother, Cecilia ‘Cici’ Petrisor.

Vienna, May 13th, 2015

## ABSTRACT

This work presents a theoretical and methodological inquiry into the rewards of reconsidering what is commonly understood to be irrelevant in discussions in architecture, in this case a significant protagonist who has remained invisible until now, namely Lina Loos, Adolf Loos's first wife. Her own writing, especially in an article she authors and publishes in 1904, "Vandals," shows an early concern, exemplified by references to architecture, for a significant Loosian topic: the material manifestation of modernity. Considering this, the text searches for reasons for her absence from the discussion in architecture while arguing for Lina Loos's significance in two of Loos's projects, "My wife's bedroom" and "Ornament and Crime."

The text starts by debating Lina Loos's overall absence from academic discussions until the end of the twentieth century and her still persisting absence from architectural discussions in particular. Given that her writing shows a good grasp on a variety of fin-de-siècle topics, among them the material consequences of modernity, the text continues by searching for possible reasons for her continuing irrelevance within the boundaries of the architectural discussion. In this context, the writing of history, changing schools of thought and authorities are discussed as they provide and manipulate the available and relevant topics and materials, which form the basis for the architectural discussion and determine its outcome. In Lina's case, her status as a woman without professional affiliation contributes to a great degree to her alleged irrelevance in architecture.

When she is considered at all in architectural discussions until now, Lina Loos appears as Adolf Loos's muse for the bedroom project in their marital apartment. This concept is debated as hindering the scholarly discussion in architecture from moving beyond an understanding of Lina as the provider of creative inspiration for someone else, onto an understanding of her as an active and significant protagonist. Freeing Lina of her problematic status, both as a woman without professional affiliation and muse, and following clues

provided by her biographers and other disciplines, the final discussion entails discussing Lina Loos's role as a significant protagonist in architecture. It is argued that only with her influence as a client, Adolf Loos is able to conceive of the unique aesthetic of "My wife's bedroom" and, most importantly, to articulate his powerful ideas on ornament, which culminate in his manifesto "Ornament and Crime." "Vandals" and "Ornament and Crime" are presented as a dialogue between authors, the former enriching Adolf Loos's thoughts by architectural examples. Lina Loos and her piece "Vandals" are a necessary and significant part of the discussion surrounding "Ornament and Crime." What makes Lina Loos especially central is that, beyond her contribution to the outcome of an architectural project as a client, she is a significant protagonist in architectural theory.

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## 01\_INTRODUCTION

### PROLOGUE

The exploration towards this text started as an inquiry into the notion of privacy and ended by probing the concept of the irrelevant. The move from one notion to the other was more or less conscious but proved necessary since the many constructions of privacy that imbue Western thought tend to obscure and mystify matters. A quote by Gabriel Garcia Marquez illustrates this idea. When asked a question about his past with a woman, Tachia Quintana, Marquez lets his biographer know that “everyone has three lives: a public life, a private life and a secret life.”<sup>1</sup> Martin Gerald, Marquez’s interviewer, tries to clarify: “Naturally [Marquez’s] public life was there for all to see, I just had to do the work; I would be given occasional access and insight into the private life and was evidently expected to work out the rest; as for the secret life, “No, never.””<sup>2</sup> Obviously, an idea about privacy in dichotomy with publicity, to that which is shared, does not fit Marquez’s notion of the private since his biographer is able to reconstruct it and as such also make it available to a larger part of the general public. Marquez’s private seems to rather refer to information about his person and life, which he is willing to share and allow access to. He presents a constructed private sphere regarding which he is the authority: he can declare some details about his life relevant for his biography and others irrelevant. In other words, the writer sets the boundaries of how he is to appear in the biography. But, more important for this text, there are two ways Gerald, the biographer, can react to the writer’s secret or perhaps inability to voice some topics due to the fact that they are driven by his inner life. He can accept Marquez’s wish to keep some things to himself or try to satisfy his curiosity using other sources. The former maneuver entails working with Marquez’s authority regarding what is relevant and irrelevant for a public understanding of his persona. The latter will attempt to bend this authority, look to other sources and material and try to understand why Marquez declares what occurred between Tachia and himself his secret. This move tests the irrelevant status the writer imposes onto her, which is by the way exactly what Gerald does. He locates “Tachia [who is] happy enough to tell her side of the story.”<sup>3</sup> Gerald’s maneuver is also the method of this text. Continuing the metaphor, Marquez stands for the discussion on Loos, carried out by authorities, which distinguish between relevant and

irrelevant material. Tachia personifies the protagonist declared irrelevant in the discussion on Loos until now, Lina Loos in the present case, which may be happy enough to add to the discussion or change it. This is where the similarities stop. Whereas it is common to (at least try) to break authority and bend the limits of discussion by testing the supposed irrelevant in a biography, this is not always an easy move in academia.

## **AN INVESTIGATION OF THE VALUES OF ARCHITECTURAL THEORY**

There are distinctive ways to define architectural theory but scholars will all agree that, as an academic discipline, it must be regulated by a set of values which guide the discussion and which make it easy to discern what is relevant and what not for a discussion about architecture.<sup>4</sup> In other words, some theories and sources are considered relevant and included into the discussion, whereas others are declared irrelevant and discarded from it. With this in mind, the intention of the present text is manifold. It investigates which topics and materials are discarded from the discussion and looks for explanations for their suggested irrelevance. It inquires into the role changes of thought and connections to other disciplines play when previous irrelevant topics and materials are resurrected while the continuing relevance of others is denied. The text moreover entails a detailed discussion of the connection between the private and the irrelevant, which ends by concluding that having or being granted access to material and topics, access which is regulated from within but also from outside the discussion, has a determining influence on what is considered relevant and what not in architectural theory. The main objective of the first part of the text is then an investigation of how architectural theory comes into being, how it is being maintained and manipulated, which authorities it depends on and how it changes.

These theoretical and methodological thoughts are investigated with reference to an architect whose work and persona have been part of the discussion in architectural theory continuously throughout the past century, Adolf Loos. He is an ideal test case for thoughts on how theories in architecture emerge, how they are maintained and manipulated and how they change. Further, Loos has been the subject of discussion in a variety of academic disciplines, some of them more and some less connected with architectural theory: linguistics, Austrian studies, cultural studies, gender and feminist studies, etc.

This allows for an encompassing analysis of the meeting and diverging points of discussions. Moreover and most importantly, there still exists an abundance of material on him, authored for example by or stemming from Lina Loos's estate, which is listed in bibliographies but remains subordinate in relevance within the field of architectural theory. This material has remained irrelevant in discussions in architecture until now, detached from the scholarly discussion. Some of it, pertaining to the marital bedroom Loos designed for himself and his wife but also an article Lina Loos authored to the topic of material consequences of cultural regress, will be discussed in detail throughout the second part of the work. The latter is particularly concerned with changing the status of this material, and of the protagonist it refers to, to relevant within the boundaries of the scholarly discussion in architecture. The initial hypothesis was that this material would allow an enriched understanding of Loos and introduce Lina Loos into the discussion as a source on his development as an architect. A surprising effect of the present work however, and probably its most innovative aspect, is its final result: the material not only proves fruitful, but leads to the strong suggestion that Lina Loos might have contributed to Loos's development of thoughts on ornament during the years of their marriage, 1902-1905. This work explores this idea and introduces Lina Loos as a significant influence on Adolf Loos's thought and work at the pinnacle of fin-de-siècle Vienna.

## **LINA AND ADOLF LOOS**

"Our marriage was not of long duration; it was, as all worldly things, limited and soon dissolved in its constituent parts."<sup>5</sup> Adolf married Lina, future writer, actress and playwright, nineteen years of age, at thirty-two. One could conclude from Loos's following relationships and marriages with women that this rather big age difference is not entirely coincidental. Whereas he ages naturally, his partners stay at around the same age: Bessy Bruce, Loos's partner after Lina, is nineteen or twenty when they begin their relationship, Loos thirty-five; Elsie Loos is nineteen and Loos forty-nine at the time of this second marriage; Claire Loos, Loos's last wife, is around twenty-five when they marry, Loos fifty-nine and almost at the end of his life.<sup>6</sup> Add to this his involvement in a child molestation case involving three girls, ten years of age and under,<sup>7</sup> and a picture of Loos develops, a man who is attracted, not at all peculiar for the time, to the bodies and minds of very young women and girls.



None of Loos's following partners will be as special as Lina however. In Lina, Loos finds himself not only a very attractive wife but also a very intelligent woman who comes of age intellectually during the time of their marriage. Her biography and written legacy as well as a play about her marriage to Loos<sup>8</sup> afford plenty of evidence for this. In the play, she summarizes her (Ali's) relationship to Loos (The man) as follows:

"The man: Ali, do you believe that I have loved you?

Ali: No, I don't believe that. You wanted to extend y o u r s e l f in me. You wanted to form me, like a piece of work. I however want to be formed by life, not by a particular person. For this you trapped me, detained me. For this, you needed marriage, which gave you power and rights."<sup>9</sup>

Previously in the same play, while describing the end of their relationship, Lina reinforces this depiction of a man who sees in his wife someone in between a girl and a woman with a statement by "The man", Loos, in which he affirms his uncertainty as to whether "Ali", Lina, deserves to rather be caressed, in the sense of love between adults, or, on the contrary, be put over his knee, something one would do to a child.<sup>10</sup>

## **FROM INVESTIGATING DIFFERENCE TO INVESTIGATING THE DISCUSSION**

Lina Loos's characterization of Adolf Loos is important in the context of the present text because it demonstrates her own mental and creative abilities, which until now have not been discussed in the context of Loos's work. When she is part of the discussion in architecture, which is rather seldom and in connection with "Das Schlafzimmer meiner Frau" (My wife's bedroom), the bedroom Loos designed for their marital apartment in 1903, Lina's role is that of a muse, of someone affording creative inspiration to another individual who then performs the creative act. This is especially clear in Anne-Katrin Rossberg's article, which devotes itself to Loos's understanding of femininity and to how one of the two predominant perceptions of women of his time, that of child-women, can be read in the bedroom's formal interpretation.<sup>11</sup> Other discussions on Loos and femininity,<sup>12</sup> which prosper in architecture and related disciplines, leave out Lina while focusing on Loos's work and texts in a more or less implicit attempt to evaluate the modern movement's, of which Loos is considered an important

precursor, take on femininity in connection with the domestic realm. Beatriz Colomina and Hilde Heynen analyze Loos's interiors in terms of visual control, of seeing and being seen, in connection with gendered spaces and the corresponding roles of actor or (passive) observer.<sup>13</sup> Janet Stewart concentrates on Loos's writing on women's fashion and on women as artists of the home, wherein he argues that feminine traits hinder the impending evolutionary process of modernity.<sup>14</sup> Susan Henderson discusses the architect's thoughts on sexuality and culture in both his texts and projects and argues for Loos's understanding of femininity as "irrelevant, distracting and ultimately destructive" in the public realm.<sup>15</sup>

These examples are not characteristic of studying Loos's particular or the modern movement's approach to femininity. Whether focusing on socio-cultural inferiority in terms of professional standing and recognition or on architectural and urban mechanisms of difference, an important strand of architecture and architectural theory tries to make known a variety of mechanisms that deem personae or groups less present, invisible or to some degree inferior to others.<sup>16</sup> This is important because, by definition, spatial organization, one major task of architecture, produces boundaries between groups and these at many scales. As such, the study of how architectural and urban spatial mechanisms reinforce already existing, or create additional, hierarchies between women and men, among other socio-cultural hierarchies, is a central task of architecture and its theory.<sup>17</sup> Confinements, exclusions and inclusions can occur in buildings and cities, motivated by or reflecting political, racial, economic, gender and many other differences that are already in place in society. Over the last decades, scholars have identified a number of such mechanisms of occupying and appropriating space, which can be used to strategically include or exclude certain individuals and/or groups.<sup>18</sup> Further, there have been studies into the status of women in the architectural profession, which place the former at definitive disadvantage regarding their presence and visibility as designers and architects.<sup>19</sup> This interest for spatial and socio-cultural mechanisms of difference has been extended during the late 1990s to also inquire into perhaps unacknowledged contributions in partnerships between male and female architect, between female client and male architect, and finally, partners in life who might have influenced their thought and work.<sup>20</sup> In other words, the study of spatial mechanisms that lead to difference and segregation is accompanied by a study of difference within the profession, sometimes

also referring to protagonists without a professional affiliation. This text picks up the essence of this discussion. If one main task of architectural theory is to investigate systems of difference, then the same discipline ought to commit itself to the investigation of its own discursive hierarchies, for example by constantly questioning discursive authorities and by being attentive to topics and materials which have been excluded from the discussion as irrelevant. This work presents an in-depth discussion of Lina Loos who should be present in some discussions on Adolf Loos but has remained an unacknowledged, irrelevant protagonist until now.

### **IRRELEVANT MATERIAL ON LOOS**

Loos is well represented in texts authored by his three wives and edited by Adolf Opel, his self-declared biographer.<sup>21</sup> He is also a main feature in many thoughts included in correspondence, autobiographical work, newspaper articles and stage-play scripts authored or contained by the estate of his first wife Lina Loos.<sup>22</sup> Contemporary architectural historians and theoreticians<sup>23</sup> have picked up some of this material authored by the wives. They use it to convey aspects of Loos's 'private' life, particularly as part of the discussion around the court cases involving his persona<sup>24</sup> or in search of understanding the context of and thereby the significance of his work in general and of his famous manifesto "Ornament and Crime"<sup>25</sup> in particular. Nonetheless, the same authors occasionally dismiss these same sources as unreliable.<sup>26</sup> This is where the present research picks up. It asks why material authored by or stemming from the estate of Loos's first wife Lina Loos is designated irrelevant in architectural theory, by whom and on what grounds. This discussion does not merely refer to her as a wife who collected and archived material but bases on, as will be shown, her own writing and mental capabilities, and Loos's reactions to them. Both aspects strongly point to the fact that Lina influenced the aesthetic of the marital bedroom and the final formulation of Adolf Loos's ideas on ornament, which culminate in his manifesto "Ornament and Crime." As such, Lina Loos, although not an architect, is a significant protagonist in the development of what would become a modernist manifesto.

In order to get there, the following chapters suggest a picture of the discussion in architectural theory, in which women are absent until the last quarter of the twentieth century, notwithstanding their

professional affiliation. Against this backdrop, even after Lina has been introduced into the general academic discussion by another discipline,<sup>27</sup> she continues to be absent from the scholarly discussion in architecture. This occurs although, and her biographers already mention this for example, her writing shows a high degree of concern with the material manifestation of modernity, also one of Adolf Loos's main topics of discussion. In order to add her as a protagonist to the discussion, the work first debates how the discussion on Loos has previously undergone changes over time. The text shows how materials and topics are added to and discarded from the discussion. The driving forces behind the suggested relevance or irrelevance of certain topics and materials used to lead the discussion are on one hand discussed in connection with changing schools of thought. Further, archives, estates and books are shown to restrict or allow access to material and topics. This has consequences on how Loos is received over time, from controversial public figure during his time, over celebrated architect in distinctive architectural schools of thought during the past century, to child molester at the present time. The discussion is shown to change as previously irrelevant or inaccessible material and topics become relevant, creating the theoretical background for the purpose of the present work, which intends to add Lina Loos as yet another new protagonist to the discussion. Especially considering the strong interest some of the material authored by her or stemming from her estate shows for the material consequences of modernity, her absence from the discussion on Loos is suggested to be problematic. The text therefore ends by inquiring into the rewards of the reconsideration of the irrelevance of the material authored by her or stemming from her estate.

## **TEXT STRUCTURE**

Since Lina Loos is both a woman and lacks professional affiliation, the text first searches for reasons that exclude her from the discussion on Adolf Loos by inquiring into the social and cultural activity of women in fin-de-siècle Vienna as it is transmitted by history. In this context, the first chapter addresses the general absence of women from architectural history and theory. It is suggested that there are ways to write history, some of which exclude women and their social and cultural activity and others, which exclude men in an attempt to reinstate the women. The twofold aim here is to explain that neither way proves satisfactory, but also to show that some protagonists are excluded

from discussion by history in a more or less subjective manner. The second chapter devotes itself to the discussion on Loos in architectural theory and how the latter changes over time. In this context, the intention is to not only show how readings of Loos have changed and can still change over time, but also to account for the possibility of yet a new enriched reading involving a new protagonist. The third and last chapter concerned with theory and methodology looks at the authorities that predetermine what is to be considered relevant and irrelevant within the boundaries of the academic discussion in architecture. Interesting here is that these authorities, those who allow or deny access to material or information, come from both inside and outside of the scholarly discussion, their reasons ranging from expectations of financial gains to loyalty towards the authors' wishes. The goal is to explain that not all exclusions of material or topics from the discussion premise on solid grounds in the sense of being performed by scholars with an awareness of or assuming responsibility for future implications regarding the discussion.

The application of the aforementioned thoughts can be found in chapters five and six. Starting from a discussion of "Das Schlafzimmer meiner Frau," which rids Lina Loos of her status as a muse and reinstates her relevance as a significant protagonist in discussions on Loos, the material leads to an addition to the discussion on Loos, in which Lina plays a surprising and pivotal role. To go back to Marquez, not only the architectural discussion, also Loos has at least three lives: a public life, the professional life documented by an abundance of scholarly accounts, a private life, usually mentioned in bibliographies and popular culture, but also a secret life between profession and home, which is uncovered in this very text and which strongly suggests the inclusion of Lina Loos into scholarly discussions on his theory and work.

## NOTES

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- 1 Garcia Marquez, Gabriel quoted in Martin, Gerald. 2009. *Gabriel Garcia Marquez: A Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 435.
- 2 Martin, Gerald. 2009. *Gabriel Garcia Marquez: A Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 450.
- 3 Ibid, 451.
- 4 Jormakka, Kari. 1991. *Constructing Architecture: Notes on Theory and Criticism in Architecture and the Arts*, Datutop. Tampere: Ars Magna who cites and summarizes Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Jormakka's argument pertains to the conventions of the architectural discourse as a social field - including definitions of the value and meaning of architectural masterpieces, as well as the systemic conventions that are at work in leading and changing the discourse and cites a variety of sources including Bourdieu (see especially 153-154). The main point is that the values of theoretical systems, what is irrelevant and what is relevant for the discussion for example, are immaterial and that is why they can be only defined within the boundaries of the system they constitute and not in isolation.
- 5 Loos, Lina. 1986. *Das Buch Ohne Titel. Erlebte Geschichten*. Wien et al: Hermann Böhlhaus, 95.
- 6 Cf Rukschcio, Burkhardt, and Roland Schachel. 1987 (1982). *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk*. Salzburg und Wien: Residenz Verlag.
- 7 Weigel, Andreas. 2008. "Pyjama und Verbrechen." In *Die Presse*, 15.08.2008. Niederhofer, Gerhard et al. 2015. "Ornament und Verbrechen." In *Falter*, 04.02.2015. Long, Christopher. 2015. *Der Fall Loos*. Wien: Amalthea.
- 8 Loos, Lina. 1994. *Wie man wird, was man ist: Lebens-Geschichten*. Edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Deuticke, 97-133.
- 9 Ibid, 131. Own English translation of "DER MANN: Ali, glaubst du, daß ich dich geliebt habe? ALI: Nein, das glaube ich nicht. Du wolltest dich selbst erweitern in mir. Du wolltest mich formen, wie ein Werk. Ich will aber durch das Leben geformt werden, nicht von einem einzelnen Menschen. Dazu hast du mich gefangen, festgehalten. Dazu brauchtest du die Ehe, die dir Macht und Rechte gab."
- 10 Ibid, 130. Own English translation of "DER MANN: Ali, man weiß wirklich nicht, soll man dich auf den Schoß nehmen oder übers Knie legen."
- 11 Rossberg, Anne-Katrin. 2008. "Loos' Frauenzimmer." In *Leben mit Loos*, edited by Inge Podbrecky and Rainald Franz, 149-160. Wien et al: Böhlau.
- 12 Colomina, Beatriz. 1992. "The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism." In *Sexuality and Space*, edited by Beatriz Colomina, 72-129. New York: Princeton Architectural Press; Heynen, Hilde. 1999. "Adolf Loos: The Broken Continuation of Tradition." In *Architecture and modernity: a critique*, by Hilde Heynen, 75-95. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Stewart, Janet. 2000. *Fashioning Vienna. Adolf Loos's cultural criticism*. London and New York: Routledge; Henderson, Susan R. 2002. "Bachelor Culture in the Work of Adolf Loos." In *Journal of Architectural Education* 55 (3):125-135.
- 13 Colomina 1992. Heynen 1999.

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14 Stewart 2000.

15 Henderson 2002.

16 Cf Hillier, Bill, and Julienne Hanson. 2003 (1984). *The social logic of space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Spain, Daphne. 1992. *Gendered Spaces*. Chapel Hill, London: University of North Carolina Press; Hillier, Bill. 1996. *Space is the Machine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Kuhlmann, Dörte. 2013. *Gender Studies in Architecture: Space, Power and Difference*. London et al: Routledge.

17 Cf Kuhlmann 2013, 4-5.

18 Ibid for work in architecture and architectural theory. Additionally and in related disciplines cf Sibley, David. 1995. *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. London, New York: Routledge; Cieraad, Irene. 1999. *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space*. New York: Syracuse University Press.

19 Kuhlmann 2013, especially chapter 2: Women in the history of art and architecture.

20 Cf Friedmann, Alice T. 1998. *Women and the Making of the Modern house: a social and architectural history*. New York: Harry N. Abrams; Friedman and Filler, Martin. 2007. *Makers of Modern Architecture*. New York: The New York Review of Books.

21 Altmann-Loos, Elsie, Lina Loos, Claire Loos. 2002. *Adolf Loos, der Mensch*. Edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Prachner.

22 Csokor, Franz Theodor, and Leopoldine Rüther (eds.). 1966. *Du silberne Dame. Briefe von und an Lina Loos*. Wien et al: Paul Zsolnay; Loos 1994; Loos, Lina. 1986. *Das Buch Ohne Titel. Erlebte Geschichten*. Wien et al: Hermann Böhlhaus.

23 Cf Rossberg 2008; Schwartz, Frederic J. 2012. "Architecture and Crime: Adolf Loos and the Culture of the "Case"." In *Art Bulletin* 94 (3):437-457; Henderson 2002.

24 Schwartz 2012.

25 Stewart 2000, 82.

26 Schwartz 2012, 439-440. "[Elsie Altman-Loos's] account of many matters is notoriously inaccurate [...]."

27 Fischer, Lisa. 2007 (1994). *Lina Loos oder wenn die Muse sich selbst küsst*. 2nd ed. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau.

## **02\_ABSENT WOMEN**

### *Summary of argument:*

This chapter presents two ways of discussing the presence of a privileged group of people, to which Lina and Adolf Loos belong, who are contributing to fin-de-siècle Vienna's culture and society. The first one, the more common and popular older account recounts the time and place as predominantly masculine, discounting women from most social and cultural events and activities. This way of writing history introduces a possible reason for Lina Loos's exclusion as a forgotten but possibly relevant protagonist not only in architecture but until recently in scholarly work in general. The second and more recent account, which is often found in connection with the field of feminist studies, emphasizes the presence of women in fin-de-siècle Vienna's social and cultural life in association with a very strong women's rights movement. This account neither identifies the sites of this presence nor does it focus on the activities of men beyond those which challenge the feminist movement. The suggestion is that the two accounts are both incompatible and insufficient, one 'forgetting' the women, the other generalizing men's activities. Hence, this chapter shows that history is written in a more or less subjective manner, leading to the supposed irrelevance of some protagonists. This introduces first theoretical grounds for a reconsideration of Lina Loos's absence from the discussion on Loos. Simultaneously, it presents a more equitable account of Lina and Adolf Loos's environment by turning to material and topics of the time.

### **WOMEN AND THE WRITING OF HISTORY**

One argument of this text is that it may be academically rewarding to add Lina Loos, Adolf Loos's first wife, or better said her written legacy, as a significant topic to the discussion on Loos within the realm of architectural theory and history. From the point of view of this particular discourse, this is not a very common maneuver. Most often, and until the last quarter of the twentieth century, the connection between mainly male master architect and



female partner (often, these partnerships are both professional and private, notwithstanding the women's professional education or lack thereof) is discussed in terms of the woman as creative inspiration for the male creative act.<sup>1</sup> Only very recently, since the 1990s, and sometimes in a desperate attempt to substantiate the presence of women in the history and theory of architecture, women start to appear in academic discussions on a regular basis. The scholars responsible for this are often found working close to the field of feminist studies. This is partly due to the situation of the architectural profession itself about which Martin Filler concludes the following: "That so few women were able to reach positions of prominence in architecture until the last quarter of the twentieth century is an irrefutable, if deplorable fact."<sup>2</sup> In *Makers of Modern Architecture*, Filler works towards solving this problem in that he acknowledges and describes the collaboration between women and men in several modernist masterpieces. Especially regarding work by Frank Lloyd Wright, the author recounts mothers, wives and female partners in order to show how they shaped the architects' personalities and work. Evidently, some of these women were not trained architects. The current text endeavors a similar maneuver regarding the Austrian architect Adolf Loos. Focusing on Lina Loos, author and actress but not a trained architect, the text suggests the reconsideration of material authored by her or stemming from her estate as significant for the discussion on Loos, especially as regards two of Loos's projects: "Das Schlafzimmer meiner Frau" and "Ornament and Crime."

It is important to understand the present case study as a methodological inquiry in the context of a professional and academic discipline from which women have been excluded or forgotten for the largest part of its history, notwithstanding their professional affiliation. This explains the absence of significant professional and theoretical contributions by women, typical for architecture and its theory. This however is not a way of writing history that is particular to the creative disciplines or their theory and history. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Christine de Pizan puts forward the argument that historians generally tend to forget women when capturing historical events.<sup>3</sup> One explanation de Pizan offers is that

although women do contribute to the culture and society of a certain time, when history is written about that time it happens in such a way that these protagonists and their actions become forgotten.<sup>4</sup> De Pizan's claim goes even a step further to argue that this exclusion "is not coincidental but based on deliberate discredit."<sup>5</sup> In disapproval of this way of writing history she attempts to rewrite it in her "Book of the City of Ladies," reconstructing a symbolic city filled with forgotten but important women whose contributions, recorded in this rather unconventional way, will no longer be forgotten and neglected.<sup>6</sup> De Pizan's argument is the theoretical basis for the present text's attempt to discuss Lina Loos's relevance in architectural history and theory. Like many, albeit privileged,<sup>7</sup> women artists contributing to the society and culture of fin-de-siècle Vienna,<sup>8</sup> Lina was not neglected at the time she lived.<sup>9</sup> She was part of a group of very active women in fin-de-siècle Vienna who addressed the role of women in modernity, whether in writing (Lina Loos), in public speeches (Rosa Mayreder) or in the arts (Tina Blau or Teresa Ries), sometimes dubbed the New Woman generation. Some of these women were operating within frameworks of women's movements or women only associations<sup>10</sup> while others contributed to culture and society through their partnerships with male artists and architects who belonged to male dominated associations like Wiener Werkstätte and Wiener Secession.<sup>11</sup> Yet other women were active within the context of fin-de-siècle Vienna's highly hierarchical institution of the salon, as matrons of artistic, political and societal networks.<sup>12</sup>

Especially in recent years, scholars, usually from or working close to the field of feminist studies and research, have triggered and maintained discussions around women like Tina Blau, Teresa Ries, Grete Meisel-Hess or Auguste Fickert.<sup>13</sup> They aim to make visible these forgotten exceptional women who contributed to culture and society between the turn of the century and the Second World War.<sup>14</sup> Their argument is that even the most recent writing of history neglects women and their contributions, albeit not deliberately but owing to the 'distraction' of two world wars<sup>15</sup> and they want to undo this. More or less consciously mirroring de Pizan, Julie Johnson, Agatha Schwartz, Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber for instance,

as well as writers working in popular literature, Helga Peham or Hertha Kratzer for example,<sup>16</sup> focus on the role of the female protagonists in fin-de-siècle Vienna's society and culture. Via the emphasis on women however, these depictions elaborate an abstract womenonly history. The latter is not concerned with men's contributions or mentions them largely in as far as they constitute the opposition of feminism, misogyny.<sup>17</sup> This is not to say that the focus on women and their activities in cultural and social life discredits the value of the texts since this may be the only appropriate answer to gather attention for a way of writing history that has neglected women's contributions.

Here, the aim is to provide an equitable account of creative and social activity in fin-de-siècle Vienna. The following combines the, although recent, existing research on women's social and cultural contributions at Vienna's turn of the century with the more usual historical accounts involving a very masculine depiction of this time and place. The focus is on Lina and Adolf Loos as part of a group of female and male (and very privileged since they do not represent the masses) protagonists in fin-de-siècle Vienna. The challenge is to narrate the history of women and men characters, and also of the public institutions and sites fostering their interactions and actions and merge the male-dominated depiction of fin-de-siècle Vienna with the specific feminist manner of focusing on women's roles and activities.

