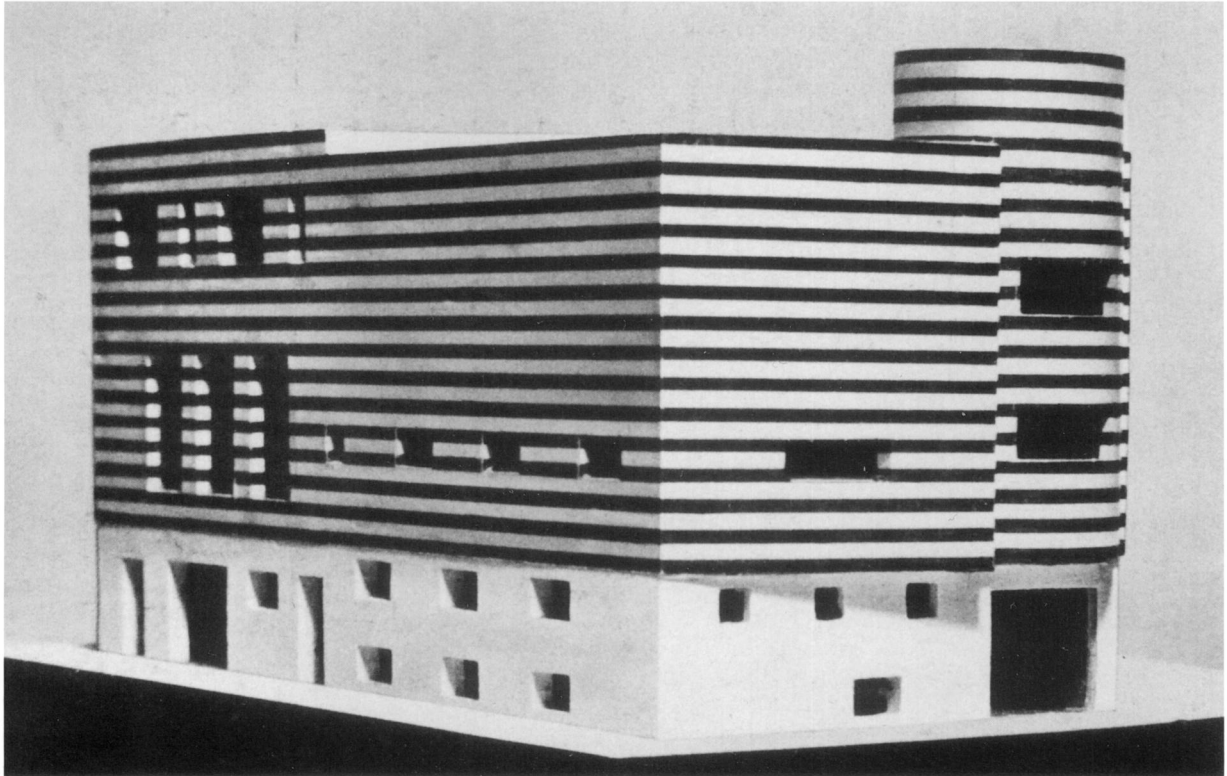


Dressing a Celebrity: Adolf Loos's House for Josephine Baker

In 1927, Adolf Loos (1870-1933), the controversial Czech-Austrian architect, drew up plans to transform two corner buildings in Paris into a house for Josephine Baker (1906-1975), the celebrated African-American dancer (Fig. 1).¹ Today Loos is proclaimed as a pioneer of modern architecture and Baker is admired as a remarkable performer, the most renowned African-American star in Europe during the first half of the twentieth century. Though the Baker House was never built, careful study of the plans and the accounts relating to this project reveal how Loos's revolutionary architectural design endorses the romantic myth of a celebrity as a modern redeemer. Furthermore, Loos recuperated fin-de-siècle Viennese cultural discourses in order to pay extraordinary tribute to Josephine Baker, a celebrity of the performing arts, in his Baker House Project.

Loos's Baker House Project represents a radical yet anachronistic reinterpretation of the relationship between architecture and the performing arts. His approach was based on the revolutionary French trend of transforming architectural surfaces and seeking an effective play of light through the display of artworks, which had been realized in the picture gallery of Le Corbusier's Villa La Roche (1923) and the artist studios of André Lurçat's Housing for Artists (1925-1926).² It is interesting, however, to reconsider Loos's Baker House Project in the historical context of fin-de-siècle Vienna by pursuing two preliminary assumptions: First, that Loos's positive encounter with Baker's performances in Paris was influenced by the enthusiastic reception of avant-garde dance performances in Vienna around the turn of the century. Second, that the primary visual sources for Loos's design can be traced to the prevailing issues in fashion, architecture, and hygiene in Vienna during the same period. It is also useful, in an analysis of the Baker House Project, to question the rhetoric of the latest feminist scholarly discussion on the subject, which presents the scenario of an "oppressive" Western white male architect "viewer" who projects a discriminative aesthetic vision on a "helpless" black woman "object."³ The lack of first-hand accounts concerning the relationship between Loos and Baker requires a more circumspect consideration of the two protagonists involved in the