This is of course not the first attempt to contextualize fin-de-siècle Vienna by including women's contributions to society and culture. Especially in response to Carl Schorske seminal text *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*,<sup>18</sup> which has been criticized as ignoring the complexity of activities at the turn of the century in Vienna, scholarly work has attempted to overcome some of the dualisms presented therein.<sup>19</sup> However, when it comes to the presence and contributions of women the tendency is to sustain the corresponding dualism by discussing the fin-de-siècle feminist movement opposite a misogynist movement<sup>20</sup> or nourishing a popular categorization of the female fin-de-siècle ideal as either *femme fatale* or *femme fragile*.<sup>21</sup> Corresponding to these dualities is the analysis of the places of discussion, which men and women frequent at this time: coffeehouses and venues for public lectures are

described as mainly masculine spaces whereas the women are usually discussed in connection with the salon. In order to reconsider this dual way of thinking about Viennese life at the time, the following is an excursion into scholarly but also biographical and original archival material. The question is whether the common and the feminist ways of writing about this supposed masculine time and place could be reconciled. Simultaneously, this discussion will introduce Lina Loos as an active protagonist in Vienna at the turn of the nineteenth century, author on the topic of modernity and its consequences for the material world and, considering Loos's written work to the same topic, also a possible overlooked protagonist in the Loos discussion until now.

### **MASCULINE SITES IN FIN-DE- SIÈCLE VIENNA**

The year is 1911 and the Viennese “Akademischer Verband für Literatur und Musik” (Academic association for literature and music) organizes the ‘public’ lecture “An Evening with Karl Kraus.”<sup>22</sup> By analyzing this event and the respective original sources, Janet Stewart suggests women's general passiveness and exclusion from Viennese public talks at this time: in terms of gendered spaces, the public lecture and its site are masculine. The performer is male and the young audience consists of men and women but the latter are described in terms of their “ecstatic” or “enthusiastic” response,<sup>23</sup> not necessarily an indication for their presence for intellectual purposes. Other lectures are even announced for men only.<sup>24</sup> One source explains that this exclusion is due to their hats, which would obscure the view of those sitting behind them.<sup>25</sup> Again, there does not seem to be much indication of a belief in women's intellectual abilities in this. Put this way, a picture develops, which seems to hint at a highly masculine time, at which women are valued or therefore also not active in culture and society. Adolf Loos seems to confirm Stewart's thoughts on lectures and their masculine connotation when he writes in 1918 in a Viennese newspaper: “Who would I like to see in the audience for my lectures? Answer: [...] All the gentlemen of the government (and those who want to be in government), the makers of social policy, pedagogues and doctors.”<sup>26</sup> It is necessary to

understand here however that the architectural public lecture did and still does target exchanging professional ideas just as much as it intends to raise the public professional profile and authority of the particular architect.<sup>27</sup> In this context, what Loos's words confirm is nothing than a well-known fact, namely that the architectural profession was a predominantly male profession at the time, depending on male patrons. Lacking authority, political power and money, women would neither be particularly present nor important at such public talks. However, this is not an indication for the comprehensive absence of women from the profession, or from social and cultural activity in general.

Another significant site of public discussion and interaction, which has been argued to confirm the masculine connotation of fin-de-siècle Vienna, is the coffeehouse.<sup>28</sup> This seems odd given that in 1856 women were already legally allowed to frequent these Viennese establishments as guests.<sup>29</sup> Nonetheless, accounts maintain that at the turn of the century "café life was one of the street and of men. At the cafés, men met to discuss and dispute, to write, and even paint. [...] Women were onlookers and diversions; mostly they were actresses and dancers, and some were prostitutes."<sup>30</sup> In his formative analysis of Café Central, Alfred Polgar paints a slightly different picture. He describes the persons frequenting this and similar establishments as lacking the feeling "that they are a little part of a whole", whether that whole is the family, the profession or the political association one belongs to.<sup>31</sup> Concerning the presence of women he continues: "It is thus understandable that above all women, who can really never be alone and need at least one other person along with them, have a weakness for the Café Central."<sup>32</sup> Despite this description, which clearly refers to the presence of women in Café Central, but again not for intellectual reasons, the list of guests mentioned regularly elsewhere fails to mention women. Another portrayal of this seminal coffeehouse admittedly refers to the site as a "guide through Viennese literature of Fin de Siècle, including the complete works."<sup>33</sup> But these complete works communicated by the common historical accounts refer for the most part to male writers, to Peter Altenberg and Egon Friedell for instance.<sup>34</sup> Even when women are mentioned, they are clearly outnumbered.<sup>35</sup>

Besides leaving the reader under the impression that women were not present or relevant in the two masculine sites of Viennese social and cultural activities, lecture and coffeehouse, another usual historical maneuver is to introduce a third site, namely the salon. Stewart's description of salons in *Fashioning Vienna* is that of places where social togetherness was possible in a similar manner to the coffeehouse.<sup>36</sup> She herself does not perform an analysis of the salon from the point of view of gendered spaces like she does with the public lecture in *Public Speaking in the City*. Another account however, describes a place in which artistic circles gathered and "women acted as arbiters, orchestrating interaction between artists and society people."<sup>37</sup> a common depiction of the salon. Agatha Schwartz traces the history of Vienna's salons to the Jewish salonières of Berlin who are described as signifying "an advance for Jewish women's rights and power, as they became influential within their own circles and furthered the cause of social integration."<sup>38</sup> In Vienna, the claim continues, the salons similarly "provided sheltered arenas where interactions that were otherwise unacceptable could safely occur [and] also pushed the limits of acceptable roles for women and for Jews."<sup>39</sup> The Viennese salon is then, at least in this way of writing history, the central site of possible societal and cultural action and artistic involvement for women at this time. However, its legitimacy as a genuine public space is questionable, in light of its intrinsic connection with domesticity and the private sphere via its site, the home of the salonière.

## THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

A second and more recent historical maneuver, which depicts the turn of the twentieth century in Vienna, focuses on women's actions and thoughts, the resulting feminist movement and its success in claiming women's rights to vote and to gain access to education and work as well as generally to civic actions and privileges. These discussions identify the feminist movement opposite and partly also due to misogyny that imbues society and culture at the time. Starting from a biological idea of women as inferior to men, the conclusion of misogynist thought in fin-de-siècle culture is that any sort of feminization, not only

biological, is in some way detrimental. Applied to a time highly concerned with cultural phenomena, especially cultural evolution versus degeneration, these thoughts are used to explain cultural phenomena based on biological differences between men and women.<sup>40</sup>

Obviously, in this context, cultural evolution entailed the rejection of feminine values.

“If women are excluded from the public sphere, culture and society can be preserved.”<sup>41</sup> This is a simple summary of the Viennese misogynist movement’s main objective. Most often, the movement is traced to one main protagonist, Otto Weininger. Of course, other names could be mentioned in this context, like Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud,<sup>42</sup> or Wilhelm Fließ,<sup>43</sup> but Weininger’s message stays:

“Whilst I know of many men who are practically completely psychically female, not merely half so, and have seen a considerable number of women with masculine traits, I have never yet seen a single woman who was not fundamentally female, even when this femaleness has been concealed by various accessories from the person herself, not to speak of others. One must *be* (chap. i. part I.) either man or woman, however many peculiarities of both sexes one may have, and this *“being,”* the problem of this work from the start, is determined by one’s relation to ethics and logic; but whilst there are people who are anatomically men and psychically women, there is no such thing as a person who is physically female and psychically male, notwithstanding the extreme maleness of their outward appearance and the unwomanliness of their expression.”<sup>44</sup>

Allowing this inferior sex, which lacks both ethics and logic, to enter and become active in public space would only be detrimental to a culture that was already feared to be degenerating. Also relevant for the present text is another idea scholars pursue. A feminist movement parallels these misogynist tendencies. The latter is discussed as opposite, meaning in direct connection to, perhaps even being a result of the very popular misogynist crusade of the time. Misogynists argue against biological and social feminization of culture, and consequently for the exclusion of women from public life due to their inferior nature. In

response, feminists start to fight against their inferior societal and cultural status. Against this background, one element of the discussion around the women's rights movement of the turn of the century is odd, namely that it fails to account for the sites and situations in which these interconnected ideas could be discussed.

In particular Schwartz has been paying a fair amount of attention to women's voices of the early women's rights movement in this context.<sup>45</sup>

“The writings of Grete Meisel-Hess, Rosa Mayreder, Helene von Druskowitz, and Elsa Asenijeff reflect this debate [surrounding the concepts of male and female sexuality and the standards of femininity and masculinity] and highlight various aspects and manifestations of male sexuality and masculinity. These authors analyze negative expressions of masculinity, and they criticize the consequences such masculinity has for women's lives and society in general. Their texts thus implicitly and explicitly challenge antiquated patriarchal structures.”<sup>46</sup>

Coming from the field of languages and literature, Schwartz's methodology involves an analysis of written and literary accounts of this time. At first, these seem to confirm the idea of a lack of sites for women to publicly voice their opinion and become active, since the very idea of writing is, at first at least, a private act. However, writing which is performed by a variety of persona surrounding a similar topic and in a similar timeframe can barely take place in absence of discussion. Considering this, it seems odd that there are still a number of historical accounts about fin-de-siècle culture, which only mention one main site in connection with women's possibilities for socio-cultural discussion and action, namely the salon. Even when scholars concerned with the feminist uprising provide a convincing list of the protagonists of the corresponding discussions, they fail to account for and describe the sites and events of social and cultural activities of women. Considering the strength and pace of the movement, it would make sense however to find a history describing an increasing amount of sites and events accessible to both women and men. These sites would be the



prerequisite for discussions and negotiations pertaining to the societal inferiority of women in question.

As such both accounts of writing history, the more usual masculine fin-des-siècle Vienna and the more recent one focusing on the women's rights movement, are unsatisfactory for two reasons. On one hand, they fail to offer an equitable picture of the time, which would reflect the deep connection between misogynist and feminism. Also, they are inconsistent, in themselves and together: in that they deny the reality of or fail to describe the actual places or opportunities for political action or discussion for the first feminists, they do not explain how such an uprising, whose existence cannot be debated, was embedded in the material world and thus made possible. That the movement existed and that it was successful cannot be disputed: in Austria, women's right to vote was introduced in 1918. Perhaps a look at less scholarly accounts that may be best described as coming from the realm of popular culture will identify some of these sites and their female and male protagonists. The following discussion bases on mainly (auto-)biographical and original archival material, aiming not only to reinforce de Pizan's claim but also to reconstruct a historically more equitable account of fin-de-siècle Vienna's probable sites of socio-cultural activities and their protagonists.

## **RECONCILIATION OF THE MASCULINE AND FEMININE FIN DE SIÈCLE**

If until around 1840, women would have been a sheer impossibility in Viennese coffeehouses<sup>47</sup> this changes by 1856 when women are legally allowed to frequent and not merely work in such establishments.<sup>48</sup> Interestingly, this happens ten years earlier than the initiation of the "era of the [Austrian] organized woman."<sup>49</sup> This era is traced back to 1866, the year in which the "Wiener Frauen-Erwerbsverein" (The Viennese Women's Employment Association) is founded.<sup>50</sup> This is followed by the founding of the "Allgemeiner Österreichischer Frauenverein" (General Austrian Women's Association) in 1893 and the launch of its journal *Neues Frauenleben* (New womens' life) in 1902.<sup>51</sup> Likewise in 1902, the "Bund Österreichischer Frauenvereine" (The League of Austrian Women's Associations) is

established,<sup>52</sup> arguing for and achieving the opening of state vocational schools by 1910.<sup>53</sup> As such, even though suffrage was not granted to Austrian women until 1918, women were present in social and cultural activities already long before 1900.

One of the main protagonists in the women's rights movement is Rosa Mayreder, the only woman holding the center of a circle in Edward Timms' diagram "The Vienna Circles: diagram of creative interaction in Vienna around 1910."<sup>54</sup> Mayreder is a writer, one of the founders of the "Wiener Frauen-Erwerbsverein" (Viennese Women's Employment Association) and co-editor of the journal *Dokumente der Frauen* (Women's documents) together with Marie Lang<sup>55</sup> and Auguste Fickert. In 1894, Rosa Mayreder holds a public speech against the planned construction of brothels in Vienna at the Viennese city hall.<sup>56</sup> The performance is commented in the press and followed by other public performances in connection with both the feminist and the freedom movements in Vienna.<sup>57</sup> So, at the very least in this specific case, and seventeen years earlier than the already mentioned Kraus lecture, which starts Stewart's discussion on the absence of women from the public space of political and cultural debates in Vienna, there exists a definitive mention of women's involvement with public lectures.

Continuing to look at Marie Lang, co-editor of *Dokumente der Frauen* and member of the committee "Wiener Frauenclub" (Viennese women's club), yet another mode of public activity by women becomes apparent, this time in connection with a site designed by Loos. On November 15, 1900, the "Wiener Frauenclub" is founded. In her opening speech, Margarethe Jodl, the club's president, thanks a variety of individuals and firms, among them Adolf Loos, for their cooperation and help.

"The artistic form, in which our very rooms present themselves to you today is due to the self-sacrificing cooperation between the F.O. Schmidt company and mister architect Josef [sic] Loos, who shared his experience and his taste in a selfless way in our matter and according to whose drawings and designs the whole interior was executed by the Schmidt company. It is a pleasant task to bring into expression, in the

committee's, as well as all the members' name, the warmest and forthcoming thank you for his friendly and successful efforts, which have associated his name forever with the founding of the Wiener Frauenclub. May the prosperity of the club afford him the inner satisfaction, to have created a place for the Viennese world of women, from which new forms of mental and social communication emanate."<sup>58</sup>

Besides providing an opportunity for a variety of puns about Josef Hoffman and Adolf Loos from the standpoint of current perspectives,<sup>59</sup> Jodl is implicitly stating that although sites of public presence may have been rare until then in Vienna, the club's new facilities set the tone not only for a new time but also for the corresponding physical sites.

But besides this site clearly connected with feminist activism, other sites of feminine presence and activity can be found in, for example, educational facilities. The "Allgemeine Zeichenschule für Frauen und Mädchen in Wien" (General drawing school for women and girls in Vienna), is established in 1874<sup>60</sup> and Eugenie Schwarzwald starts to manage the "Privat-Mädchenlyzeum" (Private lyceum for girls) during the school year 1901/02.<sup>61</sup> A variety of women-only associations parallel this organized educational system, which is aimed primarily at women. Noteworthy and going beyond the category of woman writer or woman salonière are the artists belonging to the "Gruppe der Acht Künstlerinnen" (Group of eight women artists), founded in 1901.<sup>62</sup> A snippet from the journal *Neues Frauenleben*<sup>63</sup> (New women's life) reviews their exhibition in Salon Pisko in Vienna. As this exhibition most probably had a mixed public, such venues represent yet another modus of actively participating in social and cultural life for women of the time, this time as main protagonists.

The probably most important acknowledgement for the presence and activity of women in the public sphere pertains however to the presence, visibility and activity of women in coffeehouses. Around 1900, the usual account lists three Viennese coffeehouses as so-called literary or artists' cafes,<sup>64</sup> places where the question about what is modern is posed in connection with culture and the arts. Café Griendsteidl, Café Herrenhof and Café Central are important sites of social and cultural interaction, in which if we are to believe the claims

discussed above, men are active and women present but in a passive role as onlookers or even prostitutes. These locations do not only serve a very pragmatic purpose, namely temporary relief from cold apartments and rooms at wintertime, but also provide a significant opportunity for exchange of information.<sup>65</sup> The regular patrons are often writers, painters, musicians or architects and so the coffeehouse is an important place of exchange of knowledge and of cultural, social and political debates. But exactly because these same debates put great focus on modern women's and men's roles in society, for example on the so-called double moral standard of applying different sets of moral principles to women and men,<sup>66</sup> it seems dubious that coffeehouses are usually omitted from the discussion associated with feminist action and the uprising women's movement. Evidently, depictions of the coffeehouse as a masculine site<sup>67</sup> or those describing the women present in coffeehouse society as passive onlookers or prostitutes<sup>68</sup> come in the way of even starting to consider their role from the point of view of an important fin-de-siècle site associated with discussion, a place in which both sexes could meet and exchange knowledge and arguments. Especially pertaining to the circle around Lina and Adolf Loos, the coffeehouse seems however to have operated possibly even as a favorite meeting point between men and women contributing to the time's society and culture.

One very celebrated memory from Lina Loos's autobiographical work *Buch ohne Titel* (Book without name) confirms this idea. Loos is "at home [...] in Bohemian circles associated with the Viennese coffeehouses"<sup>69</sup> when Lina and her sister attend the table reserved for regular guest Peter Altenberg and his friends at Café Löwenbräu. Lina remembers "one evening when my sister and my brother-in-law took me with them to the Peter-Altenberg-table in Löwenbräu. Present were: Peter Altenberg, Karl Kraus, Egon Friedell and Adolf Loos."<sup>70</sup> Loos had brought a cigarette case with him, bearing only the natural ornament of its material, wood, which he praises for its adequacy of purpose due to its form as he dares Lina to try to open it. Lina breaks the case and, asking how she may pay back for this mishap receives the answer: "So marry me!"<sup>71</sup> Lina and Adolf Loos marry the following summer. In this

particular memory, Lina never indicates that it may have been unusual for her or women in general to frequent coffeehouses, merely that she feels timid due to her age and the celebrity status of her table companions.

## **LINA LOOS, AUTHOR AND NEW WOMAN**

Lina's presence in Café Löwenbräu marks the start of her relationship with Loos, which is soon followed by the 'birth' of Lina the author. Lina Loos's list of publications starts in 1904, two years after the marriage to Loos, with an article on the topic of cultural degeneration and its material manifestations, prominent themes in Adolf Loos's abundance of articles from 1898 and the focus of his later manifesto "Ornament and Crime" (1909/1910). Despite this overlap of interest, Lina has only recently become a topic of scholarly inquiry and then not within the boundaries of discussion in architecture. This may be due to the common way of approaching the turn of the century in Vienna historically, which usually describes it as a masculine time. This way of writing history has forgotten or devalued the women protagonists active in society and culture at the time. As such, it is not surprising to find that Lina Loos has only recently been introduced into scholarly discussions, especially due to the efforts of one author, Lisa Fischer.<sup>72</sup> Lina Loos is moreover still completely absent as a significant figure in discussions in architecture, in which the aforementioned common historical approach is furthered by a professional bias against women protagonists. Discovering Lina forty years after her death, Fischer endeavors an academic piece enriched by biographic facts and original material to discuss, among other things, Lina Loos's role as a muse, not only to Loos but also to a "whole circle of coffee house literary figures."<sup>73</sup> The most important reason Fischer gives for starting an academic discussion around Lina is that she personifies "part of a collective women's history."<sup>74</sup> What Fischer seems to refer to becomes clear after a short look at Lina Loos's texts. Although absent in the usual overview of women writers in fin-de-siècle Vienna concerned with the concept of the New Woman written in English,<sup>75</sup> Lina Loos, born 1882, personifies the Viennese New Woman. The term

describes the first generation of women who come of age around 1900 and are modern in that they have a choice regarding (higher) education. Consequently, they are able to achieve professional and financial independence as well as question their (inferior) role in society. Some of the other women described above, Rosa Mayreder or Auguste Fickert are New Women. By contrast, women belonging to previous generations are usually self- or uneducated, mostly concerned with domestic matters for the largest parts of their life and financially and legally dependent on male figures in their lives.

Agatha Schwartz goes as far as to illustrate a potential intellectual gap between the generations of Old and New Woman. She is referring here to a piece of literature authored by Terka Lux and published in 1906, *Leanyok* (Girls). Two of the three young female protagonists are described from a then contemporary perspective as personifying the old and the new generation of women respectively. Juli is the New Woman, supporting herself and living in the present whereas Janka, the second protagonist, bemoans a better past, “despising work as an option in life” while simultaneously rejecting the other, personified for example by Jews.<sup>76</sup> Lina Loos is the Juli in our story. Her biographers describe her as a writer and actress who works throughout her life to support herself. In this sense, she is the archetype for the professional New Woman. Moreover, her writing provides proof for her deep concern regarding her role as a woman in society, regarding the double standard for example, and in her personal relationships with men.<sup>77</sup> But going beyond questions of gender, and this is when she becomes relevant for a discussion in architecture, Lina Loos’s texts repeatedly address the consequences modernity might have had on culture in general and on the material world in particular. “From generation to generation, we adopt only the instinct for sexual matters, and I truthfully do not know what necessity we could still have for culture,”<sup>78</sup> she writes and echoes in her concern, thought and perhaps even tone, messages that scholars in architecture can simultaneously connect to Adolf Loos. This concern she shares with Loos, for cultural degeneration and for its manifestations in the material world, suggests that Lina Loos is overlooked source and significant topic of discussion in architecture. The last two chapters of

this text dedicate themselves to an in-depth discussion of this significance. For now, this character description of Lina Loos as a highly intelligent and eloquent New Woman and author is meant to establish relevant grounds for further investigation into an until now overlooked topic of discussion from the point of view of architectural history and theory.

## **INTRODUCING LINA'S LEGACY INTO DISCUSSIONS**

At the beginning of the present chapter, Christine de Pizan's idea was introduced, whereby history, mainly written by men about men, produces is responsible for the claim that women are contributing very little to both culture and society. Women, who are visible and active in society and culture at the time they live, become 'deliberately' forgotten as soon as the present becomes the past. Regarding the time around 1900 in Vienna, common historical accounts do indeed indicate the women's absence from public life or at the very least their passive presence, suggesting a predominantly masculine time and place. This chapter has discussed that these accounts are inconsistent with a very strong women's rights movement happening simultaneously, which appears in recent scholarly attempts to revive these women and their contributions to culture and society, however failing to describe the actual sites of this public activity and presence and forgetting about or generalizing male presence in opposition to the movement. A collection of biographical and original archival material was discussed in this context, aiming to suggest the possibility of a historically more equitable account of sites of public action and their female and male protagonists in fin-de-siècle Vienna. In doing so, the text has introduced a plausible reason for the exclusion of Lina's legacy from many discussions, including the one in architecture, and simultaneously introduced the relevance for an inquiry into her significance as a writer concerned with material manifestations of modernity, a topic that reoccurs in Loos's work.

## NOTES

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- 1 Fischer, Lisa. 2007 (1994). *Lina Loos oder wenn die Muse sich selbst küsst*. 2nd ed. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 12.
- 2 Filler, Martin. 2007. *Makers of Modern Architecture*. New York: The New York Review of Books, xvii.
- 3 Kuhlmann, Dörte. 2013. *Gender Studies in Architecture: Space, Power and Difference*. London et al: Routledge, 16.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 These women were often educated and financially well off and, if not, supported by their aristocratic patrons or the intellectual circles they were affiliated with. Cf Johnson, Julie M. 2012. *The Memory Factory. The Forgotten Women Artists of Vienna 1900*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press.
- 8 Cf Schwartz, Agatha. 2007. *Shifting Voices: Feminist Thought and Women's Writing in Fin-de-Siècle Austria and Hungary*. Montreal et al: McGill-Queen's University Press, 4.
- 9 Cf Loos, Lina. 1994. *Wie man wird, was man ist: Lebens-Geschichten*. Edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Deuticke; Altmann-Loos, Elsie, Lina Loos, Claire Loos. 2002. *Adolf Loos, der Mensch*. Edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Prachner.
- 10 An example is the association "8 Women Artists". Cf Johnson 2012, 255.
- 11 Cf Johnson 2012, especially Chapters 2 and 5 on Elena Luksch-Makowsky and Teresa Ries, respectively.
- 12 Especially interesting in this context is Alma Mahler-Werfel but also many other women artists, either directly involved with the feminist movement, or, perhaps in a less direct but just as efficient manner, working towards institutionalizing education for girls and women in the fields of arts, crafts and architecture: Berta Zuckermandl, Marie Lang and Eugenie Schwarzwald, among others.
- 13 Cf Schwartz 2007, Johnson 2012.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Johnson 2012; Schwartz 2007; Plakolm-Forsthuber, 1994. *Künstlerinnen in Österreich 1897-1938: Malerei, Plastik, Architektur*. Wien: Picus; Peham, Helga. 2013. *Die Salonièren und die Salons in Wien: 200 Jahre Geschichte einer besonderen Institution*. Wien et al: Styria; Kratzer, Hertha. 2003. *Die unschicklichen Töchter: Frauenporträts der Wiener Moderne*. Wien: Ueberreuter.
- 17 Schwartz, Agatha. 2008. "Sexual Cripples and Moral Degenerates: Fin-de-siècle Austrian Women Writers on Male Sexuality and Masculinity." In *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 44 (1):53-67.
- 18 Schorske, Carl E. 2012 (1961). *Fin-De-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*. New York: Vintage Books.



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- 19 Maderthaner, Wolfgang, and Lutz Musner. 2008. *Unruly Masses: The Other Side of Fin-de-siècle Vienna*. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books.
- 20 Schwartz 2008.
- 21 Cf the present work's sixth chapter for an in-depth discussion.
- 22 Stewart, Janet. 2009. *Public Speaking in the City. Debating and Shaping the Urban Experience*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- 23 Ibid, 37.
- 24 Ibid, 38.
- 25 Ibid, 38.
- 26 Ibid, 18.
- 27 Cf Ibid, 58.
- 28 Cf Johnston, William M. 1976 (1972). *The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 119-124.
- 29 Previous to this year, women were allowed to work as cashiers in coffeehouses but not to frequent them as guests. Cf UNESCO, Austrian Commission for. "Verzeichnis des Immateriellen Kulturerbes in Österreich. Wiener Kaffeehauskultur." Accessed 22.01.2015. <http://immaterielleskulturerbe.unesco.at/cgi-bin/unesco/element.pl?eid=71>.
- 30 Henderson, Susan R. 2002. "Bachelor Culture in the Work of Adolf Loos." In *Journal of Architectural Education* 55 (3):125-135, 126. Cf also Gronberg, Tag. 2001. "The Inner Man: Interiors and Masculinity in Early Twentieth-Century Vienna." In *Oxford Art Journal* 24 (1):69-88, 71.
- 31 Polgar, Alfred. 1984 (1926). "Theorie des <<Cafe Central>>." In *Alfred Polgar. Kleine Schriften. Band 4, Literatur*, edited by Marcel Reich-Ranicki and Ulrich Weinzierl, 254-259. Reinbek: Rohwolt, 255. Own English translation of „Teilchen eines Ganzen.“
- 32 Ibid. Own English translation of "Verständlich also, daß vor allem Frauen, die ja niemals allein sein können, sondern hierzu mindestens noch einen brauchen, eine Schwäche für das Cafe Central haben."
- 33 Springer, Käthe. 2011 (2005). "Das Wiener Kaffeehaus - Ein literarisches Verkehrszentrum." In *Wien 1900. Kunst und Kultur*, edited by Christian Brandstätter, 335-341. Wien: Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 335-336. Own English translation of "[...] ein Führer durch die Wiener Literatur des Fin de Siecle, sämtliche literarischen Strömungen eingeschlossen."
- 34 Cf Musner, Lutz. 2009. *Der Geschmack von Wien. Kultur und Habitus einer Stadt*. Frankfurt: Campus, 112 or Perloff, Marjorie. 2003. "Seductive Vienna." In *Modernism/modernity* 10 (2 ):221-238, 230.
- 35 Beller, Steven. 2013. "The Jew belongs in The Coffeehouse. Jews, Central Europe and Modernity." In *The Viennese Cafe and Fin-de-Siecle Culture*, edited by Charlotte Ashby, Tag Gronberg and Simon Shaw-Miller, 50-

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58. Bergbahn Books, 53: According to this account, this is a list of the main guests: Fraz Blei, Robert Musil, Otto Gross, Peter Altenberg, Karl Kraus, Hermann Broch, Anton Kuh, Alfred Polgar, Ernst Polak, Otto Soyka, Leo Perutz, Friedrich Torberg, Hilde Spiel, Elias Canetti, Joseph Roth, Franz Werfel, Egon Erwin Kisch, Gina Kaus. Two out of the eighteen protagonists of Café Central and its successor, Café Herrenhof, are female, namely Hilde Spiel and Gina Kaus.

36 Stewart, Janet. 2000. *Fashioning Vienna. Adolf Loos's cultural criticism*. London and New York: Routledge, 81.

37 Henderson 2002, 125.

38 Rose, Alison. 2010. "The Jewish Salons of Vienna." In *Gender and Modernity in Central Europe. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and its Legacy*, edited by Agatha Schwartz, 119-132. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 120.

39 Ibid, 121.

40 Chandler, Katharine. 2011. "The Ritual Sacrifice of Women: Misogyny and Art in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna." In *Concept 34*. Accessed 22.01.2015. <http://concept.journals.villanova.edu/article/view/557/1690>.

41 Ibid.

42 On the one hand there Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud publish their "Studies on Hysteria" in 1895, which will eventually lead to the recognition of psychoanalysis as a form of cure, and which argues for masculine superiority. Otto Weininger publishes his book on "Sex and character", arguing for the "psychological interiority of women" in 1903.

43 Schwartz, Frederic J. 2012. "Architecture and Crime: Adolf Loos and the Culture of the "Case". In *Art Bulletin* 94 (3):437-457, 442. Schwartz maintains that "some of [Freud's] private letters to Wilhelm Fliess were published, implicating him in a public scandal involving plagiarism and the priority of Fliess's theories about bisexuality. Freud had apparently shared Fliess's ideas with Otto Weininger, who published them first in *Geschlecht und Charakter* in 1903."

44 Weininger, Otto. 1906. *Sex & Character*. London, New York: W. Heinemann, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 114.

45 See for example Schwartz 2007, Schwartz 2008, Schwartz 2010 or Schwartz, Agatha and Helga Throson (eds.). 2013. *Shaking the Empire, shacking patriarchy: the Growth of a Feminist Consciousness across the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*. Riverside: Ariadne Press.

46 Schwartz 2008, 53.

47 Gugitz, Gustav. 1940. *Das Wiener Kaffeehaus. Ein Stück Kultur- und Lokalgeschichte*. Wien: Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk. Own English translation and summary of "Ein vollkommen neues Element im Wiener Kaffeehausleben, das damit eine ganz andere Gestaltung bekam, ergab sich außer aus dem Hinzutritt der Damenwelt. Bis 1840 wäre eine Frau in einem Wiener Kaffeehaus eine glatte Unmöglichkeit gewesen, außer in

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den Sommerzeiten. Es gab zwar bei Taroni und Neuner schon in den Dreißigerjahren einen Damensalon (f. Register), was aber mehr rein Zimmer für Nichtraucher bedeutete, kaum ein Blaustrumpf dürfte dort Platz genommen haben, und wenn, mit größtem Aufsehen.”, 185-6.

48 Cf UNESCO.

49 “Petition des Allgemeinen Österreichischen Frauenvereines an das Abgeordnetenhaus um eine Enquete über die Sanitätscontrole.” In *Frauenleben*, 13, 132-135. As cited in Anderson, Harriet. 1992. *Utopian Feminism. Women's Movements in fin-de-siècle Vienna*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 25.

50 Anderson 1992. Cf also Schwartz 2007. There is also mention of two “waves“ of this feminist movement, the one around 1900 being already the second one, “in full swing.”

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Schwartz 2007, 13.

54 Timms, Edward. 1986. *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist: Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 7f.

55 Here it is interesting that Mayreder, although she only co-edited for a short time is always mentioned first.

Marie Lang seems to have been the main protagonist of the three editors, editing the journal alone after Mayreder's and Auguste Fickert's exits. Kratzer 2003, 19.

56 Leitner, Thea. 1997 (1994). *Fürstin, Dame, Armes Weib. Ungewöhnliche Frauen im Wien der Jahrhundertwende*. München et al: Piper, 219.

57 Ibid, 220-21.

58 Jodl, Margarethe. 1900. *Rede zur Eröffnungsfeier des Wiener Frauenclubs*. Vienna, 2-3. Accessed 22.01.2015. <http://www.literature.at/viewer.alo?objid=1030&viewmode=fullscreen&scale=3.33&rotate=&page=2>. Own English translation of “Die künstlerische Gestalt aber, in welcher diese unsere Räume Ihnen heut' entgegentreten, ist das Verdienst des opferwilligen Zusammenwirkens der Firma F. O. Schmidt mit Herrn Architekten Josef Loos, welcher seine Erfahrung und seinen Geschmack in uneigennützigster Weise in den Dienst unserer Sache gestellt hat und nach dessen Plänen und Entwürfen von der Firma Schmidt das gesammte [sic] Interieur des Clubs zur Ausführung gebracht worden ist. Es ist mir eine angenehme Pflicht, Herrn Architekten Loos für seine so freundlichen und erfolgreichen Bemühungen, die seinen Namen auf immer mit der Gründung des Wiener Frauenclubs verknüpft haben, im Namen des Ausschusses, sowie unserer sämtlichen Mitglieder den wärmsten und verbindlichsten Dank zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Möge das Gedeihen des Clubs ihm die innere Befriedigung gewähren, der Wiener Frauenwelt eine Stätte geschaffen zu haben, von der neue Formen des geistigen und geselligen Verkehrs ihren Ausgang nehmen.”

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59 Loos, Adolf. 2010 (1906). "Die Fauteuils des Frauenclubs." In *Gesammelte Schriften*, edited by Adolf Opel, 336. Wien: Lesethek-Verlag, Braumüller. The design is clearly by Loos, Loos himself telling the story in one of his texts: "Two weeks after the inauguration, I went to see how the affair actually works. A tremendous detonation penetrated from the next room. A severe fall, an outcry, ... calls for help, ... I entered the parlor. Thirty compassionate ladies from the club took care of the injured wife of such and such and observed me with hostile gazes. "You are the murderer!" It always came the same. When one lowered oneself on one of these murder weapons – naturally only at the very, very front..." Own English translation of "Zwei Wochen nach der Eröffnung ging ich nachsehen, wie die Sache eigentlich funktioniert. Eine ungeheure Detonation drang aus dem nächsten Zimmer. Ein schwerer Fall, ein Aufschrei, ..., Rufe nach Hilfe, ... Ich betrat den Salon. Dreißig mitfühlende Clubdamen bemühten sich um die verunglückte Frau von Soundso und betrachteten mich mit feindseligen Blicken. „Du bist der Mörder!“ Es war eben immer dasselbe. Wenn man sich auf ein solches Mordinstrument niederließ – natürlich doch nur ganz, ganz vorne ..."

60 Plakolm-Forsthuber 1994, 45.

61 Fischer 2007, 53.

62 Plakolm-Forsthuber 1994, 64.

63 -h-. 1902. "Acht Künstlerinnen und Ihre Gäste." In *Neues Frauenleben* 1:15. "Eight women artists and their guests have invited the public to visit their exhibition in Salon Pisko for the second time. In the latter, they show us a rich selection of good portraits, sketches and atmospheric landscapes. Own English translation of "Acht Künstlerinnen und ihre Gäste haben zum zweiten Male das Publicum zum Besuche ihrer Ausstellung im Salon Pisko eingeladen. Sie zeigen uns in derselben eine reiche Auswahl von guten Portraits, Skizzen und stimmungsvollen Landschaften."

64 Veigl, Hans. "Literaten im Kaffeehaus." 1991. In *Lokale Legenden. Wiener Kaffeehausliteratur*. 9-18, edited by Hans Veigl. Wien: Kremayr & Scheriau, 14-15. This is despite the fact that, as Hans Veigl notes, starting in 1900, there was no longer one central coffeehouse in Vienna that was more important than the others. Café Herrenhof is according to Veigl not the only successor to Café Central, but is rather to be seen in a decentralized convolute of cafes together with Café Museum and Café Imperial.

65 Ibid.

66 For discussions on the double standard see Mayreder, Rosa. 1923. *Geschlecht und Kultur. Essays*. Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 75-83.

67 Henderson, 2002. Gronberg, 2001.

68 Ibid.

69 Stewart 2000, 81.

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70 Loos, Lina. 1986. *Das Buch Ohne Titel. Erlebte Geschichten*. Wien et al: Hermann Böhlhaus, 80. Own English translation of “Es war eines Abends, als mich meine Schwester und mein Schwager an den Peter-Altenberg-Stammtisch im Löwenbräu mitnahmen. Anwesend waren: Peter Altenberg, Karl Kraus, Egon Friedell und Adolf Loos.”

71 Ibid, 82. Own English translation of “So heiraten Sie mich!”

72 Fischer 2007.

73 Fischer 2007, 7. Own English translation of “Muse eines ganzen Cafehausliteratenkreises.“

74 Ibid, 8.

75 Cf Schwartz 2007.

76 Ibid, 114.

77 Cf “Über die Liebe und gegen die Frau” (About love and against the woman), in Loos 1994, 35ff.

78 Ibid, 46. Own English translation of “Von Generation zu Generation übernehmen wir nur den Instinkt für die sexuellen Dinge, und ich weiß wahrhaftig nicht, wozu mehr Kultur nötig wäre.“

### **03\_READING LOOS**

#### *Summary of argument:*

This chapter presents a discussion about the way Adolf Loos and his work have been received and discussed in architecture until the present. It starts with an examination of how Loos is perceived during his lifetime, as he produces a vast amount of verbal, written and material propaganda for professional recognition, skillfully planning his career as an architect while posing provoking questions concerning the principles of modern culture. The time between the wars is then shown to be a key moment, at which Loos is assimilated an institutionalized architectural modern movement against his will. In this context, an account of Loos as one main precursor of modernism originates, which imbues historical accounts of modern architecture. The way he continues to be received by protagonists of the following architectural schools of thought, postmodernism for example, is similarly affirmative, while other modern masters are rejected. This ‘flexibility’ of interpreting Loos’s work in accounts up until the present ends by introducing the theoretical context for the possibility of a new reading, which includes Lina Loos as a protagonist. Summarizing, the chapter presents a discussion on how architectural theory on Loos is produced, maintained and can be transformed.

#### **1900-1914 – LOOS AND PROPAGANDA**

Having established the possible grounds for Lina Loos’s absence from the scholarly debate on Loos, and also hinting at the possible rewards of adding her to the discussion, it remains to be seen how readings of Loos have undergone changes over time, probing the possibility of a new enriched reading involving Lina’s presence. The basic supposition behind this inquiry is an understanding of architectural theory (on Loos but also generally) as the convolute between the material thing, or an idea thereof, and some discursive element, a debate, sometimes originating from within and at other times from outside of disciplinary boundaries.<sup>1</sup> Loos is an ideal case study for the analysis of how this convolute, architectural

theory, is produced, maintained and can be changed, especially considering his continuous presence in architectural history and theory for the past 115 years. Studying already existing discussions on an architect like Loos should demonstrate how constantly changing currents of thinking, whether involving the architectural profession itself, methods of inquiry, currents from other disciplines, revised histories, etc., maintain the discussion in architectural theory. The existing work on Loos might also clarify how older themes are dismissed from and new themes introduced into discussions in architectural theory. Via a brief history of how Loos has been received in architectural scholarly work until now, the present chapter aims to argue for the possibility of a new, enriched reading of Loos involving Lina Loos as a significant protagonist.

“It is time to depict the Viennese modern art movement in its context,”<sup>2</sup> Ludwig Abels writes in 1901. Abels starts with Otto Wagner, going on to Joseph Maria Olbrich, Josef Hoffmann and Leopold Bauer. Loos is mentioned in a short sentence, in connection with Bauer:

“One of Bauer’s friends, Adolf Loos, with whom all these topics were debated before writing them down, has simultaneously trumpeted in a Viennese daily newspaper in the audience’s tired ears the basic theory of modern art, a critique of the trade exhibition of the time, in such powerful way that people finally became conscious of the outdated junk that constrained their lives.”<sup>3</sup>

A look at publications on Loos between 1900 and 1914<sup>4</sup> starts to refer to Loos’s work as an architect relatively late, paralleling the event of Loos’s commission as an architect for the house at Michaelerplatz, completed in 1911.<sup>5</sup> Shortly before that, in 1909, Loos the architect is so unknown that Karl Kraus adds a footnote to Loos’s name, which is the title of Robert Scheu’s article in *Die Fackel*, (The torch), a journal edited by Kraus. The footnote distinguishes between the article’s protagonist, Adolf Loos, “an employee of ‘Neue Freie Presse’”, the Viennese journal New Free Press, and “Professor Viktor Loos, the technical expert” who usually writes for *Die Fackel*.<sup>6</sup> Scheu’s essay introduces Loos as somewhat known in Vienna of the 1890s for explaining the “nature of things.” Continuing, he wonders

what might have happened to him, why Loos has not yet become a great man for his “magic” thoughts have not yet materialized in architectural projects.

“What he speaks are explosions of light; [...] he finds answer to every question, whether dealing with English world politics, a work of architecture, a grocer’s store or Richard Dehmen. He does so for the past ten years. A public fountain.”<sup>7</sup>

It is mainly his writing then, for which the audience knows Loos in 1909. Scheu summarizes this body of work as follows:

“Adolf Loos commits his life’s work to that a chair shall be chair, a fork a fork, a house a house. [...] With this childlike claim, he makes revolution. ... The more we move forward in culture, the more we free ourselves from ornament. ... What he writes and speaks and builds seems to me to be a preliminary utterance, like the message of a lurking spring.”<sup>8</sup>

The bulk of theory Scheu fancies stems from 1898, a year in which Loos authors a series of 34 articles on a variety of topics.<sup>9</sup> The titles range from “Die Ausstellungsstadt. Der neue Styl” (The exhibition city. The new style) to “Herrenmode” (Men’s fashion), from “Ein Wiener Architekt” (A Viennese architect) to “Wäsche” (Clothing). In some of these essays,<sup>10</sup> but especially in “Das Luxusfuhrwerk” (The luxurious vehicle), Loos lays some of the groundwork for the later manifestos “Ornament and Crime” and “Architecture,” considering formal, political and economic aspects of a modern time. These are very critical essays, attacking the incompatibility of then celebrated Jugendstil architecture and architects, Josef Hoffmann in particular, with the modern requirements of approaching the material world and architecture. In June 1909, when Scheu reviews Loos’s work, this large body of articles has not yet been expanded by “Ornament and crime”, orated in December 1909 or early 2010.<sup>11</sup> Also, his first big architectural commission, the Looshaus, has not yet been built. Loos is mainly known for his written work, for his theory.

This changes fast. In 1909, Goldman & Salatsch commissions Loos to design a building for their men’s fashion store, including offices and tailor shops. Around September 1910, the building’s façade is criticized by members of the Christian Social Party sitting in city council



for not being in accordance with the drawings for which the building permit had been issued.<sup>12</sup> For 1910 and 1911, the list of publications on Loos, summarized by Burkhardt Rukschio and Roland Schachel, counts eleven publications whose title mention the house at Michaelerplatz. The opinions vary from complete disgust to utter support but Loos is a very public figure.<sup>13</sup> In a publication that remains unmentioned in Rukschio and Schachel's work, Otto Wagner takes position on the controversial Loos building in *Neues Wiener Journal* (New Viennese journal):

“The building at Michaelerplatz? We have refrained from stepping forward publicly for this work which is met with hostility because we also do not think of it as completely flawless. But one thing I can say to you: In the veins of its architect flows more artistic blood than in the ones of architects of many a palais, which has been left in peace because it does not have anything at all to communicate.”<sup>14</sup>

Despite Wagner's rather friendly words, the public debate involves a variety of positions against Loos, which Loos himself references in connection to the gastric problems that bother him at this time.<sup>15</sup> In November 1911, Loos organizes a public event titled “Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz” (My house at Michaelerplatz) during which he defends his architecture as corresponding to the modern spirit of the age: economical, following mathematical rules of proportions, designed to fulfill its intended purpose and built in the Viennese style of the year 1910.<sup>16</sup> The controversy around the project ends in 1912 with the city council's decision to keep Loos's façade.<sup>17</sup> By now, Loos is an acknowledged public figure in Vienna, not only as a theoretician and writer but also as the (controversial) architect of the house at Michaelerplatz. His international acknowledgement also begins around this time. Loos publishes his essays “Architecture” (1912)<sup>18</sup> and “Ornament and Crime” (1913)<sup>19</sup> in the French journal *Les Cahiers d'Aujourd'hui*. All these events contribute also to the start of Loos's international acknowledgement, which will continue after the war. By 1913, the professional propaganda Loos has been committed to through both provocative texts and a provocative large project has paid off and his name does no longer require a footnote.

## 1918-1939 – LOOS BETWEEN THE WARS

The First World War interrupts Loos's career as a (controversial) public figure and architect. Already in 1919 however, Franz Ottmann publishes an article on Loos in the German journal *Der Architekt* (The architect). Ottman's thesis is that the fragmented Viennese society combined with Loos's affinity to Eastern Europe still stand behind the lack of appreciation of Loos as fighter for culture ("Kulturkämpfer") and architect.<sup>20</sup> The projects mentioned and depicted in Ottman's article include the villa for Dr. Beer, Café Museum, the marital bedroom "Das Schlafzimmer meiner Frau," the house at Michaelerplatz, villa Steiner and villa Scheu but they are too few and at too small a scale for Ottman's purposes. He requests "[s]omeone let [Loos] build a warehouse or an official building, a concert hall, a school, a train station, a factory,"<sup>21</sup> suggesting he be "one of few destined to be a master builder of the Republic of German-Austria's future."<sup>22</sup> A year later, Loos's "Ornement et Crime" is republished in *L'Esprit Nouveau* in France, whereby Le Corbusier is stipulated to have written the foreword.<sup>23</sup>

"Mr. Loos is one of the precursors of the new spirit.

Already in 1900, as the enthusiasm for the modern style had reached its peak, in this period of exaggerated embellishment, of art's inappropriate invasion in all areas of life, Mister Loos, this bright and original mind, had already begun to protest against the triviality of such tendencies.

As one of the first to anticipate the bigness of industry and its contribution to aesthetic, he began to proclaim certain truths, which seem revolutionary or paradox even today.

In his projects, which are unfortunately little known, he was the precursor of a style, which assumes form only today."<sup>24</sup>

From this time on, Loos and Le Corbusier will often reappear in works in architectural theory and history as a "couple," the first suggested to have introduced the ideas of modern European architecture, the second to have materialized them,<sup>25</sup> to summarize their advocated association in very simple terms.

Simultaneously, Loos's individual search for a Viennese architecture appropriate to the modern time is paralleled by Europe's search for an overarching theme in European architecture, illustrated for example by Adolf Behne's essay from 1922.<sup>26</sup> In "Architekten" (Architects), Behne inquires into new ideas in contemporary European architecture which he claims show "characteristic signs."<sup>27</sup> Behne starts the discussion of a contemporary style with Jacobus Johannes Pieter Oud and later introduces Le Corbusier but acknowledges soon that "[c]ertainly, this [modern] programme is not absolutely new. Theodor [sic] Loos has demanded the like since 1910 and has set an example in a much debated corner building in Vienna[.]"<sup>28</sup> Even though Behne confuses Loos's given name, the example he gives unambiguously refers to the building at Michaelerplatz. This very early theoretical inquiry into modernism as a style going beyond national borders, reflecting what Kenneth Frampton would later label the "modern predicament,"<sup>29</sup> shows an architectural theory that inquires into aesthetic but also ethical consequences of living in modernity.<sup>30</sup> The ethical aspect is important since a purely aesthetic modern style, suggesting the rejecting of ornament for example, is not at all what Loos argues for in "Ornament and crime."<sup>31</sup> His call is rather for an appropriate approach to modern culture, later often misconstrued as a call for a new aesthetic. Behne seems to understand Loos's thoughts and writes:

"We have to realize that the work, which we have tried to characterize until now, is carried by a strong ethical idea. It is the collective, über-individual thought, which is powerful in it. Those architects study which tasks are appropriate to the time, and assign themselves the determining themes starting from the feeling of social responsibility."<sup>32</sup>

This strong ethical idea of a new architecture seems to vanish soon. One year after Behne's words, Le Corbusier publishes "Vers une architecture" in 1923, which sets the beginning of a more aesthetic and spatial understanding of modern architecture. The latter is propagated in Europe by the 1924 Werkbund exhibition "Die Form ohne Ornament" (The form without ornament) and by the 1928 "Congress International d'Architecture Moderne" and, in the United States, by the 1932 "Modern architecture: international exhibition." The "challenging

ethical [...] pronouncements”<sup>33</sup> that Loos had put forward fade in this institutionalized, ‘international’, architectural modernism. Loos denounces this association publicly by referring to the exhibition catalogue of the Werkbund exhibition for example and remarking that “[t]he perfidious book “the form without ornament”, published in Stuttgart in 1924, keeps my fight secret and falsifies it at the same time.”<sup>34</sup> With such statements, Loos attempts to distance himself from this institutionalized architectural modern movement, accusing it of misunderstanding and falsifying his quest for an architecture that can respond to modern needs. Sigfried Giedion soon puts an end to the debate of whether Loos is to be considered a member of the international modern movement by bestowing upon him, on the occasion of Loos’s sixtieth birthday in 1930, the status of an omnipotent master of modern architecture. Giedion writes, and others like Benham or Frampton will continue this thought, that “[n]o architect lives today, who does not carry a piece Loos inside. Is that enough?”<sup>35</sup> This concludes the second chapter of reception of Loos, a chapter that starts to acknowledge his work, not merely his writing, but one which draws a connection that will accompany a couple of generations of scholars of architecture after this: Loos is sometimes placed in direct connection with a meanwhile institutionalized modern movement while his manifesto is often misunderstood as calling for a new aesthetic and not, as Loos would have rather seen it, for a general approach to architecture in consideration of an evolving modern culture.<sup>36</sup>

Another event of this time, which has been left out of most discussions on Loos until recently, pertains to charges of child molestations that are brought against the architect in 1928. Loos is accused to have raped and solicited sexual relations from three girls less than ten years of age. *Loos on Trial* is the English title of a most recent text on this topic.<sup>37</sup> The text discusses the media coverage from the time, referring also to a recently emerged and long-lost court record of proceedings. The work suggests that the minimal charges that were brought against Loos in the end, and he was only charged with solicitation, were connected to his social standing and status as well as to his prominent supporters. The circumstances surrounding the disappearance surrounding the act itself confirm this thought. A recent article in the Viennese journal *Die Presse* explains that the record has been found after the death and consequent

home liquidation of a former court archive employee among other stolen case records.<sup>38</sup> Soon, the proceedings, which seem to show that the girls have accused Loos of much more than just solicitation,<sup>39</sup> will be made public<sup>40</sup> and the original material will be available for public use. Significant for the purposes of this text is how these events further illustrate that Loos's public appearance has changed in less than two decades from footnote to criminal whose crimes are covered due to his social standing.

1933 marks the year that Loos dies. The short period of time remaining between Loos's death and World War II gives birth to the very famed and debated Loos archive, which encompasses an estate that is problematic due to the many people who are in possession or in charge of it at the time of his death.<sup>41</sup> Despite the estate problems, the will to make Loos's work available to the general public is made clear as early as December 1934, one and a half years after his death, by an article published by Franz Glück in *Wiener Zeitung* (Viennese journal). "Aus dem Nachlaß von Adolf Loos" (From the legacy of Adolf Loos) includes pieces of writing by Loos himself and a foreword by Glück, in which he declares Ludwig Münz and his own person to be caretakers of the estate while calling for support from those in possession of documents by or about Loos, asking them to make these available for purposes of collecting them in a book about his life.<sup>42</sup>

### **1945-1980s – LOOS THE MODERNIST MASTER**

Publishing this book will take another couple of decades. A first edition of *Sämtliche Schriften* (The complete works), a collection of Loos's written work, appears in 1962<sup>43</sup> and the archive, meanwhile at Albertina Museum in Vienna starting in 1966,<sup>44</sup> is finally catalogued in 1973.<sup>45</sup> The contents of the archive are published in 1982 under the title *Adolf Loos. Leben und Werk* (Adolf Loos. Life and oeuvre).<sup>46</sup> The book includes the archive's contents, mainly plans, drawings and photographs, complemented by bits and pieces of correspondence and biographical information. With this collection, one might at first assume that the reception of Loos's work in architectural theory would change or at least include new points of view. However, as Kenneth Frampton's seminal *Modern architecture. A critical*

*history* illustrates, this does not happen fast. Frampton dedicates a whole chapter to Loos and his place in architectural history and thought, a chapter titled “Adolf Loos and the crisis of culture 1896-1931,” declaring:

“Loos’s significance as a pioneer depended not only on his extraordinary insights as a critic of modern culture, but also on his formulation of the *Raumplan* as an architectural strategy [...]. Above all, Loos must now be seen as the first to postulate the problem that Le Corbusier was eventually to resolve with his full development of the free plan.”<sup>47</sup>

In Frampton’s work, modernism and Loos are inseparable and so are Loos and Le Corbusier. Loos may have disliked Frampton’s insistence on Loos’s essential connection to Le Corbusier. However, he may have given Frampton the benefit of the doubt in another matter: Josef Hoffmann, whom Loos publicly declares his professional rival for most of his lifetime in early essays such as “Ein Wiener Architekt” (A Viennese architect) from 1898<sup>48</sup> as well as in later pieces of writing such as “Über Josef Hoffmann” (About Josef Hoffmann) from 1931.<sup>49</sup> Whereas Frampton dedicates a whole chapter to Loos, his work and writing, Hoffmann shares a chapter with Otto Wagner and Joseph Maria Olbrich in connection with the aesthetic secessionist movement, their significance in early modernism being specified as a group and not as individuals. Although Hoffmann survives Loos by two decades and is at least a less controversial if not a more successful practicing architect, the propagandist, provocative Loos surpasses him in relevance, at least in Frampton.

### **1970s-1990s – LOOS THE PRECURSOR OF POSTMODERNISM**

That Frampton writes about modern architecture as a thing from the past in 1980 while critically summarizing its history can be seen in connection with the simultaneous birth of a new school of architectural thought, which rejects modernism. Postmodern architects and their theories call for a return to the symbolic abilities of architecture. This is a definitive rejection of the institutionalized modernist movement but not necessarily of Loos’s own understanding of modern consequences for the material world. This differentiation is

important because despite Frampton's effort to identify Loos close to the 'origin' of the modern movement, Loos remains at least in some theories that are usually associated with postmodern thought (Aldo Rossi's, Peter Eisenman's and Robert Venturi's for example) unaffected by the rage against other modernist masters like Le Corbusier or Mies van der Rohe. Eisenman discreetly addresses this when he identifies the difference between Le Corbusier and Adolf Loos to lie "in the different tropes used by each architect."<sup>50</sup> Venturi charges modernity and attacks Mies van der Rohe in a very direct manner but leaves Loos untouched.<sup>51</sup> In another place, Carl Schorske goes as far as to identify Loos as a "pioneering forerunner" of postmodernism, of both Rossi and Eisenman.<sup>52</sup> The exact reasons for Loos's acceptance in two opposing schools of architectural thought, modernism and postmodernism, make for an interesting topic of inquiry. The postmodern acknowledgement of Loos could of course be followed back to the project he presented for the Chicago Tribune Tower competition, which Hans Hollein "cites" for example in his contribution at the 1980 Venice Architecture Biennale.<sup>53</sup> Loos's acceptance in both modern and postmodern architectural schools of thought is probably however mainly due to the many ways Loos can be read, interpreted and therefore sometimes also "misunderstood or misrepresented."<sup>54</sup> Most important here however, is not the attempt to clarify these readings and interpretations but to explain that Loos's body of work allows for multiple understandings of his work and theory, which change over time as the discussion changes. Readings of Loos are even so flexible that they have the ability to accommodate opposing schools of thought.

### **1990s-PRESENT – FEMINIST READINGS OF LOOS**

Readings of Loos and the way he is received and discussed in architecture depend then on the understanding of his work in connection with the particular school of thought performing the analysis. The 1990s offer yet a new reading, which bases on interdisciplinary work between architecture and disciplines such as gender theory, cultural studies or philosophy. Around this time, "[c]ritics such as Beatriz Colomina [focus] on developing sustained feminist critiques of the traditional male canon. Using feminist interpretative techniques, they place issues of

gender, race and ethnicity at the heart of the architectural practice of such male masters as Adolf Loos [...].”<sup>55</sup> Colomina’s 1994 *Privacy and Publicity, Modern Architecture as Mass Media*,<sup>56</sup> but also Hilde Heynen’s *Architecture and modernity: a critique* of 1999<sup>57</sup> start to question the “traditional” masculine understanding of modernism and aim to introduce new ways of reading both it and its architecture. In this context, Colomina and Heynen analyze Loos’s interiors in terms of seeing and being seen in connection with gendered male and female spaces and with the corresponding roles of either actor or (passive) observer.

Janet Stewart, Susan Henderson and Anne-Katrin Stewart have also focused on Loos from a gender perspective. Whether he is discussed regarding his views on women’s fashion and on women as the artists of the home<sup>58</sup> or in connection with misogynist tendencies he shared with Karl Kraus,<sup>59</sup> Loos is a hot debated topic regarding what role his writings and material legacy communicate about the hierarchy between women and men in fin-de-siècle Vienna and modernity in general. Adolf Loos is criticized in this context for texts that convey a view of femininity as impending modern progress,<sup>60</sup> banning it to the private sphere.<sup>61</sup>

Another essay focusing on Adolf Loos from a gender perspective, and the only one dealing with Lina Loos, is Anne-Katrin Rossberg’s essay “Loos’ Frauenzimmer.”<sup>62</sup> Rossberg dedicates her article to Loos’s understanding of femininity and the way two predominant types of women of his time, child-women and *femme fatales*, can be interpreted in two of his projects. The bedroom for his first wife, Lina Loos, is the architecture corresponding to the image of a child-woman, while the Baker house conforms to the fin-de-siècle idea of a *femme fatale*. There is no explicit critique in Rossberg’s conclusion. One could read one in between the lines however and deduce a critical stance towards Loos as an architect celebrating and framing sexist ideas about the (young) female body in his projects. Generally can be said that whereas the first feminist readings of Loos can be understood as an overall exploration into the masculine character of modernity, the latter readings, especially those focusing on his writing, are very critical towards him. But more importantly, following the modern and postmodern interpretations discussed above, Loos is once again interpreted anew and new perspectives are added to the discussion on his oeuvre. This illustrates how the discussion on



Loos continuously changes, be it in connection with new schools of thought, via new materials, or influenced by perspectives from related disciplines.