Elana Shapira is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Applied Arts in Vienna.



project, as Baker never mentions Loos, either in her autobiography or anywhere else, while Loos's references to her are vague and appear only in third-person accounts.⁴ Reconsidering Baker and Loos as individuals in history rather than as historical types shows that the nature of the supposed discriminating scenarios both outside and inside the planned Baker House are more intricate than has been described heretofore. A new interpretation indicates that Loos, inspired by Baker's charismatic persona, grafted the tale of a sensational romantic journey onto his revolutionary design of the Baker House Project in order to reinforce his tribute to a modern celebrity.

Excursion: The Baker House Project

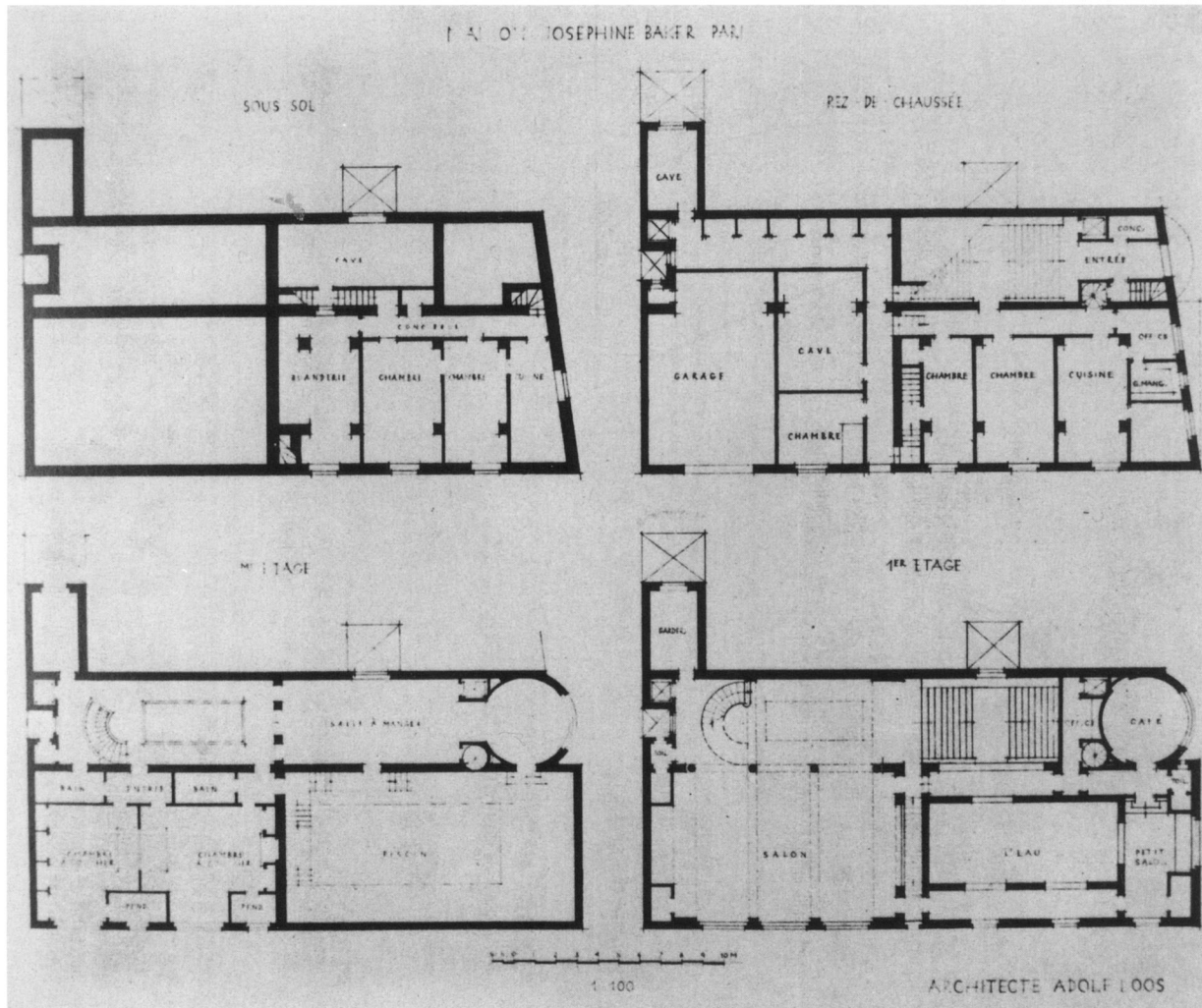
The Baker House was planned as a three-story structure with a raised basement: ground floor (*rez de chaussée*), first floor, and second floor.⁵ Loos divided the façade into two parts: the ground floor, to be covered with white marble, and the upper two floors, which were to be faced with horizontal black and white marble stripes, each thirty centimeters wide.⁶

FIGURE 1
Adolf Loos, Baker House Project, model,
1927-1928. From Heinrich Kulka, ed.,
Adolf Loos: Das Werk des Architekten
(Vienna, 1931), fig. 222.