## **READING MODERNISM AND LOOS IN 2015**

A relatively new perspective regarding readings of modernism involves the resurrection of female protagonists that have contributed to the modern movement. These are thought to have played a significant role at the time, to then become forgotten. Some scholars argue this to be mainly due to the event of World War II<sup>63</sup> but another reason has already been discussed in chapter two, namely a manner of writing history that tends to ‘forget’ women protagonists. Paralleling this, the most recent readings of Loos have entered the discussion. Christopher Long not only provides an updated reading of his manifesto “Ornament and Crime” but also of Loos as a criminal. In this context of new readings of both modernism and Loos, the present text suggests to look at Loos yet anew, adding Lina Loos as significant protagonist to both the marital bedroom and, through her own texts on cultural degeneration, to “Ornament and Crime.” Having already established the possible grounds for her absence from the debate on Loos in architecture, the history of readings of Loos presented above is meant to underline the possibility of yet another perspective on Loos involving Lina Loos’s presence.

## NOTES

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1 Jormakka, Kari. 1991. *Constructing Architecture: Notes on Theory and Criticism in Architecture and the Arts*, Datutop. Tampere: Ars Magna.

2 Abels, Ludwig. 1901. "Wiener Moderne." In *Dekorative Kunst, Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Angewandte Kunst* 7:89-118, 89. Own English translation of "Es ist Zeit, dass die Wiener moderne Kunstbewegung einmal im Zusammenhang dargestellt werde."

3 Ibid, 111-114. Own English translation of "Ein Freund BAUER'S, ADOLF LOOS, mit dem all' diese Themen vor der Niederschrift durchdebattiert wurden, hat gleichzeitig in einer Wiener Tageszeitung die Grundlehren einer modernen Kunst in so eindringlich populärer Weise als Kritik der damaligen Gewerbe-Ausstellung dem Publikum in die schläfrigen ohren trompetet, dass die Leute damals endlich zum Bewusstsein kamen, von welch veraltetem Trödel ihr Leben eingeengt war." Abels is referring to a series of articles, which Loos writes on the occasion of the Viennese jubilee exhibition of 1898 for 'Neue Freie Presse' – cf. Scheu, Robert. 1909. "Adolf Loos." In *Die Fackel* XI. Jahr, 26.06.1909, (283-284):25-37.

4 Cf. Rukschcio, Burkhardt, and Roland Schachel. 1987 (1982). *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk*. 2nd edition ed. Salzburg und Wien: Residenz Verlag, 668.

5 Rukschcio 1987, 148ff.

6 Scheu 1909, 25. Own English translation of "Nicht von Professor Viktor Loos, dem bekannten technischen Fachmann, der öfter für die 'Fackel' geschrieben hat, handelt dieser Aufsatz, sondern im Gegenteil von einem Mitarbeiter der 'Neuen Freien Presse.'"

7 Ibid, 27. Own English translation of "Was er redet, sind Explosionen des Lichts; ... findet er Antwort auf jede Frage, handle es sich nun um englische Weltpolitik, ein Bauwerk, einen Greislerladen oder Richard Dehmen. So tut er schon zehn Jahre lang. Ein öffentlicher Brunnen."

8 Ibid, 28, 32, 36. Own English translation of "Adolf Loos setzt seine Lebensarbeit dafür ein, daß ein Sessel ein Sessel, eine Gabel eine Gabel, ein Haus ein Haus sein soll. ... Mit dieser kindhaften Forderung macht er einen Revolution." (28) "Je weiter wir in der Kultur vorwärts schreiten, desto mehr befreien wir uns vom Ornament." (32) "Was er schreibt und redet und baut, erscheint mir nur wie eine vorläufige Äußerung, wie die Botschaft eines schlummernden Frühlings." (36) The only projects Scheu mentions are Cafe Museum, the American Bar and Loos's unpublished interiors.

9 Loos, Adolf. 2010. *Gesammelte Schriften*, edited by Adolf Opel. Wien: Lesethek-Verlag, Braumüller.

10 "Das Luxusfuhrwerk" and "Die Plumber" in Ibid 96-111.

11 Cf Long, Cristopher. 2009. "The Origins and Context of Adolf Loos's 'Ornament and Crime'." In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68 (2):200-223.

12 Rukschcio 1987, 148ff.

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13 Ibid.

14 k-r. 1910. "Bausünden in Wien. Ein Gespräch mit Oberbaurat Professor Otto Wagner." In *Neues Wiener Journal*, 25.12.1910, (6170):10-10. Own English translation of "Der Bau auf dem Michaelerplatz? Wir haben es unterlassen, öffentlich für das angefeindete Werk in die Schranken zu treten, weil auch wir es für nicht ganz einwandfrei halten. Aber eines kann ich ihnen sagen: In den Adern seines Erbauers rollt mehr künstlerisches Blut als in den der Erbauer manches Palais, das man in Frieden gelassen, weil es so gar nichts zu sagen versteht."

15 Cf. Loos, Adolf. 2010 (1911) "Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz" in *Gesammelte Schriften*, edited by Adolf Opel. 416-432. Wien: Lesethek-Verlag, Braumüller. "I am a strong person, I bore it, but my stomach did not. This is not meant figuratively. My stomach had refused every intake of food already at the end of July. It was the stomach nerves. Finally, it came to strenuous stomach bleedings, during which I lost blood by the litre, and I was awaiting my death." (427-28) Own English translation of "Ich bin ein starker Mensch, ich hielt es aus, aber mein Magen hielt es nicht aus. Das ist nicht bildlich gesprochen. Mein Magen hatte schon Ende Juli jede Nahrungsaufnahme verweigert. Es waren die Magennerven. Schließlich kam es zu heftigen Magenblutungen, bei denen ich das Blut literweise verlor, und ich erwartete meinen Tod."

16 Ibid, 416-432.

17 Rukschio 1987, 148ff.

18 Cf Rukschio 1987, 178,

19 Long 2009, 215.

20 Ottmann, Franz. 1919. "Adolf Loos." In *Der Architekt. Monatshefte für Bau- und Raumkunst* XXII Jahrgang:163-168, 163.

21 Ibid, 168.

22 Ibid. Own English translation of "Er ware wie wenige berufen, zu einem Baumeister von Deutschösterreichs Zukunft zu werden."

23 Cf Long 2009, 223, footnote 151. However, the foreword is not signed or initialed in Loos, Adolf. 1920.

"Ornement et crime." In *L'Esprit Nouveau* 2:159-168, 159.

24 Loos 1920, 159. I am very thankful here for Kristian Faschingeder's translation of: ". Loos est l'un des précurseurs de l'esprit nouveau. En 1900, déjà, au moment où l'enthousiasme pour le modern style battait son plein, en cette période de décor à outrance, d'intrusion intempestive de l'Art dans tout, M. Loos, esprit clair et original, commençait ses protestations contre la futilité de telles tendances. L'un des premiers à avoir pressenti la grandeur de l'industrie et ses apports dans l'esthétique, il avait commencé à proclamer certaines vérités qui paraissent aujourd'hui encore révolutionnaires ou paradoxales. Dans ses œuvres, malheureusement très peu connues, il était l'annonciateur d'un style qui s'élabore seulement aujourd'hui."

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- 25 Frampton Kenneth. 1980. *Modern Architecture. A Critical History*. Third ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 94-95.
- 26 Behne, Adolf. Winter 1921/22. "Architekten." In *Frühlicht* 2:126-135.
- 27 Ibid, 126.
- 28 Ibid, 129. Own English translation of "Gewiß ist dieses Programm nicht absolut neu. Theodor Loos hat seit 1910 ähnliches gefordert und in einem vielbekämpften Eckhaus in Wien ein Beispiel gegeben."
- 29 Frampton 1980, 91.
- 30 Behne 1921/22, 133.
- 31 Long 2009. For a detailed discussion of "Ornament and Crime", which clearly illustrates that Loos's concern was not at all one regarding aesthetics, please also turn to chapter 6 of the present work.
- 32 Behne 1921/22, 133.
- 33 Frampton 1980, 91.
- 34 Loos, Adolf. 1962 (1930). "Vorwort." In Loos, Adolf. *Sämtliche Schriften*, edited by Franz Glück. Wien, München: Verlag Herold, 213. Own English translation of "Das perfide buch „die form ohne ornament“, 1924 in Stuttgart erschienen, verschweigt meinen kampf und verfälscht ihn zugleich.
- 35 As cited in Bock, Ralf. 2009 (2007). *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werke 1870-1933*. München: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. Own translation of "Kein architekt lebt heute, der nicht ein Stück Loos in sich trüge. Genügt das?", 31.
- 36 Long 2009. For a detailed discussion of "Ornament and Crime", which clearly illustrates that Loos's concern was not at all one of aesthetics, please also turn to chapter 6 of the present work.
- 37 Long, Christopher. 2015. *der fall loos*. Wien: Amalthea.
- 38 Simon, Anne-Catherine. 2015a. „Loos' Schandtaten, enthüllt vor der Welt.“ *Die Presse*, 15.04.2015.
- 39 Simon, Anne-Catherine. 2015b. „Loos der pädophile Straftäter: Was die Protokolle verraten.“ *Die Presse*, 15.04.2015.
- 40 Simon 2015a.
- 41 Cf Stewart, Janet. 2000. *Fashioning Vienna. Adolf Loos's cultural criticism*. London and New York: Routledge for an overview of the estate problems.
- 42 Glück, Franz. 1834. "Aus dem Nachlaß von Adolf Loos." In *Beilage der Wiener Zeitung*, 08.12.1934:1, 1.  
 "These are by far not the most essential, which the estate contains, but the reproduction of many another is not allowed by their breadth, and these offer still an image about the diversity of interests and of the liveliness of the character of the much appreciated man. The notes from the wanderings organized by Loos through Vienna testify for his venerable respect for all values of architecture from earlier times. In a welcoming manner were these notes placed at the disposal to the estate's editors, Ludwig Münz and myself; the hereby associated wish is that still far more people may support us in this work by delivery of documents by and about Adolf Loos and memories about

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him. Especially regarding the planned book about his life, towards which preliminary work has thrived, could such deliveries and messages very much benefit.” Own English translation of: “Es sind bei weitem nicht die wesentlichsten, die der Nachlaß enthält, aber die Wiedergabe mancher anderer erlaubt deren Umfang nicht, und diese bieten doch ein Bild von der Vielfältigkeit der Interessen und von der Lebendigkeit des Wesens des vielverkannten Mannes. Die Notizen aus den von Loos veranstalteten Wanderungen durch Wien bezeugen seine bewundernde Achtung vor allen Werten der Architektur früherer Zeiten. Willkommenerweise wurden diese Notizen den Bearbeitern des Nachlasses, Ludwig Münz und mir, zur Verfügung gestellt; es sei der Wunsch hier angeschlossen, daß noch weit mehr Menschen als bisher uns bei der Arbeit durch Zusendung von Dokumenten von und über Adolf Loos und Erinnerungen an ihn unterstützen mögen. Besonders dem geplanten Lebensbuche, für das die Vorarbeiten weit gediehen sind, könnten dergleichen Sendungen und Mitteilungen sehr zum Vorteil gereichen.”

43 Stewart 2000, 11.

44 Ibid, 16.

45 Ibid.

46 Rukschcio 1987

47 Frampton 1980, 94-95.

48 Adolf Loos. 1898. “Ein Wiener Architekt.” In *Gesammelte Schriften*, edited by Adolf Opel. 185-186. Wien: Lesethek-Verlag, Braumüller.

49 Adolf Loos. 1931. “Über Josef Hoffmann.” In Ibid 725-730.

50 Eisenman, Peter. 2007. *Written Into the Void: Selected Writings, 1990-2004*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 67.

51 Venturi, Robert. 2008 (1966). *Complexity and contradiction in architecture*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.

52 Schorske, Carl E. 2014 (1998). *Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 170.

53 Boeckl, Matthias. 2015. “Heterogeneity as a principle.” In *Wege der Moderne. Josef Hoffmann, Adolf Loos und die Folgen. Ways to modernism: Josef Hoffmann, Adolf Loos, and Their Impact*. Edited by Christoph Thun-Hohenstein et al. 276-285. Catalogue to the exhibition. Basel: Birkhäuser.

54 Long 2009, 201.

55 Rendell, Jane. 2012. “Tendencies and Trajectories: Feminist Approaches in Architecture.” In *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*, edited by C.Greig Crysler, Stephen Cairns and Hilde Heynen, 85-97. London et al: SAGE Publications, 89.

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- 56 Colomina, Beatriz. 1998 (1994). *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture As Mass Media*. Cambridge et al: MIT Press.
- 57 Heynen, Hilde. 1999. *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique*. Cambridge et al: MIT Press.
- 58 Stewart, 2000.
- 59 Henderson, Susan R. 2002. "Bachelor Culture in the Work of Adolf Loos." In *Journal of Architectural Education* 55 (3):125-135.
- 60 Stewart, 2000.
- 61 Henderson, 2002.
- 62 Rosberg, Anne-Katrin. 2008. "Loos' Frauenzimmer." In *Leben mit Loos*, edited by Inge Podbrecky and Rainald Franz, 149-160. Wien et al: Böhlau.
- 63 Schwartz, Agatha. 2007. *Shifting Voices: Feminist Thought and Women's Writing in Fin-de-Siecle Austria and Hungary*. Montreal et al: McGill-Queen's University Press, 4. "But while their work was mentioned and often praised [...] during the first half of the twentieth century, they became, with a few exceptions, forgotten after WW II."

## **04\_ THE SUBJECTIVE AND ANECDOTAL**

### *Summary of argument:*

Since the previous discussion showed that the architectural discussion on Loos can change over time, the suggestion here is that the relevant and the irrelevant materials and topics used to lead the discussion adapt in a similar way. An analysis of the public (relevant) and private (irrelevant) parts of the architectural discussion is backed by an analysis of the terms public and private as they are used primarily as a dichotomous pair, spatially and conceptually. Starting from Janet Stewart's observation that many sources on Loos remain unpublished and as such inaccessible, the text presents authorities who set the boundaries on what sources are accessible and relevant and which ones are not. These authorities comprise the scholarly institutions, museums and libraries, but also owners of private estates. Beyond that, even when sources and theories are made accessible, the architectural discussion continues to filter between those to be included in the discussion and those to be excluded from it. How this filtering occurs in Loos's case is discussed with reference to Beatriz Colomina. Her argument is that the monograph on Loos's life and oeuvre supersedes the physical Loos archive. The consequence of this thought is that the very structure of such an 'archive' codetermines the discussion by declaring "authorities" and separating them from the "subjective" and the "anecdotal." Since this "subjective" and "anecdotal" also refers to the abundance of material authored by Loos's wives, especially Elsie, the text ends by arguing that Lina Loos's absence in architecture is partly due to a widespread theoretical bias against the private in the academic context.

### **THE RELEVANT AND THE IRRELEVANT IN ARCHITECTURAL THEORY**

So far, the text presented the idea that Lina Loos did in fact contribute to fin-de-siècle Viennese culture as a New Woman and writer to the topic of (material) consequences of modernity but that inequitable historical methods have erased her presence from scholarly

work until recently. It was also established that the theory on Loos undergoes changes over time due to updated schools of thought or newly (re)surfaced material and the corresponding topics of discussion. These realities establish not only the possibility of enriching the discussion on Adolf Loos using Lina's legacy, but also suggest the relevance of inquiring into possibilities of including Lina Loos into the discussion in architecture. The task of the present part of the work is therefore to ask for reasons as to why her texts have remained irrelevant in architectural history and theory for over a century. Concretely, the text analyses how the discussion in architecture distinguishes between relevant and irrelevant.

The role of materials and topics, be it archival source or published article, building or bedroom, image or model, architect or client is under scrutiny here. These belong to the system of architectural discussions, which unavoidably co-constitutes the meaning or value of these objects.<sup>1</sup> This system defines the value of its contents while simultaneously defining its boundaries. Like every other system then, it justifies some issues as valuable while simultaneously suppressing others as not valuable, inevitably dismissing certain questions or matters as irrelevant. This implies a number of ways of looking at the same objects and corresponding concepts, which change over time. As the discussion changes, for example via canonic masterpieces, or in response to societal pressures against the profession, so do the correlated notions of what is relevant and what not.<sup>2</sup> The main task of the following is then to look at how the discussion in architectural theory substantiates the relevance of some sources and theories while it discards others, in particular pertaining to the discussion on Loos.

## **THE RELEVANT AND THE IRRELEVANT – THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE**

The notions 'relevant' and 'irrelevant' are discussed here in connection with another pair of concepts: the public and the private. The suggestion is that there exists a persistent idea of the private as irrelevant and inferior to the public. This bias against the private reinforces the relevance of the public. Perhaps this becomes clearer via a short look at the notions privacy and publicity, which are primarily discussed as dichotomous spheres, something that is



neither particular to architecture nor necessarily reasonable. A good example for the analytic problem of considering privacy and publicity can be found in an etymological discussion of the word ‘private.’ The medical term for the external genitals of a human being, especially those of a woman, colloquially ‘private parts,’ is *pudenda*. The origin of its singular comes from a verb form of *pudere* or ‘to be ashamed.’ While it may not be a cultural universal there exists a notion of privacy as a matter of secrets about the self, which connote shame and must be hidden from others. In this view privacy contradicts itself. Logically it belongs to the category of private notions, such as private thoughts for example, and so to the individual but to nobody else. However, as soon as privacy involves the element of shame, and the other as (potential) observer, it becomes a collective, public phenomenon. This contradiction makes it easy to file privacy as a logical displacement lacking causal explanation.

The discussion about what privacy is and in what relationship it stands to publicity is nonetheless an enduring one. In architecture and other disciplines, it often goes back to Aristotle’s discussion of an (ideal) ancient city-state and distinguishes between the ancient public (*polis*) and private (*oikos*) spheres of action.<sup>3</sup> The former is the sphere in which human attributes reveal themselves due to the ability to speak and reason.<sup>4</sup> The latter serves actions of survival such as giving birth and feeding.<sup>5</sup> Obviously, involving actions that are not categorically different from those of animals, actions pertaining to survival and reproduction, the private sphere is often posited inferior to the public one. It is perhaps foremost due to this distinction that a widespread view of privacy persists, which postulates the latter secondary in relevance or importance to publicity,<sup>6</sup> whether understood in a conceptual or a spatial sense.

## **PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PARTS OF LOOS**

There exists an abundance of material on Loos, both published and unpublished, which continues to be regarded irrelevant in scholarly discussions on his person. Regarding unpublished material, this is a question of access. A very detailed investigation and critique of accessible archival sources on Loos can be found in Janet Stewart’s *Fashioning Vienna*.<sup>7</sup>

Stewart's aim is a more comprehensive discussion of Loos as she is unhappy with existing accounts. She finds that these often arbitrarily criticize his written work or even deny its relevance altogether due to the fact that he neither fits into the "linear narrative of conventional architectural history" nor into "the model of explanation of 'fin-de-siècle Vienna' at the level of macro-history."<sup>8</sup> In light of this, her task is to understand "the paradoxical nature of Loos' texts"<sup>9</sup> and to identify "a 'new' Loos."<sup>10</sup> In the very first chapter of her work, which bases on original archival sources, Stewart soon acknowledges the problem of interpreting Loos without being able to take a complete look at his estate.<sup>11</sup>

The case of Loos's estate is a complicated one and remains a decade after Stewart has made this public, in combination with Austrian copyright laws (which cover the time span of 70 years after the author's death: 2003 for Loos happened, 2020 for Lina), the main reason for why many archival sources and materials on both Loos and Lina linger unpublished in both private and public hands. A large part of the Loos estate has been obtained by Albertina Museum in Vienna, which according to a court decision stemming from 1999 is entitled to procure estates and the associated rights through gratuitous trade, but also profit from them financially granted it does not sell them.<sup>12</sup> Correspondence between Loos and Lina is further to be found at Wienbibliothek (Vienna library) where at the time of writing the boxes on Loos (containing letters from Lina to him) are kept locked up without official explanation. Other parts of Loos's and Lina's estates are in private collections, a bulk of Lina Loos's estate with the descendants of Leopoldine Rùther for example. It sometimes seems as if the owners, both from within and without the world of academia, are trying to protect or hide something besides perhaps expecting financial rewards from their ownership. One recently resurfaced piece of material strongly points to this: the already discussed 1928 court record from Loos's child molestation court case.<sup>13</sup> In it, the girls' testimonies depict that he did clearly molest the girls even though he was 'only' charged with solicitation.<sup>14</sup> The reasons for keeping an official court record hidden and inaccessible for eight decades can only be speculated upon. Fact is that it was inaccessible for both scholars and the general public for a long period of

time, which led to scholarly and non-scholarly speculations that sometime maintain Loos's innocence and depict him as the persecuted victim.<sup>15</sup>

Stewart criticizes this inaccessibility of important material on Loos, material that remains unpublished or locked up in archives. Having no access to it, Stewart seems to suggest, means deliberately excluding it from the discourse on Loos. This material's status is then inaccessible and thereby irrelevant in the sense that because access to it is denied, it cannot even enter the discussion. But even when material is accessible, not all of it is considered relevant for the discussion. The reasons for this are best found when talking about the irrelevant or private in connection with the prescribed limits or rules of a 'proper' scholarly discussion, not merely in term of access. Whereas Stewart asks for access to more sources in that they are made public, here the question pertains to the reasons that may lie behind the fact that, although accessible, some material still remains irrelevant in the context of scholarly discussions in architecture. Examples for such material are texts and photographs published by Lina Loos or stemming from her estate. These are available to scholars but have not yet entered the discussion in architecture. In terms of a public academic discussion, they have remained private.

## **NON-DICHOTOMOUS PRIVACY AND PUBLICITY**

A focus of architectural discussions for some one hundred years and more, issues of privacy and publicity accompany Loos in a variety of readings. Probably best known are the texts by Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity. Modern Architecture as Mass Media*<sup>16</sup> as well as "The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism."<sup>17</sup> Colomina's main objective is of methodological nature. She questions what she labels the predominant idea about modernity as high art, usually seen in opposition to mass culture, but also the methodological grounds architectural historians use to come to this opposition.<sup>18</sup> For Colomina, the condition for the history of modern architecture lies in mass culture itself, in mass media to be more exact: in drawings, photographs, texts, books, etc. about, as well as in the architectural object itself.<sup>19</sup> In this

context, her main argument is that the study of architecture, of the physical material thing itself, which is the traditional task of the architectural historian, has been extended to a study of various representations of architecture through media. “Modernity, then, coincides with the publicity of the private.”<sup>20</sup> Modernity has turned things inside out, making walls superfluous. The function of walls and their openings – to grant or deny access – has become obsolete or at least outdated in modernity. More or less implicitly, the argument also suggests that walls, which used to contain people, archives, practices, which would not be accessible to all, no longer fulfill this function of denying access. What used to be a dichotomous relationship between private and public has become a world of uncertain but also nonmaterial boundaries, in which media like photographs may grant access to the object despite the fact that the object itself does not. In other words, whereas the material organization of space in modern society seems to play an important role in separating and bringing individuals and groups together, there are a variety of non-material mechanisms as well, which establish privacy and publicity. Previous scholarly work attempting to understand these mechanisms usually pertains to other societies’ privacy and publicity mechanisms. Irwin Altman for example dedicates his investigation to the Javanese, Mehinacu and Lapp cultures.<sup>21</sup> In Javanese culture he finds that certain groups have been determined to have little privacy through architecture. The lack of doors allows people to move undisturbed between and within the thin bamboo constructions.<sup>22</sup> Privacy in this culture is regulated by mechanisms, which have little to do with the built environment and more with behavior: hiding emotions and speaking softly for example.<sup>23</sup> An analysis of the Mehinacu culture similarly leads to the conclusion that while communal housing and thin walls do not allow for privacy, the regulation of social interaction does, for example via rules prohibiting to ask embarrassing questions or to lie.<sup>24</sup> Another very interesting privacy regulation mechanism is to be found in the culture of the Lapps. While it is regulated that visitors can enter tents almost at any time, it is also regulated that the tents’ occupants cannot refuse their entry.<sup>25</sup> It is socially permitted in this context that the tent’s occupant pretends to fall asleep as a signal that a visitor is unwanted.<sup>26</sup>

Upon closer look, there also exist a variety of non-material mechanisms in our own society, which establish privacy and publicity. Consider for example the tacit understandings about the ritual of sharing a public toilet. When the stalls are all occupied, some men will use the urinals but in such a way that they will (usually) not look to the left or right while doing their business. In doing so, they preserve their neighbors' privacy, which in this case is not always ensured by spatial division.<sup>27</sup> Or take for example the tacit understandings about personal distance. Not walking or standing very close to someone else in shared or public spaces is another example of behavior that will respect other people's privacy when the spatial arrangements will not.<sup>28</sup> Also, general agreement about the suppression of bodily needs, like scratching or relieving oneself of bodily products in public, might be taught to the young as matters of etiquette but they are nothing more than practices regulating boundaries between people when architectural means do not. All these examples show how action and interaction between people, regulated by more or less tacit social norms, create, preserve and disturb privacy and publicity. Not peeking, not coming too close and not scratching or spitting are all immaterial mechanisms separating people in the absence of walls, ensuring and maintaining privacy, but also refuting the common idea about dichotomous privacy and publicity.

## **LOOS AND THE NEW SPACE OF THE ARCHIVE**

Colomina's reference to Loos similarly involves an idea of privacy, which no longer depends on visually 'hiding' from the public<sup>29</sup> and on boundaries strictly separating the private from the public. Using the Moller house and Johan van de Beck's diagram therefor as an example,<sup>30</sup> she shows how Loos elevates an area in an otherwise open space. The spatial setting is as such that the occupant sits with the back to a window. The combination between the elevated position and the light effect produces privacy in the sense of "intimacy and control"<sup>31</sup> via visual control and authority mechanisms. "The occupant of this space can both detect anyone crossing-trespassing the threshold of the house (while screened by the curtain) and monitor any movement in the interior (while "screened" by the backlighting)."<sup>32</sup> In other

words, the occupant no longer requires walls and doors to achieve privacy. The mechanism of privacy works through authority and visual control. By being able to oversee the whole depth of the open space from the elevated alcove, the occupant can not only detect all those accessing the space, but also monitor all movements inside it. The consequence is that modern private and public spheres no longer depend on rigid boundaries of walls and their openings. The new boundaries are fluid and can involve immaterial mechanisms of achieving privacy and publicity: authority through visual control for example.

On the other hand, and more important for the present work, Colomina's investigation also explains how this idea of privacy, which bases on control and authority that do not depend on physical access, has changed the way the space of the archive can be conceived of.<sup>33</sup> Through modern technology, the printing press for example, archives have opened up, "allow[ing] the scholar to wander through the material as the flaneur wanders through the arcades of Paris."<sup>34</sup> Colomina's focus is on authority and control as they go beyond walls to determine what is relevant or irrelevant. Colomina is thus not only endeavoring to identify modern immaterial mechanisms of privacy and publicity, but also their consequences regarding the perception and organization of space. Perhaps the most important thought here is Colomina's analysis of traditional and modern boundaries of the archive. She connects the modern notion of space with the modern way of looking at the 'space' of the archive. "The space of the archive is very much affected by this transformation,"<sup>35</sup> Colomina lets us know. The suggestion is that the space of the archive, a traditionally physical space, has become immaterial, as she illustrates pointing at the Loos archive. "In a sense [a] book with all its gaps *is* the Adolf Loos archive."<sup>36</sup> The spaces at Albertina Museum in Vienna, which Stewart so strongly criticizes for not making public the entire contents of the collection, are to be considered equivalent to the monograph *Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk*,<sup>37</sup> which compiles a wide amount of original sources to be found at Albertina. Unlike Stewart, Colomina does not consider it a problem that the book or the archive may not allow access to the complete works since while "when

writing history the utmost care is traditionally placed on producing a seamless account of the archive, [...] all archives are fractured and partial.”<sup>38</sup>

## THE EDITORS OF ARCHITECTURAL THEORY

If *Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk*, the monograph, has substituted the physical archive on Loos, this implies that the authority of letting someone physically access the space of the archive has been replaced by the authoritative power of those deciding what to include in such a monograph and what to exclude. By editing the contents of the book, the authors also edit the discussion, which uses and bases on it. It is here that the present text picks up to continue Colomina's thoughts as they pertain to architectural theory, but also to the relevance and irrelevance of its materials and topics on Loos. Whereas the medium, Rukschcio and Schachel's book on Loos's life and oeuvre, has opened the space of the archive by making its contents accessible without having to enter the building, the scholarly discussion on Loos nonetheless remains limited by what this medium contains. It does not contain, for example, Lina Loos's text to cultural degeneration. Concretely, the authors decide what they include and exclude as materials for discussion. Indeed, as summarized by Colomina,

“[Rukschcio et al] describe their enterprise as having been “truly the work of a detective”: the endless search for documents (which, they insist, is by no means finished, and how could it ever be?), a sweeping “raid” on the press of Loos's time, conversations with Loos's friends, clients, and colleagues. These last, they warn us, cannot be trusted entirely: “Even in this closer collaborators and his most intimate friends, reality is often deformed by interpretations.” Consequently, these “subjective” and “anecdotal” contributions have been included only “after verification.”<sup>39</sup>

The adjectives used in this context, ‘subjective’ and ‘anecdotal,’ fail a preliminary decision upon what is to be taken seriously and what not within the boundaries of, to continue with the adjectives, a ‘proper’ academic discussion. Although Colomina's aim of the aforementioned

may have had a very different end, here the idea is to solidify the thought of a closed discourse, which depends on already accepted authorities: the closed space of the archive or the experts collecting and editing the materials and topics of an archive in form of a monograph. Regarding the immaterial archive however, the consequence of posing some material or some topics “subjective” and the “anecdotal” is that often neither the people connected to this material nor their work will be taken into consideration in a scholarly discussion. In other words, when mention is made about correspondence between Loos and either one of his wives in the monograph on Loos, and these are labeled “subjective” or “anecdotal” by the editors, declaring both the sources and their work irrelevant will go beyond the ‘archive.’ In this light, *Adolf Loos, Leben und Werk* becomes a restricted look at Loos, edited by its authors, which allows access to some material but also predetermines its status concerning the scholarly discussion by deciding upon its relevance or irrelevance.