The two upper floors were designed to be rectangular, interrupted by a cylindrical tower positioned above the main entrance in the corner.⁷

Loos's plans for the Baker House adapted the traditional division of the private house into private and public domains and sought to apply them in a new architectural landmark. By designating the back of the house for the private living areas and the front for the public areas, Loos created an architectural composite of both a private house and an "établissement,"⁸ and his design featured a swimming pool as its main attraction. While the back followed the standard division of successive levels, Loos creatively conceived the front as a "Raumplan" (a spatial plan or a plan of volumes).⁹

The house was to include a raised basement, featuring a cellar, laundry room, two bedrooms, a kitchen, and two staircases leading to the ground floor (Fig. 2). The ground floor was designed to include a garage, two cellars, three bedrooms, kitchen, small dining room, pantry, entrance hall, and a porter station.¹⁰ Two staircases led to the first floor: one intended mainly for the owner and her guests, the second for personal use only. On the main staircase, Baker was imagined as she "staged" a grand entrance "scene." From the main entrance, the owner or her guests would climb the monumental, three-and-a-half-meter-wide staircase. At the end of the staircase, they would reach a hall with a high ceiling displaying a glass opening, allowing them the pleasure of being welcomed during the day by natural light.¹¹ The secondary, narrow staircase on the ground floor, located between the staff rooms and the garage, marked the boundary between the front and back of the house. The first floor was to include a grand salon, a smaller salon, a round café room, a pantry, a bathroom, and a cloakroom. After walking through the hall with its high ceiling, the visitor would reach the "conventional" space of the grand salon on the left, marked by a colonnade, with three large windows facing the street. By reversing direction in the salon, the visitor would reach two openings leading into a second, "enigmatic" space: low-ceilinged corridors, one of which could also be reached immediately to the left at the top of the grand staircase and to the right at the top of the secondary staircase, led to the small salon and to the café located in the cylindrical tower. The visitor might be more likely to linger, however, distracted by the unusual placement of the large swimming pool between these two corridors. The activity in the pool could be observed through thick glass windows, one in the corridor next to the entrance hall and two in the corridor along the side front. A fourth window was also located in the inner wall of the small salon. Window openings to the



street in the small salon and the corridor along the side front allowed light to pass through these areas.

Loos planned the swimming pool to be entered from the second floor,¹² which the owner and her guests could reach via a modern iron spiral staircase.¹³ The second floor was to include two bedrooms with adjacent bathrooms and a dining room on an intermediate level.¹⁴ The lower placement of the dining room allowed Loos to enlarge the setting for a formal gathering, demonstrating the advantages of his *Raumplan* conception. He designed two entrances to the swimming pool, one located in the corridor near the bedrooms, the second in the dining room. Both entrances led to separate staircases, which formed an open

FIGURE 2

Adolf Loos, Baker House Project, floor plans, 1927-1928. Graphische Sammlung Albertina (Adolf-Loos-Archiv 588).

triangle that descended to the swimming pool and the surrounding area for lounging. Loos's *Raumplan* conception for the front of the house allowed him to locate this area on a split-level between the first and the second floors. A glass opening in the ceiling gave bathers in the pool the luxury of swimming in natural light during the day.¹⁵

Scenarios of Discrimination

Loos's design reflected his awareness of his client's needs as a performer to promote herself. His third wife, Claire Loos, relates an interesting story that highlights Loos's relationship with Josephine Baker and the influences on the Baker House Project. Claire reports her husband's first-person account of the star:

She came over to me and was in a bad mood. Think about it, Loos, she said in a sulky manner, I want to make a large renovation in my house, and the architects' plans do not please me. I was beside myself. What, why didn't you come straight to me? Didn't you know that I can plan for you the most beautiful design in the world? Josephine looks at me with her big, childlike eyes and asks slowly: Are you an architect then??? *She had no idea who I was.*¹⁶

In 1927, presumably following a spoken request from Baker, Loos intended to offer her the most beautiful plan in the world.¹⁷ During the last decade, scholars such as Beatriz Colomina, Mary Mcleod, Karen Burns, and Christine Threuter have repeatedly insisted that there are clear expressions of gender discrimination in Loos's Baker House design.¹⁸ According to their arguments, the alternating white and black marble stripes on the upper part of the façade, which are ornamental and designed to stand out in the Parisian landscape, represent gender discrimination by Loos, who was known for condemning the "sensual" appeal of women's ornamental dresses.¹⁹ Not only do they claim that the façade fails to fulfill Loos's cultural-aesthetic criteria of modernity, which proscribed dressing conspicuously in public, but they also maintain that the design condemns the owner of the house as having the same ornamental cravings as primitive people and criminals who tattoo their bodies.²⁰ Furthermore, scholars argue that because activity in the swimming pool, the main attraction inside the house, could be observed by visitors walking through low-ceilinged corridors or sitting in the small salon in the second floor, this indicates that the windows were designed to invite a "male" visitor to watch the "body" of the lady of the house swimming, diving, or bathing in the water. Thus, it is argued, his design

further degrades Baker by planning a forum for her exhibition as a "sexual" or a "natural" object.²¹