This is not to say that all materials and topics the authors designate as irrelevant should enter the discussion. In their discussions on Loos, both Frederic J. Schwartz<sup>40</sup> and Christopher Long<sup>41</sup> indicate Elsie Altmann-Loos’s “notoriously inaccurate” recollection of how incriminating photographs had come into Loos’s hands.<sup>42</sup> Long pays a lot of attention to what exactly these inaccurate memories pertain to and deduces that Elsie could have acted in Loos’s and her own interest when composing her text.<sup>43</sup> Elsie’s exclusion as irrelevant for the academic discussion on Loos’s child molestation charges is then informed and based on careful research. In other words, Elsie’s absence from the scholarly discussion proves correct. Lina’s is however questionable and so is another maneuver: to integrate her writing, as then recognized author, in a monograph collecting texts authored by all of Loos’s three wives titled *Adolf Loos, Der Mensch* (Adolf Loos, The Person).<sup>44</sup> For one, the title suggests a certain academic irrelevance by announcing the purpose of the book to be less about Loos’s professional and more about his private life. On the other hand, it is problematic in that it gathers together texts written by three individual people with individual characters, but also with different mental and writing abilities and interests.



Going beyond this collection and taking into account the publications of all three wives individually illustrates vast differences between their characters, their writing and interests. Lina's texts are of extraordinary clarity and go beyond the topic of marital life to show a concern with fin-de-siècle themes pertaining to the manifestation of modernity. Elsie's texts concentrate on marital life and on the child molestation case. Finally, Claire shows an interest for Loos's architecture, addressing for example the visual authority mechanism of Haus Müller and Loos's thoughts to the *Raumplan*.<sup>45</sup> By collecting these very different approaches and literary abilities in one monograph however, Opel more or less consciously creates the impression that their relevance or irrelevance for architectural or other scholarly discussions is comparable. But whereas Elsie's memoirs are indeed for the most part subjective and irrelevant in a discussion on Loos, Lina Loos's literary texts are not, not only because of her abilities as a recognized writer but also because of her concern for a material world that may not employ an appropriate response to modernity.

## **LINA'S MATERIALS**

There exists some material authored by Lina Loos or stemming from her estate, which concerns itself with the topic of modernity. Originals can be found at an institution, Wienbibliothek, and in a private collection of Leopoldine Rüther's descendants, Lina's lifelong companion according to Adolf Opel. Many of them have been published, edited and censored,<sup>46</sup> in a variety of monographs edited by Franz Theodor Csokor and Leopoldine Rüther,<sup>47</sup> Adolf Opel and Herbert Schimek,<sup>48</sup> and Adolf Opel.<sup>49</sup> Some of this material is erroneously excluded from the architectural discussion on Loos as irrelevant. The next addresses some of these erroneously termed "subjective" and "anecdotal" contributions, absent until now in architectural discussions on Loos.

## NOTES

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1 Jormakka, Kari. 1991. *Constructing Architecture: Notes on Theory and Criticism in Architecture and the Arts*, Datutop. Tampere: Ars Magna who cites and summarizes Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Jormakka's argument pertains to the conventions of the architectural discourse as a social field - including definitions of the value and meaning of architectural masterpieces, as well as the systemic conventions that are at work in leading and changing the discourse and cites a variety of sources including Bourdieu (see especially 153-154).

2 Ibid.

3 Cf Thompson, John B. 2011. "Shifting Boundaries of Public and Private Life." In *Theory, Culture & Society*. 28 (4): 49-70. For a recent discussion in architectural theory see also Mitteregger, Mathias. 2015. *Reason might be a place*. PhD, Architectural Theory, Vienna University of Technology.

4 Aristotle "Politics" In *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*, edited by Rackham Harris. 1944. London: William Heinemann, 1.1253a. "And why man is a political animal in a greater measure than any bee or any gregarious animal is clear. For nature, as we declare, does nothing without purpose; and man alone of the animals possesses speech. The mere voice, it is true, can indicate pain and pleasure, and therefore is possessed by the other animals as well (for their nature has been developed so far as to have sensations of what is painful and pleasant and to indicate those sensations to one another, but speech is designed to indicate the advantageous and the harmful, and therefore also the right and the wrong; for it is the special property of man in distinction from the other animals that he alone has perception of good and bad and right and wrong and the other moral qualities, and it is partnership in these things that makes a household and a city-state."

5 Ibid, 1.1253b. "Since therefore property is a part of a household and the art of acquiring property a part of household management (for without the necessities even life, as well as the good life, is impossible, and since, just as for the particular arts it would be necessary for the proper tools to be forthcoming if their work is to be accomplished, so also the manager of a household must have his tools, and of tools some are lifeless and others living (for example, for a helmsman the rudder is a lifeless tool and the look-out man a live tool — for an assistant in the arts belongs to the class of tools), so also an article of property is a tool for the purpose of life, and property generally is a collection of tools, and a slave is a live article of property."

6 Hannah Arendt as cited and discussed by Mitteregger 2015, 33ff: "the irrelevant becomes automatically a private matter."

7 Stewart, Janet. 2000. *Fashioning Vienna. Adolf Loos's cultural criticism*. London and New York: Routledge.

8 Ibid, 9.

9 Ibid, 5.

10 Ibid, 9.

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11 Ibid, 10-17.

12 Rechtsinformationssystem, Bundeskanzleramt. 1999. "Entscheidungstext." Accessed 21.01.2015.

[https://http://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokument.wxe?Abfrage=Justiz&Dokumentnummer=JJT\\_19990114\\_OGH0002\\_0020OB00348\\_98K0000\\_000](https://http://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokument.wxe?Abfrage=Justiz&Dokumentnummer=JJT_19990114_OGH0002_0020OB00348_98K0000_000). Court decision from 14.1.1999. "As per § 31a FOG, federal museums are entitled to acquire legacies and rights through gratuitous legal transactions and, excepting sale of objects belonging to the collection, to avail themselves thereof, to commission factory orders, and to distribute prints, audios and images, replicas, souvenirs and similar objects, as well as to acquire membership to "museum associations." As such, handing over of objects belonging to the collection (Loos archive) does not belong to the autonomous full power of disposal of the sued secondary party. Own English translation of "Gemäß § 31a FOG seien Bundesmuseen berechtigt, durch unentgeltliche Rechtsgeschäfte Vermögen und Rechte zu erwerben und mit Ausnahme der Veräußerung von Sammlungsobjekten hievon Gebrauch zu machen, Arbeitsaufträge zu vergeben, Druckwerke, Ton- und Bildträger, Repliken, Andenkenartikel und ähnliche Gegenstände zu vertreiben so wie Mitgliedschaften zu "Museumsfördervereinen" zu erwerben. Die Herausgabe von Sammlungsobjekten (Loos-Archiv) falle somit nicht in die eigenständige Verfügungsberechtigung der zweitbeklagten Partei."

Cf Redaktion/APA. 2002. "Albertina kündigt Adolf Loos-Schwerpunkt an." *Der Standard*, 10.10.2002.

13 Niederhofer, Gerhard et al. 2015. "Ornament und Verbrechen." In *Falter*, 04.02.2015.

14 Simon, Anne-Catherine. 2015. "Loos, der pädophile Straftäter: Was die Protokolle verraten." In *Presse*. 04.02.2015.

15 Long, Christopher. 2015. *der fall loos*. Wien: Amalthea, 158.

16 Colomina, Beatriz. 1998 (1994). *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture As Mass Media*. Cambridge et al: MIT Press.

17 Colomina, Beatriz. 1992. "The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism." In *Sexuality and Space*, edited by Beatriz Colomina, 72-129. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

18 Colomina 1998, 14. "The conventional view portrays modern architecture as a high artistic practice established in opposition to mass culture and everyday life."

19 Ibid, 13. "To think about modern architecture must be to pass back and forth between the question of space and the question of representation. Indeed, it will be necessary to think of architecture as a system of representation, or rather a series of overlapping systems of representation. This does not mean abandoning the traditional architectural object, the building. In the end, it means looking at it much closely than before, but also in a different way. The building should be understood in the same terms as drawings, photographs, writing, films, and advertisements [.]"

20 Colomina 1998, 9.

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- 21 Altman, Irwin. 1977. "Privacy Regulation: Culturally Universal or Culturally Specific?" In *Journal of Social Issues* 33 (3):66-84.
- 22 Ibid, 74.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid, 73.
- 25 Ibid, 77-78.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Goffman, Erving. 1971. *Relations in Public. Microstudies of the Public Order*. New York: Basic Books, 46.  
„when bodies are naked, glances are clothed“
- 28 Hall, Edward T. 1992 (1969). *The hidden dimension*. Gloucester: Peter Smith.
- 29 For discussion see Kuhlmann, Dörte. 2013. *Gender Studies in Architecture: Space, Power and Difference*. London et al: Routledge.
- 30 Colomina 1998, 243. Colomina 1992, 79.
- 31 Colomina. 1992, 76.
- 32 Ibid, 79.
- 33 Colomina 1998, 1-15.
- 34 Ibid, 12.
- 35 Colomina 1998, 9.
- 36 Ibid, 3.
- 37 Rukschcio, Burkhardt, and Roland Schachel. 1987 (1982). *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk*. 2nd edition ed. Salzburg und Wien: Residenz Verlag.
- 38 Colomina 1998, 9.
- 39 Ibid, 3, citing Rukschcio 1987: “[...] his work and his appearance [were] accompanied by objective reports only in the beginning [...]“ Rukschcio 1987, 7. Own English translation of “[...] sein Werk und sein Auftreten [wurden] nur anfänglich von objektiven Berichten begleitet [...]“
- 40 Schwartz, Frederic J. 2012. "Architecture and Crime: Adolf Loos and the Culture of the "Case"." In *Art Bulletin* 94 (3):437-457.
- 41 Long 2015.
- 42 Schwartz 2012, 440.
- 43 Long 2015, 156.
- 44 Altmann-Loos, Elsie, Lina Loos, Claire Loos. 2002. *Adolf Loos, der Mensch*, edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Prachner.
- 45 Ibid, 213 and 217.

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46 There are for example slight but important differences between the published version of Adolf Loos's letter to Lina, dated August 7th, 1904 in Csokor, Franz Theodor, and Leopoldine Rüther (eds.). 1966. *Du silberne Dame. Briefe von und an Lina Loos*. Wien et al: Paul Zsolnay, 30 and the original, to be found in Wienbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung I.N.126.899: "Meine Einzige!" instead of "Mein einziges Mädili!", "weil es zu viel über der Sache stehen" and "Ich schreibe mit Galle" are missing from the published version, etc.

47 Csokor 1966.

48 Loos, Lina. 1986. *Das Buch Ohne Titel. Erlebte Geschichten*, edited by Adolf Opel and Herbert Schimek. Wien et al: Hermann Böhlhaus.

49 Loos, Lina. 1994. *Wie man wird, was man ist: Lebens-Geschichten*, edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Deuticke and Altmann-Loos 2002.

## **05\_IN BED WITH LOOS**

### *Summary of argument:*

This chapter reinstates Lina Loos's relevance as significant for the discussion on Loos in architectural history and theory while engaging with "Das Schlafzimmer meiner Frau" (My wife's bedroom), designed by Adolf Loos for their home. The discussion starts from an essay, which argues for the bedroom as a shrine to Lina, implicitly attaching to her the status of a muse. A discussion around the concept of the muse follows, which shows how the concept refutes any kind of own creative activity on behalf of the muse although materials from Lina Loos's estate strongly hint to her influence on the project's aesthetic. This idea is discussed in connection with Adolf Loos's own thoughts to the correlation between clients' individuality and their interior spaces. The argument is that an understanding of Lina as Loos's client rather than his muse clarifies the project's title, but also the similar aesthetic between the marital bedroom and the bedroom Lina inhabits in another apartment after the divorce. As a client for "Das Schlafzimmer meiner Frau," Lina is significant for project's the aesthetic, especially considering that this project remains unique in Loos's oeuvre. Lina Loos is finally admitted as a significant protagonist to the discussion on Loos in architecture, paving the way for the final argument, which searches for Lina's influence on the thoughts Loos articulates in his manifesto "Ornament and Crime."

### **LINA, THE MUSE**

Loos is especially well represented in some of the literary work, newspaper articles and stage-play scripts authored by his first wife Lina Loos. Some architectural historians and theoreticians<sup>1</sup> have recently picked up this material. They use it to convey aspects of Loos's life, particularly as part of the discussion around the sexual harassment cases involving or surrounding his persona<sup>2</sup> or in search of the context and significance of his work. But although there are some mentions of Lina Loos's possible involvement to Loos's manifesto

“Ornament and Crime,” these do not come from scholars of architecture. Janet Stewart<sup>3</sup> and Lisa Fischer, coming from the fields of visual culture and history respectively, and Theodor Csokor and Adolf Opel, Lina’s and Adolf’s editors, indicate her possible contribution to Loos’s thoughts on materiality and modernity. An article Lina Loos publishes in 1904 is mentioned in this regard. Nonetheless, scholarly work in architecture has not yet introduced Lina as a significant protagonist into the discussion. The discussion neither makes reference to the 1904 article nor to another project she was very involved with: the marital bedroom Loos designs for ‘her’ according to the project’s title. In this context, the present part of the text introduces yet another reason for Lina’s absence from most architectural discussions. It does so by analyzing how certain concepts might contribute to the irrelevance of certain protagonists within the boundaries of the architectural discussion.

It has already been discussed that a recent debate in architecture, which goes back to the 1990s, is investigating the role of women in artistic and architectural thought and practice. These women are posited forgotten due to a way of writing history that is dominated by male authors and protagonists. In this context, fin-de-siècle Vienna makes for a large part of the discussion. The wives and partners of seminal male artists like Gustav Mahler, but also of architects like Adolf Loos, are at the center of discussion. In these discussions, scholars attempt to account for the respective roles of, to stay with the same examples, Alma Mahler-Werfel and Lina Loos in their husbands’ creative acts. Often, the role these women partners fulfill in connection with their husbands’ cultural contributions is that of muses.

This could remain undisputed since Vienna’s turn of the century refers to, besides the already discussed feminist uprising usually discussed opposite a misogynist movement,<sup>4</sup> a creative period dedicated to discovering and praising the young woman. The reoccurrence of the motif of the *femme enfant* (*Kindfrau*)<sup>5</sup> in both arts and literature demonstrates this. Egon Schiele’s paintings and sketches of exposed young women<sup>6</sup> and Peter Altenberg’s (both autobiographical and literary) writing<sup>7</sup> are famous examples in this regard. On the societal level, theoretical and artistic debates between supposed feminists and misogynists are

accompanied by thought-provoking marriage trends, whereby very young women, sixteen or seventeen year old girls, marry men who are substantially older.<sup>8</sup>

Against this background, Lina and Loos marry in 1902 when she is nineteen and Loos thirty-two.<sup>9</sup> Lina personifies at this time, not only for Loos but also allegedly for most of Vienna,<sup>10</sup> the ideal *femme enfant*, the “ideal object of stylized lust,”<sup>11</sup> or a woman who combines youthful virginity and innocence with childish urges and instincts.<sup>12</sup> Here the discussion goes beyond young women’s bodies as objects of sexual desire. Due to the not yet full-fledged feminine attributes, the objectified persona of the *femme enfant* is discussed in terms of her societal, intellectual and emotional purity, her intuitive thinking for example. These are very desirable attributes in connection with the creation of art (not only) at the turn of the century. Ideally, the creative act is not restricted by any social, political and economic limitations.

The *femme enfant* is consequently placed on a pedestal, as muse<sup>13</sup> or embodied creative inspiration, onto which the male fin-de-siècle artist or architect projects his desires. In this context, Lina Loos can be and has been discussed as Adolf Loos’s *femme enfant*, the creative inspiration or the muse for his creative acts. Lina’s status as a muse is especially in focus of two particular scholarly projects, namely Anne-Katrin Rossberg’s essay on architecture “Loos’ Frauenzimmer”<sup>14</sup> (Loos’s women) and Lisa Fischer’s historical monograph *Lina Loos oder wenn sich die Muse selbst küsst*<sup>15</sup> (Lina Loos or when the muse kisses herself). The text will pick up these discussions to suggest some limitations of working with the concept of the muse as they contribute to the irrelevance, in terms of creative activity, of the person they describe. Regarding Lina’s role as Loos’s muse, this discussion additionally clarifies her invisibility and irrelevance in scholarly discussions in architecture.

## **THE *FEMME ENFANT* MUSE AS AN EXTENSION OF THE ARTIST/ARCHITECT**

Lina Loos is seldom mentioned in scholarly work in architecture and its theory. In 2015, an exhibition in MAK Austrian Museum of Applied Arts / Contemporary Art showcased a reconstruction of the bedroom Loos designed for the marital apartment, albeit not making any

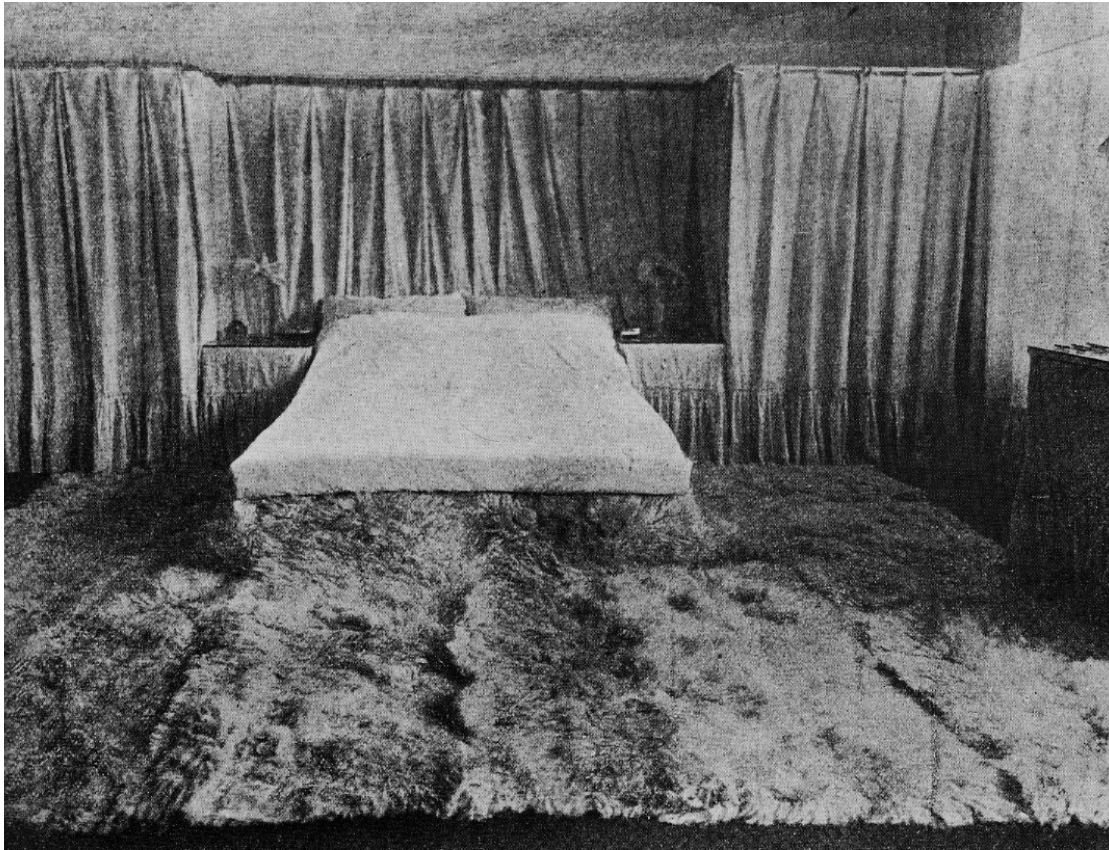


reference to either her possible involvement to the project or to her role regarding the project's aesthetic. Anne Katrin Rossberg's discussion is one of the seldom occurrences, in which Lina's name is mentioned as a protagonist in connection with Loos's project. Rossberg presents a formal analysis of two of Loos's projects as they portray what she labels "two fin-de-siècle types of women:"<sup>16</sup> the *femme fragile* or *Kindweib* (child broad) and its complement, the *femme fatale* (the vamp).<sup>17</sup> Before discussing Rossberg's analysis of Adolf Loos's "Das Schlafzimmer meiner Frau" (My wife's bedroom), the bedroom for Lina Loos, a clarification is necessary. There seems to be some confusion in scholarly literature as to what exactly differentiates the *femme fragile* from the *femme enfant*, apart from the fact that they are both complementary to the *femme fatale*. Similarly, it is unclear what *Kindweib* (Child broad) or *Kindfrau* (Child woman) refer to when translated into French.<sup>18</sup> *The Feminist Encyclopedia of German Literature* defines "[t]he cultural construction of the *femme fragile* as a favorite image in Western fin-de-siècle literature," denoting a woman "[e]mbodying morbid fragility and sickness, on one hand, and decorative artificiality and sterile beauty, on the other," her "ethereal image" "symptomatic of the decadence and the aestheticism of its time." The same source outlines *femme enfant* to be a variation of *femme fragile*.<sup>19</sup> Back to Lina Loos, her youth and childlike appearance, but not her sickness, are praised by Loos, Peter Altenberg and others. The present text works therefore with a definition of muse, in which *femme enfant* is equivalent to *Kindweib/frau*. *Femme enfant* used in this context aims to refer to a woman whose social, emotional and physical development is not yet complete. Another concept, often used in combination with the terminology *femme fragile*, that of the *ephemeral woman*, is maybe more ambiguous since it does not clarify whether the childlike aesthetic appearance, the behavior, or both, are temporary and in what way. The stories have it however that Lina was both aesthetically, emotionally and socially considered to be somewhere in between child and woman at the time she met and later married Loos. This can be reconstructed in various biographies and letters but especially in the compilation of writing authored by Loos's three wives.<sup>20</sup> Loos's own tendency to call Lina his *Mädi* or girly is probably still the best testimony to Lina's developmental in-between state:

“Girl shall get to know her power. But not implement it. The former could make both you and me happy, the latter maybe you happy, but surely make me unhappy. [...] No, I would rather prefer if Girl would not become a woman when she grows up...”<sup>21</sup>

Rossberg seems to refer to a similar image of Lina. Lina embodies the creative inspiration for Adolf Loos’s interior design for the bedroom they shared in their marital apartment. In 1903, Loos publishes two images of the bedroom in Altenberg’s art journal *Kunst. Halbmonatsschrift für Kunst und alles Andere*, titling the project “Das Schlafzimmer meiner Frau” or “My wife’s bedroom.”<sup>22</sup> Rossberg’s main aim is to use these images in order to show that the room resembles Lina’s attributes as *Kindfrau*. The spatial organization but also the objects and materials in the space let the author conclude that the room is a matter of subtly staging an ideal.<sup>23</sup> The room is the background that frames Lina’s presence. Indeed, the first of the two photographs published in *Kunst*, the more famous and remarkably staged photograph, depicts a prominent bed placed at the center of the room, seemingly floating above a light, soft carpet, which climbs up the base of the bed. Lina is not present in either picture but the environment Loos creates, Rossberg argues, suggests a beautiful, soft, innocent, sexually desirable and young woman. Her interpretation insinuates an understanding of Lina as the creative inspiration for the aesthetic appearance of the room. What happens in this context is that thoughts regarding Lina’s possible significant role, regarding for example the choice of materials or fabrics, are unavoidably deactivated. A muse does not actively choose fabrics and materials for its shrine; a muse passively inspires the artist’s creative activities.

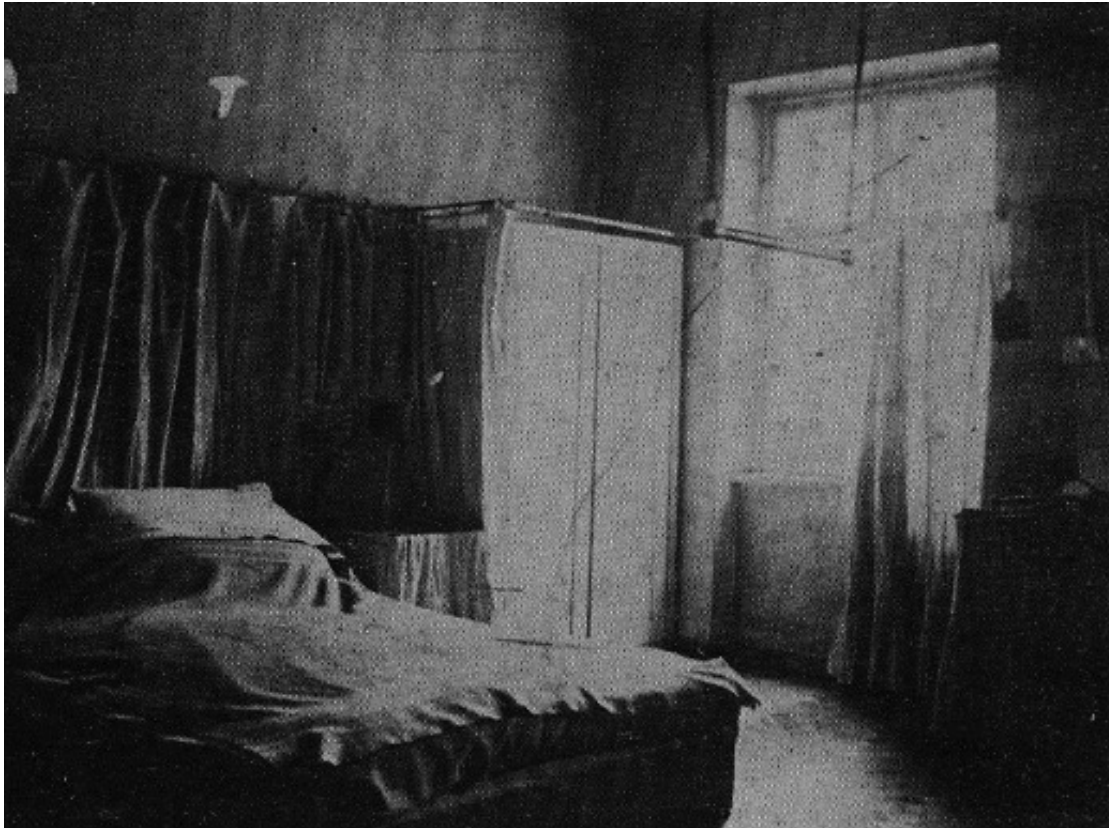
The second picture, taken from the left lower corner of the room, shows the bed from an angle, two bright windows and something unidentifiable in the top right corner of the image, perhaps something hanging from the ceiling. The impact of this second image is clearly below the first’s. Without having previously sighted the first image and having already formed an opinion regarding the room as a shrine for Lina, the interpretation of this second image will not lead as clearly to the same understanding. Further, a third picture exists,



*Image 1.* “Das Schlafzimmer meiner Frau”, 1903. Originally published in *Kunst. Halbmonatsschrift für Kunst und alles Andere*. Edited by Artur Brehmer, Friedrich Krauss and Peter Altenberg. Erstes Heft. Reproduced from Rukschcio, Burkhardt, and Roland Schachel. 1982. *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk*. 2nd edition ed. Salzburg und Wien: Residenz Verlag, 83.



Image 2. “Das Schlafzimmer meiner Frau”, 1903. Originally published in *Kunst. Halbmonatsschrift für Kunst und alles Andere*. Edited by Artur Brehmer, Friedrich Krauss and Peter Altenberg. Erstes Heft. Reproduced from Rukschcio, Burkhardt, and Roland Schachel. 1982. *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk*. 2nd edition ed. Salzburg und Wien: Residenz Verlag, 432.