Loos's architectural design is also regarded by some scholars as an expression of racial discrimination. Since Baker was a black woman, feminist scholars have utilized the impressions of a number of male scholars, in order to complete their argument. In their opinion, Ludwig Münz and Gustav Künstler, Joseph Rykwert, Benedetto Gravagnuolo, Paul Groenendijk and Piet Vollaard, and Panayotis Tournikiotis described the house as "African" or "almost African," that is, strange and exotic, with no critical reflection.²² Identifying these scholarly impressions as echoes of colonial prejudices, Burns argues that the black and white horizontal stripes of the façade refer to Baker's "different" and "African" color, as opposed to the "normative" white of European skin.²³ Furthermore, Threuter argues that the dominant presence of the swimming pool alludes to Loos's attitude that Baker's exhibitionism implied an uncultivated, wild nature,²⁴ a characteristic already presumed given the fact that she was a woman.²⁵ Further, Threuter points out that a white bourgeois lady could not afford to reveal her exhibitionist nature in her own salon.²⁶

Such scenarios of discrimination in Loos's Baker House Project do not withstand close scrutiny, as they fail to take into account Baker's advantageous position in her relationship with Loos. Both Loos and Baker were immigrants in Paris at the time, but Baker was a well-known celebrity, while Loos was a poor, unrecognized architect. In 1927, three years after moving to the city, Loos was anxious to leave his grand mark on the Parisian landscape. He was known and respected, however, only by a small group of artists and intellectuals in the city.²⁷ On the other hand, Baker was probably the most celebrated woman on the Parisian cultural scene; she was famous, rich, and ambitious enough to wish to make her mark with her grand "dress": her own house.²⁸ Given the gross social imbalance between the star—a proud, young, successful, black female performer—and the humble architect—an anonymous, homeless, unknown, older white male—Loos's design calls into question the authority of the old patriarchal order. This version of the story fits the historical account of a poor and aging designer who wanted to "dress" a rich celebrity in order to win respect and fame and to convince her of his worth much better than the scenarios of gender and racial discrimination previously presented.

This analysis suggests that in the Baker House design, Loos indeed endorsed modern aesthetics and incorporated cultural references to his Vienna of the 1900s, such as the debate over "reform dress" (*Re-*

formkleid), the enthusiastic reception of avant-garde dance performances, and the translation of demands for improved hygiene into pleasurable bathing customs, uniting these references in one monumental architectural design. Like famous Viennese Expressionists such as Oskar Kokoschka and Egon Schiele, Loos also welcomed the prospect of reclaiming the body as the key to personal salvation.²⁹ Thus, in reconstructing the narratives of encounter between Loos and Baker inside her planned house, this new analysis suggests that in his design, Loos actually pays tribute to Baker as his chosen mentor in a romantic journey to reclaim his own body.³⁰

The Façade as a “Cultured Dress”

But have you never noticed the strange correspondence between the exterior dress of people and the exterior of buildings? . . . But do our contemporary houses correspond with our clothes? Are we afraid of uniformity?³¹

Architecture arouses sentiments in man. The architect’s task, therefore, is to make those sentiments more precise. The room has to be comfortable; the house has to look habitable. The law courts must appear as a threatening gesture towards secret vice. The bank must declare: here your money is secure and well looked after by honest people.

The architect can only achieve this if he establishes a relationship with those buildings which have hitherto created this sentiment in man.³²



FIGURE 3
Josephine Baker in her banana skirt costume for *La Folie du Jour*, at the Folies-Bergères, Paris, 1926. Photo: Valéry Studio(?).

In 1910, in his famous article “Architecture,” Loos presented his expectations for the corresponding relationship between the appearance of houses and modern clothing.³³ Further, he argued that houses should create a certain impression for their viewers according to their function. Hence, the architect should relate his present design to past buildings that evoke the desired impression. Loos’s statements suggest that a critical synthesis of modern clothing and past architectural models could produce an authentic architectural form.

Bearing in mind Loos’s call for authentic architecture, the following questions arise in regard to the Baker House Project: What “façade-dress” did Loos choose as appropriate for Josephine Baker’s house in Paris? What past buildings served as appropriate models? Finally, what kind of impression did Loos think Baker’s “façade-dress” should make upon her viewers? In order to answer these questions, Baker’s public persona at the time Loos visualized her “dress” needs to be considered.

A brief examination of Baker's image in vanguard Paris shows that she symbolized both the exotic woman (the Other) and the successful assimilated immigrant (a role model). In other words, she was most likely the object of sexual fantasies, but also the subject of dreams of wealth and success. Throughout her career, Baker worked hard on her public image. Her stage metamorphosis from a laughable social underdog into a lonely rich lady had already begun on Broadway in 1924. Following the degrading comic role of Topsy Anna, wearing a bright cotton smock and clown shoes in *Chocolate Dandies*, her next musical, *Wedding Finale*, in which she performed that same year, enabled Baker to discard her comic guise in favor of a ladylike one: "Here she appeared as a 'deserted female' dressed in a glamorous white satin gown with an alluring slit up the left leg. It was this image—the very image of an elegant, composed, polished performer—that Baker would use to conquer the French."³⁴ The show prepared in New York for the Parisian public, however, went through a complete transformation in the ten days between her arrival in Paris and the eve of performance, on October 2, 1925. The program was thus revised to become more "African."³⁵

Yet, in their examination of Loos's Baker House Project, most scholars overlook Baker's image as a "lady" off-stage and concentrate on identifying her "African" image onstage with the striking white and black marble stripes or bands of the upper part of the façade.³⁶ This identification is surprising since Loos could have chosen a decorative symbol from African scenery from Baker's exotic costumes (Fig. 3), or from figurative ornaments associated with "foreign" body tattoos. Instead, Loos chose an abstract geometrical ornamentation in keeping with the fashionable and elegant dresses Baker wore off-stage (Fig. 4).³⁷ Loos's choice of cut and pattern was intentional. He had already expressed his interest in women's fashion during the debate over "reform dress" at the turn of the century. In 1902, in his article entitled "Ladies' Fashion," Loos chose to advocate the English tailored costume (free-flowing skirt and a jacket),³⁸ as a more practical alternative to the sack-shaped "reform dress" promoted by Secessionist architect-artists such as Josef Hoffmann and Koloman Moser. Twenty-five years later, Loos revised the idea of the tailored costume into a sporty suit. He adapted the striped black and white pattern associated with swimsuits for both men and women in the 1900s and, in accordance with the fashionable geometric pattern for women's fashion in the 1920s, he designed an elegant, close-fitting, two-part ensemble of a striped shirt with a complementary white skirt. Since Loos often identified modern clothing with the inconspicuous man's suit,³⁹ it may be argued that his choice of a conspicuous dress for

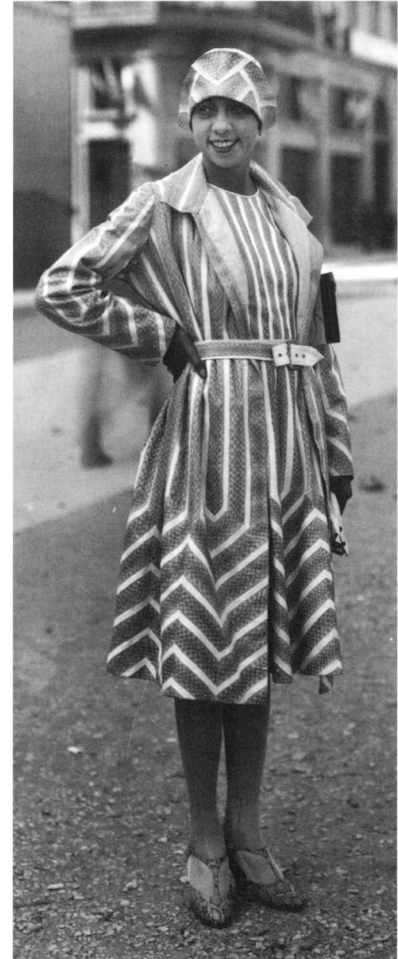


FIGURE 4
Josephine Baker, 1927. Photo: Roger-Viollet, Paris.

Baker was insulting.⁴⁰ In this case, however, his choice of a chic and sporty suit for Baker was actually a tribute: a perfect suit for a smart businesswoman.

Loos had already clothed a building in a most conspicuous “female dress” in the past: the Goldman & Salatsch House, a distinguished store for men’s fashion in the center of Vienna (Fig. 5).⁴¹ Loos’s choice of marble, a noble material for dressing the façade of the Baker House, is in accordance with his past designs for business façades in Vienna (Steiner Store, 1907; American Bar, 1908; Goldman & Salatsch House, 1911; Manz Store, 1912; Kniže Salon, 1913; and so forth). This evidence indicates that for Baker, Loos was not designing an anonymous façade for



FIGURE 5
Adolf Loos, Goldman &
Salatsch House, 1911. From
*Adolf Loos: Das Werk des
Architekten*, ed. Heinrich
Kulka, fig. 44.

a private house, but a distinguished front to promote the commercial interests of a businesswoman. Among Loos's Viennese architectural recollections was the fact that black and white stripes defined the mezzanine of the business zone in Otto Wagner's Neustiftgasse 40/Döblergasse 2 house façade (1911). Loos, however, reinterpreted Wagner's discreet advertising tactic in a grand and ambitious manner. His plan of an expensive "façade dress" was to have served Baker, a celebrated performer, as an advertisement to support her success.⁴²