*Image 3.* Undated amateur photograph of the bedroom, ca. late 1920s. Reproduced from Rukschcio, Burkhardt, and Roland Schachel. 1982. *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk*. 2nd edition ed. Salzburg und Wien: Residenz Verlag, 231.

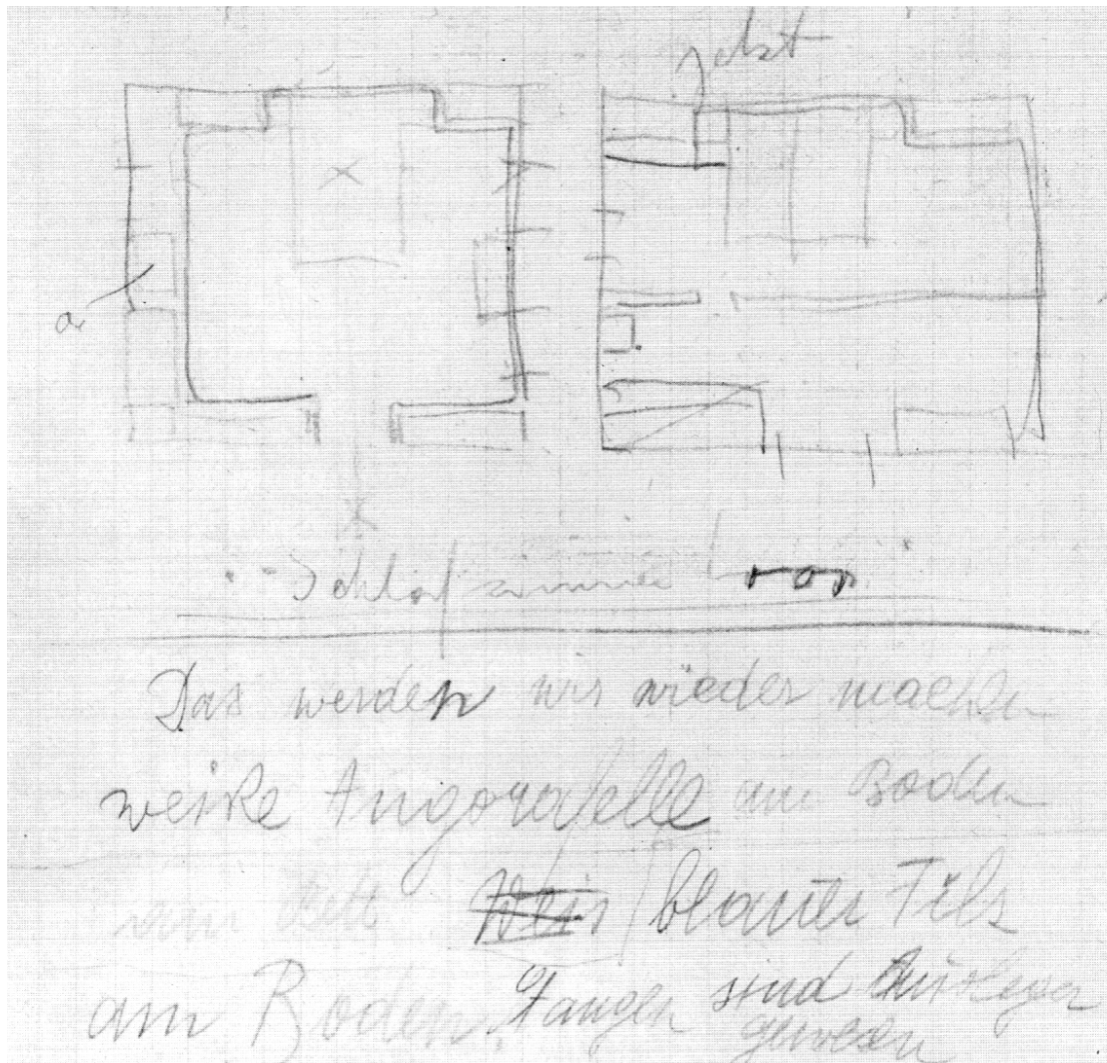


Image 4. Floor plans of the Loos bedroom and plans for subdivision. Undated. Reproduced from Loos, Adolf.

1989. *Adolf Loos*. Catalogue to the exhibition. Wien: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 164.

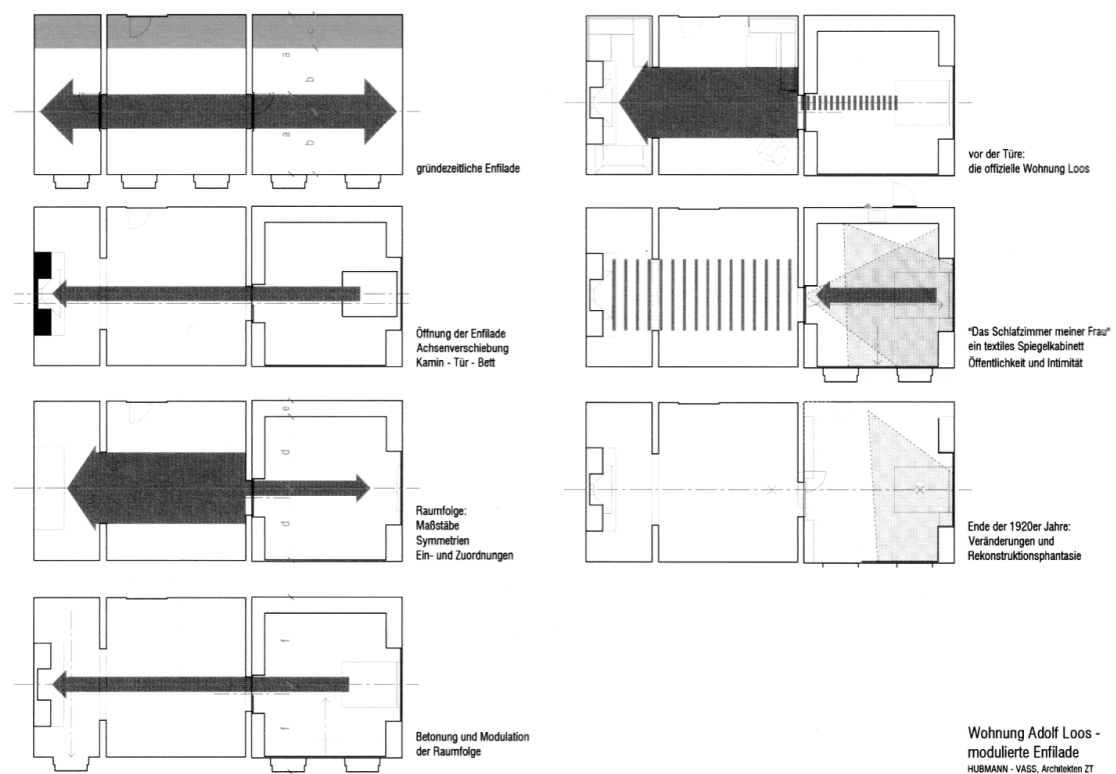


Image 5. Loos apartment over time by Hubmann Vass Architekten. 2015. Reproduced from Thun-Hohenstein Christoph, Matthias Boeckl and Christian Witt-Döring. 2015. *Wege der Moderne. Josef Hoffmann, Adolf Loos und die Folgen. Ways to modernism: Josef Hoffmann, Adolf Loos, and Their Impact*. Catalogue to the exhibition. Basel: Birkhäuser, 164.



*Image 6.* Lina Loos's bedroom in Sievering: reproduced from Loos, Lina. 1994. *Wie man wird, was man ist: Lebens-Geschichten*. Edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Deuticke, inlet.



published in Rukschcio and Schachel's 1982 *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk*.<sup>24</sup> It is an undated amateur image shot from an angle similar to the one of the second image published in *Kunst*. Only one window shows this time. This is probably due, and the reasons for this idea will be explained in more detail below, to the photographer's position. Further, the bed is no longer at the center of the photograph, and the carpet, so essential in the first image described above, is only discernible in its soft, bright appearance when previous knowledge about the room, its materials, but also the interpretation of the room as a shrine for Lina exists. Most captivating in this particular picture is what seems to be a high bar in the right upper corner, which, should it be a gymnastics device would reflect Loos's fascination with body and fitness,<sup>25</sup> not at all unusual at the time.<sup>26</sup>

A sketch published by Hermann Czech in connection with his essay "Der Umbau" (The renovation)<sup>27</sup> and drawings published by Andreas Vass in connection with his article "Loos's Architecture – Theoretical Approaches: Craft – Architecture – Art"<sup>28</sup> provide a possible explanation for this last image. The sketch shows two floor plans. The one at the left seems to match the layout depicted in the original images of 1903. However, the right sketch depicts the original room subdivided by an interior wall.<sup>29</sup> The text below the sketch states, "Bedroom Loos, We will do this again, white angora fells on the floor, on the bed ~~wine~~ blue felt, on the floor. Roads were cantilevers."<sup>30</sup> This subdivision would explain an apartment renovation, which architects Hubmann and Vass are estimating to have taken place at the end of the 1920s,<sup>31</sup> and which shrinks the bedroom by almost a half. This again could explain the photographer's position in the undated image, but also approximately date it to the late 1920s. Agreeing with this date, seventeen years after the publication of what Rossberg interprets to be a shrine for Lina, the bedroom has shrunk in size, the carpet, substantial to Rossberg's interpretation, is no longer present and what seems to be a gymnastics bar is noticeable. During the 1920s, Loos is discussed as living predominantly in Paris, designing and building Maison Tristan Tzara for example.<sup>32</sup> At the end of the 1920s, Loos is back in his Viennese apartment however, facing child molestation charges in 1928<sup>33</sup> and marrying Claire Loos in

1929.<sup>34</sup> In any case, the bedroom is not Lina's any longer. In light of not only this last image, but also of the second picture published in *Kunst*, both her status as a muse and the idea of the bedroom as her shrine are debatable. The feminine space Rossberg conveys is maybe interpretable in the images of 1903 and perhaps primarily in the first image, mainly due to the camera angle and the carpet's omnipresence, but no longer distinguishable in the late 1920s. Further, both the absence of the carpet in the amateur image of the late 1920s, as well as the presence of the high bar, seem to rather encourage an interpretation of the room as connoting masculine values. It seems reasonably odd in this context that the interpretation of a work of art, a creative work of architecture inspired by Lina as a muse, should change that much that it assumes a contrary position.

#### **A PROJECT BY ADOLF LOOS FOR HIS CLIENT LINA**

A possible explanation for this is found if Lina enters the discussion as Loos's client for the bedroom, not merely as his muse, especially in light of yet another image depicting Lina's new bedroom at another location after the divorce. It is the bedroom in her summerhouse turned residence on Sieveringerstrasse 107. She relocates to this address following the sale of Casa Piccola<sup>35</sup> where she lives after the divorce until her parents sell the coffeehouse in 1909.<sup>36</sup> This bedroom is also sometimes attributed to Loos, although this is nowhere substantiated.<sup>37</sup> Further, there is no agreement as to whether the design was completed prior<sup>38</sup> or after<sup>39</sup> the divorce. An image shows Lina on a bed that is located in the corner of the room. The colors are once again bright and the walls covered in fabric, similar in brightness and softness to the marital bedroom. Here, Lina's status as a muse who does not select materials, colors or objects for the interior design of her bedroom can be revisited and questioned. It seems odd that, having moved out from the marital apartment, Lina should want, no matter whether Loos was involved in the design or not, to live in a space that would duplicate the most intimate of their shared spaces after their separation. It appears more plausible that both rooms may also reflect Lina's taste and choice of materials, colors and objects.

Beyond the speculations regarding the similar aesthetic of both bedrooms, evidence for this can be found in Adolf Loos's own writing. Loos devotes "The Poor Little Rich Man,"<sup>40</sup> published in mid 1900 and in his 1903 journal *Das Andere. Ein Blatt zur Einfuehrung abendlaendischer Kultur in Oesterreich: Geschrieben von Adolf Loos* (The other. A Paper to the Introduction of Occidental Culture in Austria) to explicating the interrelation between (interior) design and his clients' individual characters. The story of "The Poor Little Rich Man" is an attack against the Secessionist idea of architecture as *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Loos himself supports a view of architecture that reflects the individuality of the client rather than the architect's taste. With the famous anecdote about the slippers (the client is wearing slippers designed by the architect during one of the visits by the latter, but not in the room they were designed for, which maddens the architect),<sup>41</sup> Loos conveys a view about interior architecture dedicated to the client's life, belongings, memories and daily rituals. These are the design rather than being modeled to something other idea through design. "The domicile was comfortable, but it was hard mental work,"<sup>42</sup> the poor little rich client bemoans. For Loos, the consequences of imposing a *Gesamtkunstwerk* onto the people who will live in this total work of art carry undesirable mental implications. Loos's idea entails integrating his clients' individuality into his projects, an individuality that could manifest through textiles, pieces of furniture, objects, etc. Loos's piece "Das heim" addresses this even more directly: "You are always right regarding your apartment. No one else. The modern artists tell you that they furnish all apartments according to your individuality. This is a lie. An artist can only furnish an apartment according to his way. [...] Your own apartment can only furnish you yourself."<sup>43</sup>

This attitude works well with his clients and creates sustainable home environments as a letter written to Loos by his client Paul Khuner in 1929 illustrates:

"The purpose of my letter is to tell you the following: you furnished my apartment in the year 1907. I know a number of people who let themselves be furnished at the same time and who incidentally understood furniture etc. as little as I did. Most of

these people had to throw out their furniture during the past 20 years, and those who did not do so, now have apartments whose Secessionist or Jugendstil floral patterns terrify today even those most naïve. By contrast, I have hardly changed anything during the past 20 years in my apartment and have pleasure in my furniture. And at the same time I had to force you then to save money in some matters, spoiling the effect. –

I therefore have the feeling that the fee I paid you at the time was all too small and that I owe you an additional fee. Allow me to ease my conscience by mailing you the attached check in the sum of Fr. 10 000.”<sup>44</sup>

With this in mind, we can turn back to the marital bedroom and to the similarities it shows to Lina’s later bedroom in Sievering. Adding Loos’s thoughts on interiors to the aesthetic similarities between the rooms, thoughts involving an interior design, which responds to his clients’ individual traits, an understanding of the rooms takes shape in which Lina, the client, plays an important role. This explanation also provides additional clarification regarding the project’s title. “My wife’s bedroom” refers to a bedroom Loos designed for his wife as a client. Not before and not after this project do Loos’s designs for *Damenzimmer* (ladies’ rooms) or other bedrooms show any aesthetic similarities to the marital bedroom.<sup>45</sup> Given this, Lina’s role regarding the projects should rather be that of a client and not that of a muse. As a client, Lina is important and influential regarding the projects’ aesthetic and therefore also significant for the discussion in architecture. As a muse and creative inspiration, she would however remain mostly irrelevant.

## **FROM MUSE TO OMNIPOTENT FIN-DE-SIÈCLE GODDESS**

Purely theoretically, without the images or an understanding of Lina as Loos’s client rather than his muse, it is difficult to arrive at Lina’s significance for discussions in architecture. The problem lies in the limitations, which the status of muse brings along. As a muse, Lina cannot enter the discussion as a substantial protagonist who is creatively active on her own since

muses usually provide the creative inspiration for someone else's work; in this case Adolf Loos's. The social, emotional and physical in-between state connected to the idea of muse gets in the way of even considering that she may have been an influential force as a client. These difficulties are especially clear in Lisa Fischer's work. In a recent scholarly discussion on Lina Loos, Fischer searches for Lina's significant creative contribution to a male dominated fin-de-siècle cultural environment.<sup>46</sup> She identifies a historical context, which tends to reject both female creativity and creative acts. Fischer's explanation for the absence of women in cultural fields at this time has to do with a then contemporary classification of women, which still persists. According to this classification, women are either mainly concerned with reproductive and caring practices or, when their personal situation permits, trapped in inspiring rather than productive roles. They are either too busy to be creative or catalogued as muses for the creative processes and acts of others, of men.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, Rossberg's interpretation discussed above, although recent, follows the second model. By discussing the bedroom as a shrine for Lina, Rossberg inevitably posits Lina inferior to Loos. Lina's contribution to the project is limited to the creative inspiration she provides Loos with through her underdeveloped behavior and aesthetic. Loos is credited with the creative action as an architect who is able to discover Lina's attributes, but also incorporate them into his own creative act of designing the shrine.

Fischer wants to avoid this trap and searches for Lina's own impact. Her wish is to show how Lina is able to go beyond then cotemporary perceptions of imagining, inspiring and imagined women.<sup>48</sup> However, instead of finding evidence for Lina's creativity and leaving it at that, the long history of considering Lina a muse forces Fischer to overstate. Her original attempt is to establish Lina's abilities, creative and mental, and to paint a more impartial picture of Lina. Fischer's suggestion is that Lina's muse status is to a great degree the result of attempts of male self-representation by protagonists in Lina's circle after her death. In this context, the author mentions correspondence by her male followers or admirers, published *post mortem*, full of images aimed at celebrating and further promoting Lina's status as creative inspiration

both mentally and aesthetically. Fischer bemoans this fact that it was not Lina's own work that was published but rather that of her mostly male companions.<sup>49</sup> Not only is this problematic when trying to comprehend her own significance, it is another way of imagining a woman. In response to this, Fischer discusses material and topics directly connected to Lina Loos, which show that she was an important creative protagonist at the turn of the century in Vienna, not simply supplying her body, behavior or emotions as inspiration for the work of male artists. But above all, and here Fischer's overstatement starts, Lina embodies feminine creativity.

Feminine creativity, Fischer continues, differs from masculine creativity since it involves a social component. Lina's significance as a female artist in the context of fin-de-siècle Vienna is as such not only to actively produce art, but also to influence and form<sup>50</sup> a variety of other artists. Here, the concept of Lina as a muse disappears. Influencing other artists may still be possible for a muse, but forming them implies an ability to educate, to target their minds – and this is not only a mental activity, but also one which positions Lina hierarchically above those she educates. At this point, Fischer lists not only Adolf Loos but also Egon Friedell and Franz Theodor Csokor as the beneficiaries of our woman artist.<sup>51</sup> Fischer lets Lina undergo a change of status from one extreme to the other. Lina is no longer a muse but neither is she a woman artist on equal footing with other male artists of the time. Instead of painting a more impartial picture of Lina, Fischer tells the story about an omnipotent goddess of fin-de-siècle Vienna: a woman who is deeply involved with the creative products of many other significant, acknowledged male masters of the time. This is very questionable. More probable is that Lina Loos and her contemporaries were addressing similar questions in their work. They were all concerned with appropriate responses to modernity in their respective work, whether concerning the arts, culture or politics. Following this interest back to one individual, Lina Loos, as it pertains to the work of acknowledged fin-de-siècle masters such as Altenberg, Friedell, Loos and Csokor, makes the impression of an uninformed attempt.

At the core of this overstatement is the way Fischer chooses to argue. She wants to show Lina's significance as a creative and intelligent fin-de-siècle protagonist but she is faced with the problematic of the intrinsic connection Lina seems to have to the other male protagonists as a muse. Fischer could analyze this, for example by suggesting a general concern for a similar topic present in many creative acts of the time. Instead, Fischer trails this connection back to Lina's femininity. Perhaps against the historical background portraying women in reproductive or inspiring roles, she wants to show that Lina Loos's femininity made her special and significant. The idea of feminine creativity suggests however an essential difference between the works of art and literature between men and women. This topic has been debated in arts and architecture in manifold forms (in terms of biological and social differences<sup>52</sup>), but Fischer does not address this. Not only does this make the impression of another uninformed decision, but it also leads to her argument's main problem. Fischer ends up by positing Lina Loos superior to her male counterparts and companions due to gender differences. Lina converts to main protagonist in fin-de-siècle arts and culture, but once again not mainly due to an analysis of her actual contribution: her writing.

## THOUGHTS OF A MUSE

"One woman once expressed the wish to see as far as possible – far, far, to the heavens; then the men hurried to their drawing boards and invented the telescope!

And another, a curious one, wanted to hear from afar; then they invented the telephone. One woman dreamt of many beautiful, shiny clothes; the men hurried in flocks into the laboratories and blessed the world with artificial silk. "Ach, if I could only come from place to place as quickly as possible, preferably around the whole world," said a restless one." "Here are ships to cross the ocean, express trains to cross the land – please, just embark." "To fly, that I would like to be able to do", this is how the aeroplane was born. And a very odd one even wanted to live under water – nothing is impossible, the submarine appeared."<sup>53</sup>

This quote stems from a piece by Lina Loos, which is titled “The international situation in nineteenhundredandthirtyfive seen through the uneducated eyes of a woman.”<sup>54</sup> She discusses the creative acts of developing the technologies of modernity. The airplane or the ship were developed, designed and built by men but, important as regards the absence of women creators at the turn of the century in Vienna, by men who were acting in response to their women’s desires. Developing, designing and building are in this context similar to designing a building, painting a picture or other activities involving creative actions. The acts of conceiving and producing a ship can be seen as equivalent to the for example the act of creating architecture. What Lina is observing, poetically nonetheless, is that even though in some of these cases women may have been involved in developing the ideas, they take a very passive role. Additionally, this role is connected with emotions, with the desire for something rather than with craftsmanship or the ability to perform the actual act of designing. Around three decades after the first European and American feminist movements, Lina depicts in this paragraph a still predominant image of women as creative inspiration and of men as acting subjects, the latter performing the acts necessary to satisfy the desires of the former. Apart from the fact that is generally hard to concede to multiple authorship when it comes to innovations and creative acts, the divide between men and women regarding the actual production of things was often solved by assigning the role of creative inspiration to women and the role of implementing the former into a product to men.

Lina wants to criticize this image. An unsatisfied Lina can be read in between the lines, unsatisfied not only with the education women are allowed to take part in as the title of the piece suggests, but also with the role of women’s creative part in production processes. Lina implicitly questions the authorship of the new technologies’ inventors. What she does not do however is categorically assign a superior role to either men or the women in this context. One could read this as a question regarding authorship: could it be that creative inspiration might be just as worthy as the act it inspires? This is an important difference to Fischer’s analysis of Lina Loos’s role in fin-de-siècle Vienna’s creative acts. Fischer similarly



questions feminine creativity as inspiration to the act, usually performed by a man, but she ends her discussion with an omnipotent Lina who, as an educator and instructor to other man artists, automatically assumes a superior role. Whereas Rossberg uses the active artist-passive muse image and blocks any further inquiry into Lina's own creativity, Fischer creates a hierarchy between the superior female and the inferior male artist, which in its exaggeration suggests an uninformed author.

Lina herself presents her own conclusions regarding her muse status as early as 1912.

“I am searching for a man who loves me as – Lina Loos. I do not want to be a supernatural being, I do not want to be worshipped, the man, to whom I am already a goddess – he is poor as poor can be for me.”<sup>55</sup>

Regarding “My wife's bedroom,” replacing Lina's status from muse for Adolf Loos's design to Adolf Loos's client does just that. Lina is no longer posited supernatural, as in Fischer's argument, or object of worship, as in Rossberg's depiction. Lacking professional education as an architect, Lina is neither relevant as a co-designer of the bedroom nor as a muse for whom Loos was building a shrine. Lina Loos's relevance in architectural discussions is as the client whose individuality the bedroom stands for according to Loos's own design principles. Alice T. Friedman has shown in this context how the status of female clients who participate in the creative process influences the outcome of architectural work, but also necessitates all protagonists' inclusion into the discussions on the final product.<sup>56</sup> In the particular case of the “Schröder House,” the collaboration between male architect, Gerrit Rietveld, and female client, Truus Schröder, herself not a trained architect, ended with Truus's subsequent addition as co-designer and not merely client of the project.<sup>57</sup>

Regarding the marital bedroom, the material sighted bore no evidence towards the fact that Lina had chosen herself the materials that will reoccur in a similar manner in her Sievering bedroom. On the contrary, the sketch specifying the white angora and the blue felt is attributed to Loos. However, the marital bedroom remains unique in Loos's work. Adding to this Loos's own thoughts to the relationship between client and interior architecture, Lina

Loos ought to be included into the architectural discussion on the bedroom as the client whose individuality determined to a high degree the acclaimed aesthetic of the room and not as a muse whose mental and physical underdeveloped status needed to be celebrated by a shrine. This leads the way towards an already indicated final discussion of her general influence on Loos's thoughts, especially given Lina's own written work, which shows a concern for a topic that Loos addresses early on before their marriage but which finally culminates five years after in "Ornament and Crime." This topic is the material manifestation of cultural progress or degeneration.

### **ADOLF LOOS ON LINA'S INFLUENCE**

"[...]I have to thank you for so much regarding my ideas. What was only half in me regarding my profession, you consolidated, or made to a whole,"<sup>58</sup> Loos writes to Lina in a letter dated October 6th, 1904. There are many interesting aspects in this acknowledgement. Loos does not attribute Lina Loos the status of a muse, a role that is more commonly discussed in connection with female partners of Vienna's renowned artists and thinkers of the time. On the contrary, Loos acknowledges Lina's contribution as the one half that was missing, the one half that would make him whole. He proclaims Lina to be his other creative half, at least in this particular piece of correspondence. Perhaps she was even more if we consider what Franz Theodor Csokor summarizes, namely that "[t]he man who wanted to live without ornament [had] met a woman, who lived without ornament."<sup>59</sup> In other words, whereas Loos had particular ideas about modernism and ornament, Csokor suggests, Lina was actually applying these.

## NOTES

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- 1 Cf Rosberg, Anne-Katrin. 2008. "Loos' Frauenzimmer." In *Leben mit Loos*, edited by Inge Podbrecky and Rainald Franz, 149-160. Wien et al: Böhlau; Schwartz, Frederic J. 2012. "Architecture and Crime: Adolf Loos and the Culture of the "Case"." In *Art Bulletin* 94 (3):437-457; Henderson 2002.
- 2 Schwartz 2012.
- 3 Stewart, Janet. 2000. *Fashioning Vienna. Adolf Loos's cultural criticism*. London and New York: Routledge., 82. "In 'Ornament and crime,' Loos states, 'the ideal I preach is the aristocrat.' This formulation can be traced back to a letter to his first wife, Lina, dated 16 July 1903 [..]"
- 4 Cf Schwartz, Agatha. 2008. "Sexual Cripples and Moral Degenerates: Fin-de-siècle Austrian Women Writers on Male Sexuality and Masculinity." In *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 44 (1):53-67; Chandler, Katharine. 2011. "The Ritual Sacrifice of Women: Misogyny and Art in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna." In *Concept* 34. Accessed 22.01.2015. <http://concept.journals.villanova.edu/article/view/557/1690>.
- 5 Lina is also sometimes discussed as the ideal "femme fragile," for example in Rossberg 2008.
- 6 Cf Bisanz, Hans. 2011 (2005). "Egon Schiele." In *Wien 1900: Kunst und Kultur ; Fokus der europäischen Moderne*, edited by Christian Brandstätter, München: Dt. Taschenbuch-Verlag, 149-174.
- 7 Pohle, Bettina. 1998. *Kunstwerk Frau: Inszenierung von Weiblichkeit in der Moderne*. Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Vlg., 116.
- 8 Ibid, 110.
- 9 Cf Rukschcio, Burkhardt, and Roland Schachel. 1987 (1982). *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk*. 2nd edition ed. Salzburg und Wien: Residenz Verlag. Loos would continue to marry and engage in long-term relationships with women between 19 and 25 years of age throughout his life, whereas he himself would age by approximately a decade with each new relationship.
- 10 Csokor, Franz Theodor, and Leopoldine Rüther (eds.). 1966. *Du silberne Dame. Briefe von und an Lina Loos*. Wien et al: Paul Zsolnay, 7.
- 11 Pohle 1998, 110. Own English translation of "ideale[s] Objekt stilisierter Begierde."
- 12 Ibid, 110-112.
- 13 Cf Pohle 1998, 136-145.
- 14 The word *Frauenzimmer* is used here in a play of words and refers to both the rather derogatory for women in general and to rooms designed with women as users in mind.
- 15 Fischer, Lisa. 2007 (1994). *Lina Loos oder wenn sich die Muse selbst küsst*. 2nd ed. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau.
- 16 Rossberg 2008, 149. Own English translation of "zwei Frauentypen der Jahrhundertwende."
- 17 Cf Pohle 1998 for an in-depth discussion of the terms femme enfant, femme fragile and femme fatale.

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- 18 Cf. Diederich, Madeleine. 2008. *Die Inszenierung der Kindfrau in Wedekinds LULU-Dramen: Untersuchungen zur Urfassung und Ihrer szenischen Umsetzung durch Peter Zadek*. Magistra der Philosophie (Mag. phil) Diploma, Theater-, Film- und Medienwissenschaft, University of Vienna; Pohle 1998.
- 19 Eigler, Friederike and Susanne Kord. 1997. *The Feminist Encyclopedia of German Literature*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 165.
- 20 Cf Altmann-Loos, Elsie, Lina Loos, Claire Loos. 2002. *Adolf Loos, der Mensch*, edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Prachner.
- 21 Loos, Lina. 1994. *Wie man wird, was man ist: Lebens-Geschichten*, edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Deuticke,
20. Own English translation of “Mädili soll ihre Kraft kennen. Aber nicht zur Geltung bringen. Das erste könnte dich und mich glücklich machen, das zweite dich vielleicht glücklich, mich aber sicher unglücklich machen [...]. Nein, mir wäre es schon lieber, wenn Mädi keine große Frau würde ...”
- 22 Loos, Adolf. 1903. “Das Schlafzimmer meiner Frau.” In *Kunst. Halbmonatsschrift für Kunst und alles Andere*, edited by Artur Brehmer, Friedrich Krauss and Peter Altenberg. Erstes Heft.
- 23 Rossberg, 2008, 153. Own English translation of “Darüber hinaus aber handelt es sich bei dieser fast schon legendären Lösung um die subtile, suggestive Inszenierung eines Idealbildes.”
- 24 Rukschcio, Burkhardt, and Roland Schachel. 1982. *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk*. 2nd edition ed. Salzburg und Wien: Residenz Verlag, 231.
- 25 Altmann-Loos 2002, 104. Stewart 2000, 23. Loos himself could do a Salto mortale. According to Janet Stewart, he also used his body frequently during lectures – dancing and moving to make his point, i.e. that the tempo of modernity changed the shape of the foot.
- 26 Stewart 2000, 139. Generally, fin-de-siècle Vienna is said to have paid a lot of attention to fitness and the body, even the imperial jubilee exhibition dedicating a whole section to sport.
- 27 Loos, Adolf. 1989. *Adolf Loos*. Catalogue to the exhibition. Wien: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 164.
- 28 Thun-Hohenstein Christoph, Matthias Boeckl and Christian Witt-Döring. 2015. *Wege der Moderne. Josef Hoffmann, Adolf Loos und die Folgen. Ways to modernism: Josef Hoffmann, Adolf Loos, and Their Impact*. Catalogue to the exhibition. Basel: Birkhäuser, 164.
- 29 Vass Andreas. 2015. “Loos’s Architecture – Theoretical Approaches: Craft – Architecture – Art.” In *Ibid*, 163-167.
- 30 Loos 1989, 164. Own English translation of “Das werden wir wieder machen. Weiße Angorafelle am Boden. Am Bett ~~Wein~~ blauer Filz. Am Boden. Stangen sind Ausleger gewesen.”
- 31 Vass 2015, 164.
- 32 Rukschcio 1987, 295ff.
- 33 *Ibid*.

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34 Ibid.

35 Cf Fischer 2007, 106-107.

36 Csokor 1996, 185. Letter by Lina Loos to Franz Lehar from 25.09.1944.

37 Thank you to Hubmann Vass Architekten for pointing this out.

38 Poidinger, Günther. 1963. "AZ entdeckt vergessenes Loos-Atelier." In *Arbeiter Zeitung*, 03.10.1963. Also reprinted in Loos, Lina. 1986. *Das Buch Ohne Titel. Erlebte Geschichten*. Wien et al: Hermann Böhlhaus, 296-299.

39 Rossberg 2008, 153. "On the other hand, she let her ex-husband create a very similar room in her own apartment on Sieveringer street – she wanted to miss the feeling of comfort in such a >>womb architecture<< as little as Loos himself, who retained the room until the end just about the same." Own English translation of "Andererseits ließ sie sich in ihrer eigenen Wohnung in der Sieveringer Straße von ihrem Ex-Mann ein ganz ähnliches Zimmer schaffen – das Gefühl des Geborgenseins in einer solchen >>Mutterleib-Architektur<< wollte sie offenbar genauso wenig missen wie Loos selbst, der den Raum bis zuletzt in etwas so beibehielt."; Loos 1994, 23. This is also something Opel mentions in his introduction.

40 Loos, Adolf. 1929. "The Poor Little Rich Man." In Sarnitz, August. 2003. *Adolf Loos 1870 – 1933. Architect, Cultural Critic, Dandy*. Köln et al: Taschen. 18-21.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid, 19.

43 Loos, Adolf. 1997 (1931). "Das heim." In *Trotzdem*, 41-44. Wien: Georg Prachner. Own English translation of "Für eure wohnung habt ihr immer recht. Niemand anderer. Die wortführer der modernen künstler sagen euch, daß sie alle wohnungen nach eurer individualität einrichten. Das ist eine lüge. Ein künstler kann wohnungen nur nach seiner art einrichten. [...] Eure wohnung könnt ihr euch nur selbst einrichten.", 42.

44 *Adolf Loos. Haus Khuner am Kreuzberg*. 2008 (2004). Wien: Höhere Graphische Bundes- Lehr und Versuchsanstalt Wien, 81.

45 Two projects for women by Loos from around 1903 are for example very different: the lady's room in the Turnocky apartment, ca. 1900, and the bedroom for Elisa Reitler, 1903. Neither show the extravagant aesthetic Lina's bedrooms show.

46 Fischer 2007.

47 Ibid, 12.

48 Ibid, 11-22.

49 Ibid, 170ff.

50 Ibid, 9. Own English translation of translation "Zentral für die Form der weiblichen Kreativität war die soziale Komponente, wo sie Menschen beeinflusste und formte."

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51 Ibid, 8-9.

52 Kuhlmann 2013, 32 ff.

53 Loos 1986, 235. Own English translation of “Eine Frau hat einmal den Wunsch geäußert, möglichst weit zu sehen – weit, weit, bis in den Himmel; da eilten die Männer an ihre Zeichentische und erfanden das Fernrohr! Und eine andere, eine Neugierige, wollte möglichst weit hören; da erfanden sie das Telephon. Eine Frau träumte von vielen schönen, glänzenden Gewändern; die Männer eilten in Scharen in Laboratorien und beglückten die Welt mit Kunstseide. “Ach, wenn ich doch möglichst rasch von Ort zu Ort käme, am liebsten um die ganze Welt”, sagte eine Unruhige. “Hier sind Schiffe, um über das Meer zu fahren, Exprefßzüge über Land – bitte, nur einzusteigen.” “Fliegen möchte ich können”, so wurde der Aeroplan geboren. Und eine ganz Ausgefallene wollte sogar unter Wasser leben – nichts ist unmöglich, das Unterseeboot war da.”

54 Ibid, 231-238. Own English translation of “Die Weltlage Neunzehnhundertfünfunddreissig gesehen durch den bildungsfreien Blick einer Frau.”

55 Cited in Fischer 2007, 88-90. Letter from Lina Loos to Dr. Mayer from 12.11.1912. Own English translation of “Ich suche einen Mann, der mich liebt als – Lina Loos. Ich will kein überirdisches Wesen sein, ich will nicht angebetet werden, der Mann, dem ich bereits eine Gottheit bin – der ist mir viel zu arm.”

56 Cf Friedman, Alice T. 1998. *Women and the Making of the Modern house: a social and architectural history*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.

57 Ibid, 67. “the house Gerrit Rietveld (1888-1964) and Truus Schröder designed in 1923-24“

58 Loos 1986, 255-256. Letter from Adolf to Lina. Own English translation of “Aber ich habe dir auch so vieles in meinen Anschauungen zu verdanken. Was an mir in Bezug auf mein Fach Halbes war, hast du gefestigt, oder zu einem Ganzen gemacht. Erst durch dich habe ich jene Festigkeit in mein System von Styl und Leben hereinbekommen, die notwendig ist, um als Sieger aus diesem Kampfe hervorgehen zu können. Dein unfehlbarer Geschmack, deine visionäre Sicherheit in der Beurtheilung, haben mich von vielen Zweifeln erlöst und mich und mein Werk erst lebensfähig gemacht.“

59 Loos, Lina 1986, 284. Own English translation of “Der Mann, der ohne Ornament leben wollte, traf eine Frau, die ohne Ornament lebte.”

## **06\_ "VANDALS": LINA'S "ORNAMENT AND CRIME"**

### *Summary of argument:*

This chapter introduces a source considered irrelevant and invisible in the scholarly discussion on Loos's "Ornament and Crime" until now: an article written and published by his wife Lina Loos in 1904. The aim is to examine its possible relevance and connection to Loos's manifesto. The text sets out by discussing a recent and convincing discussion of "Ornament and Crime," which shows that Loos's essay, besides being often misunderstood as an aesthetic manifesto, links the material world of architecture to a couple of fin-de-siècle theories about then modern society's potential cultural degeneration or evolution. The chapter picks up where this discussion stops and continues to look at the theoretical influences on "Ornament and Crime" to conclude that Loos's essay takes place at the end of a century saturated with theories of cultural degeneration. Loos's contribution is then to be understood as the application of a long theoretical debate to his profession. However, an application of his thoughts to architecture is not to be found explicitly in the text. Next, an article written and published by Loos's wife Lina Loos prior to the first public presentation of "Ornament and Crime" is introduced into the discussion and analyzed. Beyond showing that introducing such sources, authored by persons lacking professional affiliation could be methodologically rewarding to the architectural discussion, the article is shown to provide what "Ornament and Crime" does not, namely applications of the thoughts involving architectural examples. The final argument is that not only does the article contribute to an enriched reading of "Ornament and Crime," but that Lina Loos should be included in the architectural discussion as a significant protagonist in discussions on the manifesto and Loos.

### **LINA, ORNAMENT AND CRIME**

Not only Stewart, Fischer and Csokor, also Adolf Opel, Adolf and Lina's biographer, suggests the connection between a particular piece of writing authored by Lina and "Ornament and Crime." Opel refers to the article as "passionate polemic entirely in the Loosian sense."<sup>1</sup> Following these clues, this chapter's main concern is an enriched understanding of Loos's "Ornament and Crime" with Lina Loos as a significant protagonist. The article Opel refers to, dated 1904, has remained invisible in

discussions in architecture until now. It discusses a topic, the material consequences of cultural degeneration, which Loos starts to address as early as 1898, but which will become prominent in Adolf Loos's theory half a decade after Lina's article is published. Loos's development of thoughts on the material manifestation of ornament starts with early ideas on materiality and cultural degeneration he voices in articles authored for *Neue Freie Presse* in 1898 (Loos and Lina marry 1902). Loos addresses these thoughts again in texts for his 1903 journal *Das Andere. Ein Blatt zur Einfuehrung abendlaendischer Kultur in Oesterreich: Geschrieben von Adolf Loos* (The other. A Paper to the Introduction of Occidental Culture in Austria: Written by Adolf Loos). The present text will analyze these early versions and then discuss a most recent and convincing strategy to contextualize the manifesto, which takes issue with a variety of then contemporary theories. Later, quotes from Lina's article and from Loos's answer to it are introduced and added to the discussion. The suggestion is that it may be methodologically rewarding to carefully reconsider her exclusion from the discussion in architectural theory beyond being the client of "My wife's bedroom." Lina Loos's article insinuates that their relationship, taking place between Loos's early formulations of thoughts to ornament and their culmination in "Ornament and Crime," can be seen as a dialogue between people concerned with the same topic. Furthermore, Lina's writing applies the theoretical thoughts they share and voice in "Vandals" (Lina Loos) and "Ornament and Crime" (Adolf Loos) to architecture.

## ORNAMENT AND CRIME

"Ornament and Crime" is probably Loos's best-known piece of writing on architecture, amusingly even more popular in architectural circles than his later essay "Architektur." Its focus is on the material manifestation of modernity or on the appropriateness of (lack of) ornament as regards a material world that is conditioned by new technologies, economies and politics. In connection with this, Loos expresses the significant idea that an appropriate understanding of a modern material world stands for an evolutionary cultural stance whereas the opposite is a sign of cultural regress. Early thoughts on the topic of ornament in connection with cultural degeneration can be found in Loos's work as early as 1898 in articles such as "Das Luxusfuhrwerk" (The luxury coach), "Die Plumber" (The plumber) or "Das Princip der Bekleidung" (The principle of cladding).<sup>2</sup> In "Das Luxusfuhrwerk,"



which could be discussed as a preliminary version of “Ornament and Crime,” Loos differentiates between the old and new generations of vehicle owners and their respective preferences regarding their toys’ aesthetic. Both generations, each represented by one individual, complain about the fact that modern vehicles fail to show the old splendor of seventeen and eighteen century coaches (the old generation) or to reflect the modern style (the new generation).<sup>3</sup> Loos emphasizes the manufacturer’s evolutionary take on ornament: “Well, then I like my coach better.” – “Yes, but why?” – “Because it has no ornament.”<sup>4</sup> He explains that the manufacturer’s attitude is due to his superior understanding of modernity. He comprehends that the more inferior the culture, and here Loos chooses the Native American (“Indianer”) to represent the primitive cultures, the more ornament is wasted.<sup>5</sup> True modern beauty, which should represent the aim for all humanity, are to be found in form, Loos continues, and not dependent on adornment or ornament.<sup>6</sup> Ornament is then the material manifestation of an underdeveloped culture. Here, Loos’s thoughts on what would become “Ornament and Crime” start to develop. Especially his maneuver of pointing at unfamiliar societies as exemplary for cultural regress, which manifests in use of ornament that masks modern possibilities, connects “Das Luxusfuhrwerk” to “Ornament and Crime.” The Papuans will however eventually replace the Native Americans in the more famous manifesto, one part of the New World in Oceania substituting the other.

Loos continues these thoughts in 1903, one year after his marriage to Lina and one year before Lina’s own article to ornamentation and cultural degeneration, in for example “What we are being sold” (Was man uns verkauft).<sup>7</sup> In this text, he again presents the idea of modernity but becomes more concrete. An appropriate response to modernity entails staying true to material, its virtues and manufacturing process. It is neither enough to use the best material nor the best workforce as long as products cannot be understood by the buyers because they are masked. And, Loos continues, this is a moral question for the producer or manufacturer since he or she is responsible not only for his or her own existence but for the existence of hundreds.<sup>8</sup> “At another time and for another man who is not invested with Occidental culture,” a modern piece of jewelry Loos fancies for its “wonderful, easy, fine and ingenious” design could have never developed.<sup>9</sup> Again, Loos formulates thoughts that strongly remind of what he would voice in “Ornament and Crime” but which are somehow not yet

complete. “Luxusfuhrwerk” and “What we are being sold” are part of what would become the whole in “Ornament and Crime.”

Loos’s thoughts to modernity and the material world can be found in four additional essays he authored in 1908.<sup>10</sup> Again, the works are shorter and the partial thoughts not yet fitted together to a whole. Nowhere are his ideas so ordered and clear, so provocatively condensed as in “Ornament and Crime,” orated at the height of fin-de-siècle Vienna. Loos uses “challenging ethical and aesthetic pronouncements”<sup>11</sup> to identify “certain objects (buildings, furniture, clothing etc.) as being in the style of the [modern] age because they fit together with everything else so self-evidently.”<sup>12</sup> The beginning of the piece is baffling. Loos starts off by listing the development phases of the human embryo and comparing them to those of the animal kingdom,<sup>13</sup> continues by linking tattooing with being a criminal and ends the first part of the essay by calling for the absolute removal of ornament for the sake of cultural evolution. As the reasons for this analysis, which was most likely conceptualized in December 1909 or January 1910,<sup>14</sup> are not necessarily self-evident a century later, the most convincing inquiry into the significance of the manifesto involves diving head-first into fin-de-siècle Vienna and taking a close look at what happens at this time in science, culture, and the arts. In doing so, the origins of Loos’s thoughts have been traced back to a couple of more or less academic discussions of the time, but also to probable coffeehouse debates with his famous friends, Karl Kraus for example.<sup>15</sup>

Akos Moravanszky points for example to Cesare Lombroso as the origin of Loos’s link between tattooing and crime in “Ornament and Crime.”<sup>16</sup> More exactly, the foundation for this link can be found in Cesare Lombroso’s *Criminal man* from 1878 but, as Christopher Long points out, “Lombroso [...] describe[s] the practice of tattooing in Polynesia in *L’uomo delinquente*, but there is little else in his discussion aside from his notion that tattooing is linked with modern criminality, that is directly reproduced in Loos’s text.”<sup>17</sup> Attempting to set straight the origins of Loos’s text, Long continues to point out connections to the works of Max Nordau (*Degeneration*, 1892) and Ernst Haeckel (*Art forms of nature*, 1904) and these to conversations with some of his famous friends: “[i]t is more likely that Loos became familiar with Lombroso’s work second-hand, either through the newspapers or magazines, where his ideas were often referenced, or, possibly, in his discussions with Karl Kraus.”<sup>18</sup> Whether Loos or Kraus actually read the original works is naturally no longer open for serious debate.

Even the argument that Haeckel's, Nordau's and Lombroso's ideas, or rather a combination thereof are the origins of Loos's his main argument, namely that "[T]he evolution of culture is synonymous with the removal of ornament from objects of daily use,"<sup>19</sup> is open for scrutiny. The selection of these three sources could be extended, which is what is discussed next.

Lombroso, coming from the discipline of scientific criminology, develops a theory linking human physical traits and behavior to crime. According to this theory, certain biological traits such as skull form or ears size, as some behaviors, such as tattooing and unemployment, are decisive criminal traits. If five or more of the criteria he lists in this context are met, people possessing them are born criminals. Fewer traits can be ascribed to abnormal or occasional criminals.<sup>20</sup> Lombroso further differentiates between criminality in civilized and in primitive societies.<sup>21</sup> Finally, he adds, both women and men are capable of committing crime and, regarding the former, prostitution but also an absence of feminine traits can be considered when wanting to identify a female criminal. "In voice, structure of the pelvis, distribution of hair, etc., she tends to resemble the opposite sex and to lose all the instincts peculiar to her own."<sup>22</sup> Finally, Lombroso suggests that it is "evident, therefore, that [criminal] actions are natural to the early stages, of social evolution and individual psychic development."<sup>23</sup> The key phrase here, which also provides the link to both Nordau and Haeckel for Long is 'social evolution.' But the first name to be mentioned in this context could also be Charles Darwin. Other names that could have been discussed in connection with Loos and hereditarianism and degeneration are Richard Krafft-Ebing, Benedict Augustin Morel, Charles Fere, Emile Durkheim, George Sorel, Emile Zola, Gustave Le Bon, etc. The main intention of Long's essay is however to point out that Loos's purpose is not an aesthetic one, despite his supposed status as precursor of modernist architecture. Loos's call is not for simple removal of ornament from surfaces of buildings and objects. It is a call for an architecture appropriate to the political and economical aspects of then modern time. Loos's definition of the degenerate or primitive or criminal modern man who tattoos himself as opposed to people in primitive cultures (Papuan for example) or underdeveloped individuals (children), for both of which it is natural to desire to ornament themselves,<sup>24</sup> takes place at the end of at least one hundred years saturated by models of evolution and degeneration.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, degeneration theories remain in the shadow of evolutionary models in secondary

literature even though both are influential in academic writing and discussions starting at the half of the nineteenth century up until World War I.<sup>26</sup>

Usually, the peak for theories of degeneracy is traced back to around the same time Darwin published his theory of evolution. In 1857 and as such two years before Darwin, Morel, looking for biological explanations for mental illnesses, publishes *Traité des Dégénérescences*, in which he suggests that it is possible for a species to degenerate progressively to more primitive biological forms. The idea is that “biological heredity and social development act [...] upon each other in a predictable way.”<sup>27</sup>

Degeneracy is in Morel’s view not only dependent on certain individuals or their genetic code, but also on modern society and its environmental factors. This is especially apparent among the lower classes.<sup>28</sup> With this in mind, it would be possible to argue that Lombroso is not necessarily the first source one should name in connection with Loos’s essay. Lombroso’s link between tattooing and crime is in medical scientific terms, whereas Morel takes this link to the societal level, which is also Loos’s purpose. Lombroso’s theory is that criminals were either born or made into criminals. For Lombroso, degeneration and crime were both treatable, either by exterminating them, hence they and the crimes they committed would eventually disappear,<sup>29</sup> or by treating the abnormal criminals psychiatrically in order to make their behavior fit societal norms.<sup>30</sup> Lombroso’s concern is mainly with the genetics of degeneration, whereas Morel searches for general societal patterns of regress, which fits Loos’s focus more. As such, Morel, who links the symptoms of degeneration to society and society to degeneration would rather fit the idea of an origin for “Ornament and Crime” if there can be such a thing. This does not mean that Loos must have actually read him, merely that his thoughts rather echo Morel than Lombroso upon close analysis.

Morel seems to also be closely linked to Nordau’s ideas about degeneration. Nordau writes *Degeneration* first and foremost about fin-de-siècle culture and not so much about medical or medico-psychiatric or general societal conditions and because of that is perhaps closest to Loos’s ideas. Somewhere between 1857, when Morel publishes his work, and 1892, when Nordau publishes his, degeneration loses many of its medico-psychiatric connotations and becomes maybe even primarily a social scientific term.<sup>31</sup> In other words, degeneration is not something that occurs primarily genetically as Lombroso would have had it. Instead, most degenerates are made into degenerates by society. The

cause and the effect<sup>32</sup> are the “fatigued”<sup>33</sup> society, its civilization, science and economic progress, which can be understood as “an organism threatened by death.”<sup>34</sup> Nordau considers society’s hysteria as both a cause and effect of cultural degeneration but does not lose hope regarding the possibility of evolving past this stage:

“The end of the twentieth century, therefore, will probably see a generation to whom it will not be injurious to read a dozen square yards of newspapers daily, to be constantly called to the telephone, to be thinking simultaneously of the five continents of the world, to live half their time in a railway carriage or in a flying machine ... It will know how to find its ease in the midst of a city inhabited by millions.”<sup>35</sup>

So far, Nordau and Morel’s analysis leads to at least one possible expansion to Long’s argument. Loos’s link between tattooing and crime and his call for the absolute removal of ornament for the sake of cultural evolution are not especially innovative at the time Loos first orates “Ornament and Crime,” no matter whether it was 1909 or 1910. They rather represent a belated reference to the long discussion on degeneration. And, should we want to continue our search for Loos’s sources with Long, we eventually land at Haeckel whose theory of evolutionary recapitulation or biogenetic law maintains that ontogeny, the history of the embryo, recapitulates phylogeny or the history of race.<sup>36</sup> Highly criticized for his “role as an ideological progenitor of fascist ideology,”<sup>37</sup> Haeckel is searching for a solution for the alienation of modern man. He proposes the existence of non-explainable, instinctual forces, which can be found at both the levels of man and of society. Haeckel’s conclusion is that Western Civilization’s and Christianity’s “intrusion into the primitive operations of nature [...] had fatally disturbed the evolutionary balance between man and the natural world.”<sup>38</sup>

“In the womb the human embryo passes through all the development stages of the animal kingdom. At the moment of birth, human sensations are equal to those of a newborn dog. His childhood passes through all the transformations which correspond to the history of mankind.”<sup>39</sup>

For Loos, it is the child who repeats the history of mankind while the embryo repeats the history of the animal kingdom. It is easy to see how a resemblance to Haeckel can be postulated without effort. But generally, it can be argued that already in the first three sentences of “Ornament and Crime,” Loos

alludes to a convolute of degeneration theories stemming from the latter half of the nineteenth century. These, and consequently Loos himself, are strongly suggesting an analogy between the degenerated body and the degenerated modern society with its fast-paced life involving newspapers, telephones, easy travel and cities of millions. Loos's original contribution in "Ornament and crime" is then the application of mainstream theory to the material world. He points out the material manifestations of a degenerate culture and tries to offer alternatives. He is not simply arguing for the formal removal of ornament from bodies and objects of daily use, including architecture, a misunderstanding persisting in scholarly work until today.<sup>40</sup> He is demanding an architecture and a material world, which responds to modern requirements. If every period has a style,<sup>41</sup> then the style of modernity should not work with aesthetics and search for a new ornament, a sign of primitive culture. The task at hand is to deal with the primary symptom of cultural disease and start thinking about appropriate material responses to new technology and manufacturing possibilities instead of adding ornament to hide the new unfamiliar aesthetic.

#### **"VANDALS": LINA'S "ORNAMENT AND CRIME"**

*"The evolution of culture is synonymous with the removal of ornament from objects of daily use,"*<sup>42</sup> Loos preaches, demanding that the aristocrat, the civilized and cultivated Viennese member of society, understand that a material world adjusted to then modern technological advancements will prevent (further) crimes against culture. The opposite, artifacts bearing applied ornament for the sake of hiding the unfamiliar, represent "a crime against the national economy, [whereby], as a result of it, human labor, money and material are ruined."<sup>43</sup> Those producing these objects are criminals, impeding cultural development by wasting material, money and time on something that belongs to a past culture, to something more primitive.

In 1904, thus five or six years earlier than the estimated first oral presentation of "Ornament and Crime," a supposed letter is published in the Viennese journal *Neues Wiener Tagesblatt* bearing the following introduction:

“Vandals

(Letter of a Lady)

Miss Karoline Loos, wife of the known Viennese architect and writer Adolf Loos, has, after a visit to Eger, addressed a letter to her husband from Franzensbad, which deserves to reach the public. We thank Mr. Adolf Loos’ courtesy for placing us in the position to share the interesting letter with our readers.”<sup>44</sup>

Wienbibliothek, the Viennese library archiving the document, denies access to the original “letter” from Lina Loos to Adolf Loos. However, the answer, in form of another letter from Loos to Lina, has been sighted and corresponds for the most part to what has been published by Csokor and Rütger.<sup>45</sup> Some parts have been left out however. The original suggests that the text was always intended as a newspaper article and not, like the foreword of the published article suggests, as the spontaneous thoughts of correspondence between wife and husband. “No, this article – I can barely grasp. [...] Write me, which newspaper you prefer for publication,”<sup>46</sup> Loos writes in his answer to Lina Loos.

No matter what the original intent of the supposed letter or article, Lina’s article starts off by introducing the topic of cultural vandalism through something she has read in a newspaper: a tree planted by Shakespeare was felled.<sup>47</sup> For Lina, this felling is an evocative example of many then contemporary crimes against culture.<sup>48</sup> The young woman, not an architect by education or profession, continues to describe a church that she has visited recently. The church, originally built in the twelfth century, has columns and walls, which were painted to look like brick and a ceiling, which shows a stylized flower pattern.

“Shall one believe that people exist, who paint stone to look like bricks? Bright red bricks, with beautiful white stripes (joints) around them. And around the whole church wall a draped curtain – painted of course.

It all becomes comprehensible only when you find a commemorative plaque at the exit: renovated 1891! [...] In a new building, (the architects) would have surely used brick and painted it to look like marble. Something must happen! Anything but still-stand!”<sup>49</sup>

Lina laments the fact that the architects involved in the renovation of the church were not acting in an appropriate manner. She would have liked them to act in accordance to two essential facts. The first

concerns the importance of preserving authenticity of material. The second is a consequence of the first. By trying to achieve a certain aesthetic, not true to the actual materials, the architects responsible for the church's renovation are contributing to cultural still-stand. What she means is that destroying the legacy of a playwright like Shakespeare is equivalent to the contempt against culture illustrated by the church's renovation. The fact that the church, important part of material cultural legacy, is painted to represent another time via its decoration, is just as much an action against the evolution of culture as felling a tree planted by Shakespeare. Both tree and church stand for cultural legacy which, when ignored or destroyed, contribute to cultural still-stand, meaning that culture is not able to evolve in a natural way.

Lina does not stop here. She goes on to describe a shop, in which she notices plain pewter tableware. The dishes' forms lead her to think of the peasants who have worked on them, the time they invested, but also the pleasure they must have found in doing the work. However, she then discovers a young man in the shop, whose task is to engrave the plain objects with pictures of saints, with wreaths, and roses. The explanation she is offered is that the objects are too plain in their original naked state, too simple for the tourists who will hopefully buy them. Lina shortly discusses this crime against the natural beauty of the plain tableware, which for her is directly related to the automated, applied, but not necessary, engraving and concludes her second remark regarding cultural vandalism.

In "Ornament and Crime," Loos agrees. "I suffer the ornament of the Kafir, that of the Persian, that of the Slovak farmer's wife, the ornaments of my cobbler, because they all have no other means of expressing their full potential." "I allow decoration [...] if it provides a source of pleasure for my fellow men. Then they are also my pleasures."<sup>50</sup> And, just as Lina recognizes pleasure associated with the time and labor spent by the peasants while making the pewter tableware, Loos acknowledges that some people, artisans and those belonging to more primitive cultures, cannot be expected to understand the spirit of the modern age. They should be allowed to decorate. And so Loos asks the aristocrat to understand his manifesto. For the aristocrat, it is essential that "Goethe's death chamber [be found] more magnificent than all the pomp of the Renaissance."<sup>51</sup> Lina's article similarly discusses in her article the cultural importance of a place of death and provides an explanation also for Loos's thoughts. She refers to Wallenstein rather than Goethe, a field commander of the seventeenth century



whose death chamber happens to be in Eger, the place she is visiting. She not only bemoans paint applied subsequently to the walls of the building, but also the conversion of the house to a museum and public building “where arrestees and vagabonds are being heralded in and out.”<sup>52</sup> The crime against culture is twofold in this case. The original state of the building, its authenticity is lost. Further, by changing its purpose, those can access it who will continue to disrespect the contribution it carries culturally: arrestees and vagabonds.