In keeping with the commercial façades Loos designed in Vienna, such as that of the American Bar (Fig. 6), the planned front of the Baker House is showy, yet secretive, about the drama inside the house. Nevertheless, the Baker House's "commercial" façade makes distinct cultural allusions. In contrast to Loos's cultural references to the "New World," as articulated in the American flag decoration in the upper sign post on the façade of his bar, in the Baker House Project Loos used a striped pattern to refer to culture inside Europe.⁴³

Motivated by his high regard for Baker's art, Loos designed the face of her house as a site of cultural pilgrimage. The "façade dress" is a feast for the eyes for which Joseph Maria Olbrich's Secession House (1898) in Vienna may have served as a departure point. Famous dancers such as Isadora Duncan and Mata Hari had performed in the Secession House, which was designed as a temple for modern art.⁴⁴ While Olbrich may have referred to the "golden dome" in order to evoke sacred Oriental associations,⁴⁵ Loos chose the striped pattern for the upper part of the Baker House façade in order to link the aura of marble striped church façades in Tuscany (Fig. 7)⁴⁶ with the progressive thought behind a new sporty suit design. Loos thus integrates the striped pattern, an architectural motif associated with Near Eastern architecture, into the classical "Modernist" canon.⁴⁷ Further, Loos matched the flat roofs of Mediterranean houses with pyramidal glass skylights, such as those from the Secession House.⁴⁸ Loos's iconographic recollections as manifested in the Baker House façade—the sacral garb of a medieval church transformed into a rational, contemporary, two-piece outfit, the Mediterranean flat roofs associated with the romantic longing for a simple, unencumbered state, and the glass roofs suggesting the identity of the house as an artist's studio or a "museum"—all contribute to the production of an authentic "façade dress" for a modern urban pilgrimage site.

To be sure, Loos's selected iconographic recollections were not accidental, as he was no naïve admirer of Baker. In fact, his prejudices about her were most likely already formed in Vienna in the 1900s, as they were for a number of famous Viennese personalities who recorded their



FIGURE 6
Adolf Loos, American Bar,
Vienna, 1908. Photograph c.
1930. Private collection.

impressions of Variety dances during this period in their reviews of the performances of Isadora Duncan (*Fremden-Blatt*, 1902),⁴⁹ Mata Hari (*Fremden-Blatt*, 1906),⁵⁰ and Ruth St. Denis (*Die Zeit*, 1906).⁵¹ The cultural critic Ludwig Hevesi and the author and playwright Hugo von Hofmannsthal,⁵² in their reception of these dance performances, identified the dancers as exotic both racially and nationally, which only served to thrill and to stimulate further curiosity:

Mata Hari—though Lady MacLeod sounds even more piquant—is above all beautiful. Not as “one” is beautiful—but as she is beautiful, by herself. The hybrid of Indian and Dutch, the woman of two races, that could be produced only in the Orient, which is much closer to the old paradise, than we in the civilized world, who were expelled from it.⁵³

Further, in the same year:

She is called Ruth St. Denis, or she is called something and calls herself Ruth St. Denis. It is possible that she is a Canadian, in which

French blood is mixed with Anglo-Saxon and a drop of foreigner blood too, a grandmother of Indian origin, something from the secret and the powers of an ancient race, which is disappearing.⁵⁴

Critics also pointed out the tension accompanying the erotic dance performance by referring to its physical effects on both the audience and themselves.⁵⁵ Further, they regarded the experience of viewing as an act of adoration of both the artist and her art. The “religious” projection could be interpreted as the act of “Othering,” meaning distancing