Lina’s title for the article, “Vandals,” then refers to criminals against culture, against the evolution of culture to be more exact. The simple, perhaps uneducated people who are working on artifacts in order to survive are not responsible for these crimes. Lina’s vandals are the cultivated, civilized citizens of Vienna and Austria who take this work and decorate it in a manner that is untrue to the authenticity of materials or of the concept. These criminals do not understand that modernity differs from primitivism in terms of the modern possibilities of fabricating things with modern labor equipment in a manner such that the time consumed and the material used correspond to it. The although cultivated primitive aristocrats, still produce ornament and impend cultural development by wasting material, money and time on something that belongs to the past, to a more primitive time and culture. Loos would complete the thoughts he shares with Lina five to six years after the writing of “Vandals” and conclude that

“[o]rnamment is wasted manpower and therefore wasted health. [...] As ornament is no longer organically related to our culture, it is also no longer the expression of our culture. [...] Modern man uses the ornament of past and foreign cultures at his discretion. His own inventions are concentrated on other things.”<sup>53</sup>

Loos’s “challenging ethical [...] pronouncements”<sup>54</sup> voiced here are very similar to the intelligent observations of a young Lina who is writing her article while on vacation. She writes “Vandals” half a decade before Loos will orate “Ornament and crime” but this is not what makes her a significant protagonist in the discussion on the manifesto. Loos’s thoughts to ornament start to form years before meeting Lina, as illustrated by “Das Luxusfuhrwerk” for example. But Lina’s reference to architecture and the parallels between “Vandals” and “Ornament and Crime”, strongly suggest Lina’s concern and familiarity with what would become the focus of an internationally acknowledged manifesto. In this context, “Ornament and Crime” and “Vandals” are a professional dialogue between Lina Loos and

Adolf Loos to the same topic. “Vandals” and therefore its author, Lina Loos, are essential parts of the discussion on Loos and ornament. In their private correspondence, Loos answers Lina:

“It is the best that I have read about something like this. How it is written! I perhaps have the same thoughts, but I do not have the form. If I would say the same, it would not be as effective because it would too much above it all, there would be too much wicked anger in it. [...] I write with bile. But you write with blood. [...] You describe a church with two lines where another would need two parts. And still nobody else could reach such an impact.”<sup>55</sup>

Unfortunately, even with Loos’s consent this has remained an invisible influence on Loos’s work until now. These lines confirm the professional dialogue between Lina and Adolf Loos and their respective writing, “Vandals” and “Ornament and Crime.” What these lines further convey is that this dialogue had a great impact on Adolf Loos regarding the formulation of his thoughts. In this sense and considering the differences in formulation between prior versions of and “Ornament and Crime,” Lina Loos is also significant regarding the final formulation in the manifesto. In “Ornament and Crime,” Loos has himself learned to write with blood rather than bile and address his audience in a more effective but still poignant manner. What makes Lina’s article further significant for a discussion in architecture is that it adds to an understanding of Loos’s manifesto as it pertains to architecture. The reader searches in vain for the words architecture or building in “Ornament and Crime.” The word church is mentioned once, but in connection with the phony atheist aristocrat who raises his hat when passing by it. Lina’s article on the other hand explicates how Loos’s campaign against ornament is to be understood in architecture in very simple terms, with reference to two buildings (the church and Wallenstein’s death house). No references to the large body of work regarding theories on cultural evolution or regress are necessary in order to comprehend her work from within the discipline of architecture.

Perhaps it is here that it becomes most clear what Csokor wants to express when writing that “[t]he man who wanted to live without ornament [had] met a woman, who lived without ornament.”<sup>56</sup>. Whereas Loos has the ideas, Lina Loos applies them, in this case to architecture. Understanding Lina’s “Vandals” as in dialogue with “Ornament and Crime” clarifies that the ornamentation Loos is fighting against is applied decoration that masques natural qualities of material and original purposes of

buildings. Seeing “Vandals” as such, as theory in dialogue with “Ornament and Crime” and as the architectural application of the thoughts the couple shares, Lina Loos is a significant protagonist in architectural discussions beyond being Loos’s client for the bedroom project(s). She is an important discussion partner who allows Loos to bounce ideas off her and thereby develop and articulate his ideas more clearly, but also as herself a writer on modernity and ornament, explicating the thoughts they share but also applying these to architecture half a decade before the first oral presentation of “Ornament and Crime.” “Vandals” is then to be understood as a work of architectural theory and Lina Loos as a significant protagonist in both architecture and its theory. This is important since it distinguishes Lina Loos from other ‘resurrected’ women partners with or without professional affiliation who have been declared relevant for architectural discussions subsequently in connection with their contributions towards the projects of their male architect partners. Unlike Aino Aalto, Lina Loos is not an educated architect or designer. Unlike Truus Schröder however, also not an architect, Lina Loos is significant and necessary for the discussion in architectural theory via her text “Vandals,” beyond being relevant as a client for the outcome of the unique aesthetic of “My wife’s bedroom.”

## **THE RELEVANCE OF THE IRRELEVANT**

In architecture, there are a few attempts, by Alice T. Friedman and Martin Filler for example, which inquire into the relationship between male architects and their partners, some of them without professional affiliation, as the catalyst for innovative (modern) architecture by looking at original sources such as correspondence between the architects and their clients. In her work, Friedman uses archival material such as letters and diaries in order to generate “detailed portraits [...] of the clients and architects.”<sup>57</sup> Via her work, she reinstates the significant roles of female clients as regards the final product and introduces these into the discussion in architecture, notwithstanding their professional affiliation. More recently, Martin Filler recounts biographical aspects about architects’ mothers, wives and female partners in order to show how they shape the architect’s personalities and work.<sup>58</sup> As such, there seems to exist at least some interest in architecture to introduce sources usually considered irrelevant into the discussion. In the present text, a similar attempt proved fruitful regarding an enriched reading of Loos’s manifesto „Ornament and Crime,“ but also especially fertile in that the

reconsideration of Lina's article strongly suggests her influence towards the final formulation of a manifesto that was clearly developed in dialogue between Lina and Loos, a fact that until now has remained unknown in architectural discussions. By taking a close look at the irrelevant, this work has shown that Lina is a significant protagonist in discussions in architecture. She accompanied his work at a time when he was developing his thoughts, as a client of "My wife's bedroom" and as a writer and his conversation partner regarding the topic of materiality and modernity beyond authoring "Vandals," which enriches the understanding of Loos's "Ornament and Crime" with architectural examples. As such, Lina Loos is relevant and important in discussions surrounding Adolf Loos's concept of ornament and its significance as regards the material manifestations of cultural evolution and regress while the reading of "Vandals" is indispensable for an understanding of "Ornament and Crime" enriched by architectural examples. "Vandals" is architectural theory.

## NOTES

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1 Loos, Lina. 1986. *Das Buch Ohne Titel. Erlebte Geschichten*, edited by Adolf Opel and Herbert Schimek. Wien et al: Hermann Böhlhaus, 7.

2 Loos, Adolf. 2010. *Gesammelte Schriften*, edited by Adolf Opel. Wien: Lesethek-Verlag, Braumüller. "Das Luxusfuhrwerk", "Die Plumber" in Ibid 96-111, "Das Princip der Bekleidung" in Ibid 138-144. Cf Long, Cristopher. 2009. "The Origins and Context of Adolf Loos's 'Ornament and Crime'." In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68 (2):200-223.

3 Loos 2010, 98.

4 Ibid. Own English translation of "Na, da gefällt mir mein Wagen schon besser." – "Ja, warum denn?" – "Weil er kein Ornament hat."

5 Ibid, 99.

6 Ibid. Own English translation of "Die Schönheit nur in der Form zu suchen und nicht vom Schmuck und Ornament abhängig zu machen, ist das Ziel, dem die ganze Menschheit zustrebt."

7 Loos, Adolf. 1997 (1931). "Was man uns verkauft." In *Trotzdem*, 30-32. Wien: Georg Prachner.

8 Ibid, 30. Own English translation and summary of "Was nutzt es, wenn der anständige erzeugen, der seine ehre darinsetzt, das beste material zu verarbeiten und die bestgezahlten arbeitskräfte zu verwenden, was nutzt es ihm, wenn seine erzeugnisse nicht verstanden werden? Schließlich ist man doch geschäftsmann und trägt nicht nur für sein eigenes wohnergehen die verantwortung, sondern auch die für hunderte von existenzen."

9 Ibid, 31. Own English translation and summary of "Ein großer brillant ist auf so wunderbare, leichte, feine und ingeniose weise gefaßt, daß man sich innig freut, in einer zeit zu leben, in der solche arbeit möglich ist. [...] Jedermann wird ihn sofort erkennen. Der ist modern. Daran ist nicht zu mäkeln. In einer anderen zeit und bei einem manne, der nicht abendländische kultur besitzt, könnte er niemals entstehen."

10 "Die Überflüssigen," "Lob der Gegenwart," "Kultur", "Kulturentartung." 1908. In Loos 2010, 349-362.

11 Frampton, Kenneth. 1992 (1980). *Modern Architecture. A Critical History*. Third ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 91.

12 Jormakka, Kari. 2011. *Eyes that Do Not See: Perspectives on Functionalist Architectural Theory*. Weimar: Verlag der Bauhaus-Universität, 288.

13 Loos, Adolf. 2002 (1909-1910). "Ornament and Crime." In *Crime and Ornament, The Arts and Popular Culture in the Shadow of Adolf Loos*, edited by Bernie Miller and Melony Ward. Toronto: YYZ Books, 29-36, 29. "In the womb the human embryo passes through all the development stages of the animal kingdom." English translation of Loos, Adolf. 1997 (1931). "Ornament und Verbrechen." In *Trotzdem*, 78-88. Wien: Georg Prachner, 78. "Der menschliche Embryo macht im mütterleibe alle entwicklungsphasen des tierreiches durch."

14 Long 2009, 206. The written version of "Ornament and Crime" is often misdated to 1908. This is important because, as Long notes, the most likely date "goes to the heart of the question of why and for whom Loos wrote it."

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15 Ibid.

16 Ibid, footnote 74 referring to Moravánszky, Ákos. 1998. *Competing Visions: Aesthetic Invention and Social Imagination in Central European Architecture, 1867-1918*. Cambridge, London: MIT Press and Oettermann, Stephan. 1979. *Zeichen auf der Haut: die Geschichte der Tätowierung in Europa*. Frankfurt: Syndikat.

17 Ibid, 221.

18 Ibid, 207.

19 Loos 2002, 30. English translation of Loos 1997, 79. “[...] *evolution der kultur ist gleichbedeutend mit dem entfernen des ornamentes aus dem gebrauchsgegenstande.*“

20 Lombroso-Ferrero, Gina. 2009. *Criminal Man According to the Classification of Cesare Lombroso*, Part 1, Chapters I-IV: “The criminal world.” 30% of all criminals are born this way according to Lombroso. Abnormal criminals include for example paranoids, alcoholics, hysterics, idiots, etc., and occasional criminals are delinquent criminals, those who have committed crime in self-defense and those who commit crime due to their criminal environment (children of criminals, for example).

21 Lombroso 2009, 218.

22 Ibid, 445.

23 Ibid, 218.

24 Loos 2002, 29. “The Papuan tattoos his skin, his boat, his oar, in short, everything that is within his reach. He is no criminal. The modern man who tattoos himself is a criminal or a degenerate.” English translation of Loos 1997, 78. “Der papua tätowiert seine haut, sein boot, sein ruder, kurz alles, was ihm erreichbar ist. Er ist kein verbrecher oder ein degenerierter. Der moderne mensch, der sich tätowiert, ist ein verbrecher oder ein degenerierter.“

25 Pick, Daniel. 1989 (1966). *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848-1918*. 1996 ed. Cambridge: University Press. Pick provides a historical overview of discussions around the idea of degeneration.

26 Pick 1989, 2-3.

27 Herman, Arthur. 2010 (1997). *The Idea of Decline in Western History*. New York et al: Free Press. Reprint.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Pick 1989, 9-10.

32 Ibid, 11.

33 Ibid, 53.

34 Ibid, 32.

35 As cited in Ibid, 54.

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- 36 Cf Long 2009, 9; Gasman, Daniel. 2002. "Haeckel's scientific monism as theory of history." In *Theory Biosci* 121:260-279, 264; Gould, Stephen Jay. 1977. *Ontogeny and Phylogeny*. Cambridge et al: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 76-85.
- 37 Gasman 2002, 260.
- 38 Gasman 2002, 266.
- 39 Loos 2002, 29. English translation of Loos 1997, 78. "Der menschliche embryo macht im mutterleibe alle entwicklungsphasen des tierreiches durch. Wenn der mensch geboren wird, sind seine sinneseindrücke gleich denen eines neugeborenen hundes. Seine kindheit durchläuft alle wandlungen, die der geschichte der menschheit entsprechen."
- 40 Cf Long 2009.
- 41 Loos 2002, 30. "Every period had its style: why was it that our period was the only one to be denied a style? By "style" was meant ornament. I said: "Weep not. Behold! What makes our period so important is that it is incapable of producing new ornament. We have outgrown ornament, we have struggled through to a state without ornament." English translation of Loos 1997, 79-80. "Jede zeit hatte ihren stil und nur unserer zeit soll ein stil versagt bleiben? Mit stil meinte man das ornament. Da sagte ich: Weinet nicht. Seht, das macht ja die gröÙe unserer zeit aus, daß sie nicht imstande ist, ein neues ornament hervorzubringen. Wir haben das ornament überwunden, wir haben uns zur ornamentlosigkeit durchgerungen."
- 42 Loos 2002, 30. English translation of Loos 1997, 79. "[...] *evolution der kultur ist gleichbedeutend mit dem entfernen des ornamentes aus dem gebrauchsgegenstande.*"
- 43 Ibid, 31. English translation of Loos 1997, 81-82. "ein verbrechen an der volkswirtschaft, daß dadurch menschliche arbeit, geld und material zugrunde gerichtet werden."
- 44 Loos 1986, 86. Own English translation of "Vandalen (Der Brief einer Dame.) Frau Karoline Loos, die Gattin des bekannten Wiener Architekten und Schriftstellers Herrn Adolf Loos, hat nach einem Besuche in Eger an ihren Gatten aus Franzensbad einen Brief gerichtet, der es verdient, an die Öffentlichkeit zu gelangen. Wir verdanken es der Liebenswürdigkeit des Herrn Adolf Loos, daß wir in der Lage sind, das interessante Schreiben unseren Lesern mitzuteilen."
- 45 Csokor, Franz Theodor, and Leopoldine Rüther (eds.). 1966. *Du silberne Dame. Briefe von und an Lina Loos*. Wien et al: Paul Zsolnay, 30.
- 46 Wienbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung I.N.126.899. Own English translation of "Nein, dieser Artikel – ich kann mich kaum fassen. [...] Schreibe mir welche Zeitung dir für die Veröffentlichung am liebsten wäre."
- 47 Loos 1986, 86. "Dear husband! A newspaper fell into my lap today, which writes about vandals of culture. A tree, planted by Shakespeare, was felled." Own English translation of "Lieber Mann! Heute Abends ist mir eine Zeitung in die Hand gefallen, die über Kulturvandalen schreibt. Ein Baum, den Shakespeare gepflanzt hatte, wurde gefällt."
- 48 Ibid, 90. "Whether all these are lesser crimes than to fell a tree, which has been planted by a great poet?" Own English translation of "Ob das alles weniger Verbrechen sind, als einen Baum fallen, den ein großer Dichter gepflanzt?"

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49 Ibid, 87. Own English translation of “Soll man es glauben, daß es Menschen gibt, die Steinquaden wie Ziegel anmalen? Grellrote Ziegel, mit schönen weißen Streifen (Fugen) herum. Und um die ganze Kirchenwand ein drapierter Vorhang – gemalt natürlich. Begreiflich wird das alles erst, wenn du beim Ausgange eine Gedenktafel findest: Renoviert 1891! [...] Bei einem neuen Baue hätten die [Architekten] sicher Ziegel verwendet und dann wie Marmor gestrichen. Etwas muß bald geschehen! Nur nicht stehen bleiben!“

50 Loos 2002, 36. English translation of Loos 1997, 87. “Ich ertrage ornamente [...] wenn sie die freude meiner mitmenschan ausmachen. Sie sind dann auch meine freude.“

51 Ibid, 31. English translation of Loos 1997, 80. “[...] Goethes sterbezimmer ist herrlicher als aller renaissanceprunk [...].“

52 Loos 1986, 90. Own English translation. Of “wo man Arrestanten und Vagabunden ein- und ausführt.“

53 Loos 2002, 33-36. English translation of Loos 1997, 83-88. “Ornament ist vergeudete arbeitskraft und dadurch vergeudete gesundheit. [...] Da das ornament nicht mehr organisch mit unserer kultur zusammenhängt, ist es auch nicht mehr der ausdruck unserer kultur. [...] Der moderne mensch verwendet die ornament früherer und fremder kulturen nach seinem gutdünken. Seine eigene erfindung konzentriert er auf andere dinge.“

54 Frampton Kenneth. 1980. *Modern Architecture. A Critical History*. Third ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 91.

55 Wienbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung I.N.126.899. Own English translation of “Es ist das beste, was ich jemals über sowas gelesen habe. Wie es geschrieben ist! Die Gedanken habe ich wohl auch, aber die Form habe ich nicht. Wenn ich dasselbe sagen würde, so wäre es nie so wirkungsvoll, weil es zu viel über der Sache stehen, zu viel beissender Ärger drinnen wäre. [...] Ich schreibe mit Galle. Aber du schreibst mit Herzblut. Da ärgert man sich nicht mit, da fühlt man mit. Mit zwei Zeilen beschreibst du eine Kirche, wozu ein anderer zwei teilen brauchte. Und doch könnte niemand anderer eine solche Wirkung erreichen.“

56 Loos 1986, 284. Own English translation of “Der Mann, der ohne Ornament leben wollte, traf eine Frau, die ohne Ornament lebte.”

57 Friedmann, Alice T. 1998. *Women and the Making of the Modern house: a social and architectural history*. New York: Harry N. Abrams

58 Filler, Martin. 2007. *Makers of Modern Architecture*. New York: The New York Review of Books.



## 07\_EPILOGUE

### *SUMMA*

This text presented a fruitful inquiry into the methodological rewards of reconsidering what is commonly understood to be irrelevant in discussions in architecture and its theory. It introduced Lina Loos as a significant but until now absent protagonist in discussions on Adolf Loos's "My wife's bedroom" and "Ornament and Crime." In order to arrive at this conclusion, the debate first defined the possible whats, whys and hows behind irrelevance of materials and topics in scholarly work in architecture. In a theoretical and methodological analysis, it was debated that there are several possible explanations for the irrelevance of materials and topics. These explanations were inquired into in connection with the strong bond between theory and history and between theory and other disciplines, linked with schools of architectural thought that change over time, and investigated in terms of accessibility to and manipulation of materials and topics by both authorities from within and without the discussion. Concretely, the text described changing ways of writing history, shifting and sometimes opposing schools of thought, as well as the power of those in charge of archives and of those choosing between what is to be included in archives, monographs and collected works. All these can be factors affecting the discussion in architectural theory, thereby deciding what is relevant and what not for the discussion.

These ideas were illustrated via the discussion around a particular architect whose constant presence in architectural theory since 1900 has made him an ideal case study, Adolf Loos. The specific task was to investigate why material authored by or stemming from the estate of Lina Loos, his first wife, is often found in bibliographies but remains irrelevant in architectural discussions. Upon encountering her text, "Vandals," the idea developed that she might be significant in the discussion pertaining to Loos's manifesto "Ornament and Crime." But although her biographers insinuate this, the search for scholarly work on this topic in architecture was in vain. In order to argue for this significant contribution by a woman without professional affiliation whose significance as an author has only been recently

rediscovered in other disciplines and and has remain invisible in architectural discussions for over a century, the text first had to uncover the reasons for this long absence. To do so, the text started by analyzing how discussions in architectural theory ensue (How does Loos become a seminal protagonist and precursor of modernism already during his lifetime? How is Lina Loos discussed during this time?), how they are maintained (How is Loos received in other disciplines, over time and in different schools of architectural thought? What role does Lina play?) and manipulated (What new material enters the discussion over time while others are discarded, how and why? Again, does any of it pertain to Lina), but especially how they can change (Is it possible to add a new significant protagonist to the discussion, usually discussed as his first wife and muse, and only recently rediscovered as an author? If yes, how?).

From this analysis, it soon became apparent that Lina's exclusion as a source on Loos is motivated by a variety of factors, all of them due to the subjective connotations of the particular area of research they pertain to. The link between architectural theory and ways of writing history, which either forget about women or exclude men, was explained. This provided the relevance for a thorough investigation of Lina Loos, writer in fin-de-siècle Vienna, New Woman, who addresses the topic of cultural degeneration, but also with how the latter materializes in her texts. The various ways Loos has been received over time, starting in fin-de-siècle Vienna and ending today presented not only a history of discussing Loos in architectural theory but also a clarification regarding the fact that the discussion constantly changes. Here it became clear that a possible enriched reading of Loos's "Ornament and Crime," which refers to Lina's text "Vandals" is possible. The third and last part of these theoretical and methodological thoughts presented an investigation into how authorities, scholars and institutionalized archives, but also the owners of private estates, delimit the discussion by providing or denying access to material, either physically or by attributing characteristics such as "subjective" or "anecdotal" to certain materials and topics and thereby predetermining their relevance or irrelevance within the boundaries of the discussion. In Loos's case, the subjective and anecdotal often describe events and topics from his private

life, be it in connection with the two court cases he was involved in or with the writing authored by his three wives.

The application of these thoughts climaxed in discussions regarding Lina Loos's significance and involvement in two of Adolf Loos's projects: "My wife's bedroom" and "Ornament and Crime." A reading of Loos's design for the marital bedroom, the only topic of discussion in architecture mentioning Lina Loos until now, was presented, which brands her as Loos's creative inspiration. It was exposed how this attribution, Lina as a muse, is limiting the discussion from moving on from her passive inspirational role to a discussion of Lina's creative activity in its own right. Lina was discussed as Loos's client, who decisively influences the outcome of a project via individual traits and tastes. She is not his muse, whose underdeveloped aesthetic and behavior lead to worthlessness as a significant protagonist in architectural discussion. Lina Loos was argued to be as a significant and necessary protagonist in discussions on "My wife's bedroom" as the client who influenced the unique aesthetic of the project.

Lastly, by introducing an article titled "Vandals," authored by Lina, and private correspondence between Loos and Lina, her relevance as a source on Loos but also her influence regarding the development of Loos's ideas to ornament were argued. Following clues provided by biographies and work from other disciplines, this last part of the work presented an inquiry into "Vandals" and "Ornament and Crime" as a dialogue between authors, the former enriching the theoretical thoughts both authors share by architectural examples. The final suggestion is that, based on an article she wrote in 1904, half a decade before Loos first orates his manifesto, Lina Loos, the author, and her piece "Vandals" are necessary and significant parts of the discussion surrounding "Ornament and Crime." What distinguishes her further as significant is that, unlike other female partners of male architects without professional affiliation who have been added to the discussion subsequently, Truus Schröder for example, Lina Loos is not significant and necessary for simply the discussion about a project but rather for the discussion around Adolf Loos's seminal theory.

## HINDSIGHT

The consequences of the present text are manifold and suggest for example the careful review of the larger aspects of working in architectural theory, understood as a discipline shaped by manifold interdisciplinary connections and authorities from within and without the boundaries of discussion. Concretely, the co-dependency between theory and history of architecture calls for scholars' competency in both related fields of research. The reconsideration of both discussions' topics and materials is something that proved very fruitful in the case of the present research and might be methodologically rewarding in various other instances. The discussion presented here regarding "My wife's bedroom," but also projects discussed elsewhere in a similar manner, such as the Rietveld Schröder Haus and many modernist masterpieces listed by Alice T. Friedman and Martin Filler in their respective work, show a great influence by the architects' partners (many of them not possessing any professional affiliation) and clients. In order to enrich the understanding of such projects and the associated theoretical work, careful reconsideration of already existing posited relevance or irrelevance of protagonists could be important. In this context, archives, whether institutional or private, and previous scholarly work, are often appropriated by subsequent scholars and taken for granted whereas they would demand constant review and inquiry.

Besides the reconsideration of authorities and boundaries of discussion, the other significant contribution of the present work refers to careful use of concepts, such as 'gender' or 'muse.' It was notable throughout the research that these are used often without careful consideration of their meaning and implications. Just like applying the status of a muse limits further consideration of the particular subject's own creative activities, gender discussions show a tendency to focus on female subjects only and exclude the men. This is understandable considering the extent of gender discrimination in architecture until now, however, this approach neither creates a historically reliable picture of the female subject's activities nor of the times and places she was active at. Future discussions of women architects, for example Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky or Mary L. Page, would benefit from a methodological approach, which does not illustrate their work and thought as estranged from the rest of societal and

cultural activity, no matter whether performed by women or by men. Closing the circle by coming back to the first thought, this approach might provide a more precise historical and theoretical debate and by definition involves the reconsideration of topics and sources previously considered irrelevant in architectural theory.

One aspect that should be acknowledged as a shortcoming of the present text refers to the access to sources that was provided or denied during the course of research. Admittedly, media in general, and especially digital media, have made it possible to access more information by sitting on a chair in front of the computer. Colomina's statement, voiced shortly before the digital revolution, about books becoming the new archives, has been taken to yet a new level. So has the amount of information and sources that can be accessed from anywhere but especially from those computers connected to university or library facilities. And yet it is impossible to access and sight the original of a letter written by Lina Loos to Adolf Loos in 1904. Without meaning to be pessimistic in a Loosian kind of way, one question this leaves us with is whether this is contributing to furthering scholarly interests or not, especially in consideration of the thoughts articulated at the beginning of this text regarding the writing of history and how the latter obviously affects the relevance or irrelevance of material.

The second important aspect of this thought is that physical access to information, something that Stewart is bemoaning in 1990 at another time of digital possibilities, has possibly acquired even more meaning by now. The fact that digitalization of source material has occurred en masse does not do away with, but seems to add even more authorities who decide what is to be allowed included into the discussion as well as and when. The oddity of this is that it coincides with a strangely renewed interest in biographic research (not only) in arts and architecture. The present text finds itself close to this interest, but also encountering a variety of problems regarding access to information. As such, its scholarly intention, ideally not depending on financial or political matters, could be evaluated as not entirely successful.

A last limitation of the present research pertains to the yet thin state of the art performed to the topic of enriching the understanding of architectural work and thought by referring to

architects' environments and possible unknown collaborators, and thereby to the irrelevant. The women Friedman and Filler describe, but also Lina Loos, are very privileged women in that they are either educated, financially well off or close to circles that are both and willing to include them. This makes it hard to evaluate what role this privileged status plays in the reconsideration of the collaboration of women without professional affiliation in male architect's work, whether as professional or life partners. The hope is that as this topic will be addressed by an increasing amount of scholarly work, it will be further clarified and, of course, in accordance with the main interest of the argument of this text, be constantly reconsidered.

### ***SIMUL***

One significant factor in the present research was to differentiate between the relevance and irrelevance of materials and sources entering the discussion as the work was written. Three additional pieces of information entered the discussion during this time: the MAK exhibition on "Josef Hoffmann, Adolf Loos. Ways to Modernism and Their Impact," newspaper articles containing previously unknown information to Loos' child molestation charges of 1928 (*Die Presse* and *Falter*) and Christopher Long's book *der fall loos*, also dealing with the case. In all cases, the information enriched the discussion. However, there was already enough evidence to support a picture of Loos who found in Lina, but also in his following relationships, his respective child-woman. The fact that the bed pictured in "My wife's bedroom" may or may have not been used later on to perform sexual activities with children was not found relevant for the research. If anything, it would have been detrimental in that it would have reinforced the idea of Lina as a muse and taken away from the attention towards her person by distracting via sensational news about Loos. It would have also added another topic of research, dealing with the bedroom long after Lina. As such, the most important question guiding the decision to exclude a further investigation of the bedroom as regards child molestation pertained to the fact that this referred mainly to Loos who had molested the

children long after the marriage with Lina. But, in the end this text is primarily about Lina Loos and only secondarily about Adolf Loos.

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## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

since 2013	Senior lecturer, Department for architecture theory, Vienna University of Technology
since 2012	Lecturer, course conception, Kinderuni und techNIKE
2011-2013	Lecturer, Department for architecture theory, Vienna University of Technology
2011-2012	Researcher, IVA-ICRA Vienna
2010-2014	Researcher “Private matters. An interdisciplinary inquiry into the dynamics of privacy,” a cooperation between Vienna University of Technology and University of Vienna
since 2010	Doctoral student, Department for architecture theory, Vienna University of Technology
2010-2012	Architect, self-employed
2006-2010	Architect in offices H. Mallner, E. Hoffmann und P. Zacek, Vienna
since 2003	Translator of architectural texts (German-English)
2002-2006	Diploma in Architecture, Vienna University of Technology
1998-2002	Designer, XTC Design Inc., Toronto
1998-2002	Bachelor of Arts diploma in architectural studies, University of Toronto
1998	High School diploma, Georges Vanier Secondary School, Toronto