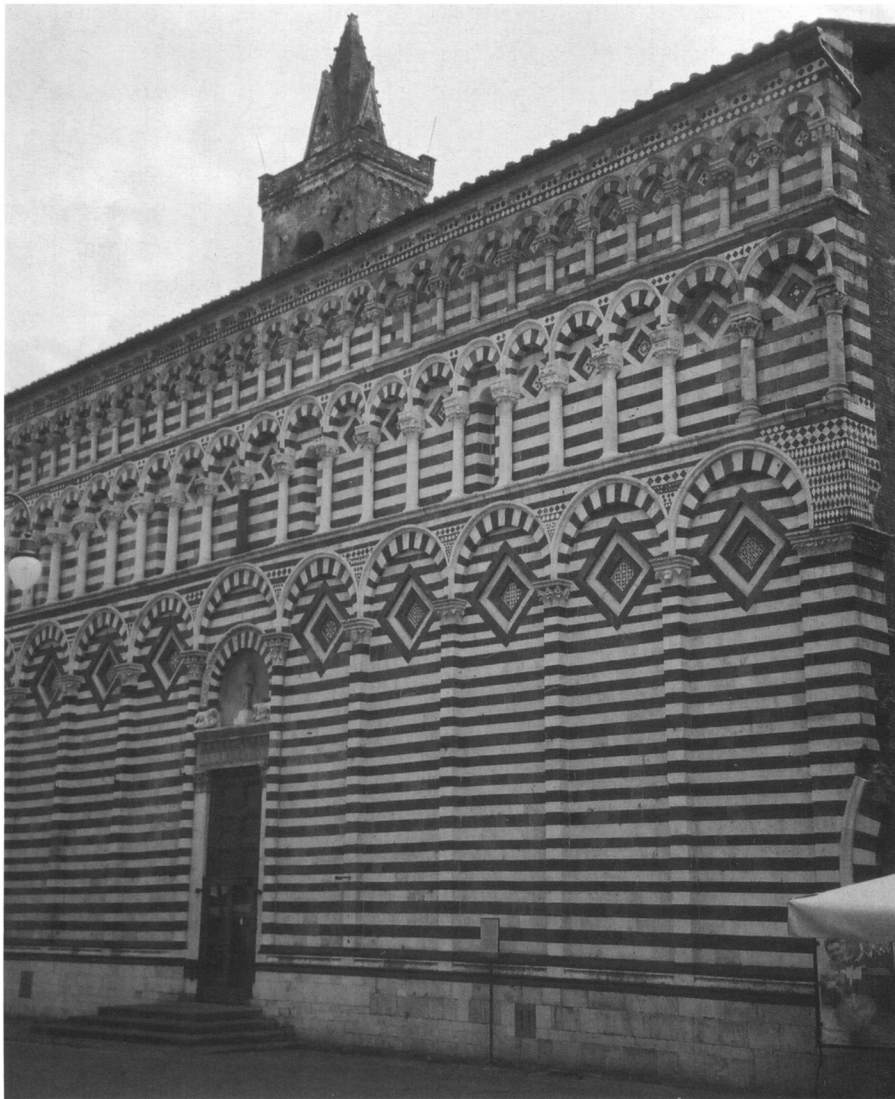


FIGURE 7
Church of San Giovanni
Fuorcivitas, Pistoia, 12th-14th
century.

through an act of worship.⁵⁶ Later reviews of Baker's performances in Paris reveal similar patterns in their observations.⁵⁷ The German count Harry Kessler, a famous publisher and art collector, reported in his diaries his impressions of Baker's performance in February 1926: "Miss Baker danced with extreme grotesque artistry and pure style, like an Egyptian or archaic figure."⁵⁸

Through his choice of cultural associations in Baker's "dress façade," Loos also reflected his perception of the private relationship between Baker, a brilliant dancer and performer, and himself, a humble admirer. Referring to his unrelieved physical tension in viewing her dance, Loos designed a conspicuous façade specifically to provoke a sharp physical reaction. Yet, his use of ornament is legitimized in this case, because as a three-dimensional advertisement the house was meant to present a pressing claim to our attention.⁵⁹ The few deep windows in the façade offer a limited opportunity to penetrate the house. Baker's private life ("private body") is hidden behind a new cultured dress, and the viewer is forced to remain at a distance in a state of awe. Standing and looking at the house, the viewer admires Baker's public persona: her charismatic aura, her freedom from bourgeois strictures, and her graceful and surprising maneuvers, which skillfully cross the boundaries between "white" and "black" cultures.⁶⁰ Her dress demonstrates her majestic authority: it is Baker's command of two languages of two different "cultures" that surfaces in Loos's "dress façade."

Still, Baker's charisma also depended on the wish of "civilized men" to get in touch with their own "potent forces" through her performance. In this respect, the phallic form of the cylindrical tower could be linked to Baker's stage persona. In April 1926, she took on the star role in a new show, *La Folie du Jour* (Madness of the Day), whose theme was the charm of culture (expressed through "American" girls leaving the stage in fashionable dresses) versus the seduction of nature (expressed through "African" Baker dancing almost nude). Baker appeared in this show with her famous banana skirt (Fig. 3).⁶¹ If *La Folie du Jour* could be considered an expression of the discontent of the European bourgeoisie with modern civilization, then Baker was not only representing the "Other" culture as an escape but also as a promise of a new beginning. Baker's banana skirt echoed her viewers' longing to renew their (male) potency. The skirt was composed of dozens of bananas attached to a belt around her hips, which swung with each move she made. Compared with the statue of the goddess Artemis from Ephesus with multiple breasts symbolizing fertility (as seen in Gustav Moreau's *Salome*, 1876; Armand Hammer Collec-

tion), Baker's appearance on stage in the banana skirt represented an omnipotent phallic woman. This phallic association may have resurfaced in the form of Loos's cylindrical tower above the Baker House entrance.⁶²

In his design, Loos projected his admiration for Baker as a new "cultural form" and her "cultured dress" as a tribute to a brilliant performer. Claire Loos described Loos's reaction to Baker's performance in Vienna in 1928:

Josephine dances, Loos looks at her attentively. "I regard Josephine as a great artist," he says quietly. "Just look at what grace and what power lie within her movements. She always reminds me of an animal in the wilderness. But the people here *don't have any understanding of her great art*," he adds with sadness. "They only see the beautiful body. In Paris it is completely different. There, the whole hall yells enthusiastically when Josephine dances." Loos stops talking. After Josephine has finished, he claps his hands with all his might, and encourages the rest of the audience to produce more and more stormy ovations together with him.⁶³

The Interior: Swimming Together with Baker

"I drew a plan for Josephine. . . . I think it to be one of my best. The outer wall is covered with white and black marble plates—horizontally striped. The most beautiful aspect of the house is the swimming pool—with supernatural light effects."⁶⁴

Loos considered the most beautiful element in the Baker House Project to be the swimming pool, which received natural light through a glass ceiling. Indeed, scholars have centered their analyses of the interior of the house on the image of Baker being observed in the swimming pool through the glass windows in the second floor. Bearing in mind Loos's claim that the richness of the house is manifested in its interior,⁶⁵ questions arise, such as: Why did Loos choose the swimming pool as a central attraction in the interior of the Baker House? In what ways does this feature reflect his relationship to Baker?

Loos relied mainly on his muse, the artist Baker—her dress, her charisma, and her status—to establish the direction of his design. He even considered her past living experiences in Paris when he decided to place the swimming pool at the center of her future house. Loos may have heard that a costly marble swimming pool (specially built for her by her then-current "protector") was placed in the middle of her previous apartment on the Champs-Élysées.⁶⁶ He may have also heard her claim

that one should swim every day.⁶⁷ Loos intended to offer Baker the opportunity to fulfill her own recommendation in the grand manner appropriate for a celebrity.

Josephine Baker fulfilled the role of a cult figure in Paris during the second half of the 1920s in a way similar to the poet Peter Altenberg in Vienna at the turn of the century, and Loos designed architectural tributes to both in the same vein. Baker was rich, Altenberg was poor; she was attractive, he was not—and yet many similar dreams of escape and redemption were connected to their art. Loos expressed his intention to design the American Bar (1908) in the center of Vienna as a tribute to Altenberg by choosing a portrait of him by Gustav Jagerspacher to decorate the wall across from the entrance, the only painting in this bar furnished as an elitist men's club.⁶⁸ Altenberg's portrait granted this "club" in miniature an exclusive cultural pretension and confirmed the leading role of the poet in the Viennese cultural world. At the same time, his portrait promoted the reputation of the bar. Similarly, the Baker House was intended as a tribute to its owner, and Loos designed the first floor of the house as an exclusive private "establishment" (or club).⁶⁹ There was no need to hang a portrait of Baker on the wall, since she would be observed live in the swimming pool, framed by four glass windows on that floor. Baker's expected appearance in the swimming pool would confirm her leading role on the Parisian scene and at the same time promote the reputation of her house. While Altenberg represented for Loos a wish for shared salvation through a brotherhood of male artists, Baker represented Loos's wish for personal salvation through a charismatic woman artist.

In Loos's house, Colomina suggests, the planned interior resembles the warm and intimate setting of feminine clothing.⁷⁰ Still, this experience of intimacy is easily transformed into an uncanny experience: "The 'clothes' have become so removed from the body that they require structural support independent of it. They become a 'stage set.'" ⁷¹ It is true that Loos did perceive interiors as appropriate "stage settings." In *Das Andere* (1903), he criticized the absurdity of a tragic human drama taking place in a room "tastefully" decorated by Olbrich.⁷² Thus, the question arises concerning the swimming pool spectacle on the first and second floors of the Baker House: what is Loos's anticipated dramatic scenario? Is it, as Colomina suggests, a chauvinistic scenario of male visitors consuming Baker's body,⁷³ a victorious scenario of liberals celebrating their belief in physical reclamation, or rather a romantic scenario of Loos disclosing his own private fantasy of rebirth?

By planning a swimming pool, which apparently expresses the wish to observe Baker in the water, Loos admits that he is curious to see her naked or dressed only in a swimsuit. To be sure, the idea of undressing Baker is undoubtedly a trivial, chauvinistic wish. Still, with the sun shining during the day, the viewer could only have followed the movements of her silhouette in the basin.⁷⁴ The opportunity to look at her secretly (possibly uninvited) through glass windows in low corridors calls forth images of contemporary peep shows, as well as those of biblical crimes, such as David viewing Bathsheba, a married woman, bathing in her chamber and Susanna being spied on by two elders while bathing outdoors.⁷⁵ The notion of David and the elders viewing Baker unnoticed from a hiding place suggests that Loos may have approached the performer with a sense of guilt and shame. Does this guilt, however, relate to a sexual fantasy, a colonial prejudice, or a humiliating romantic dream?⁷⁶ Whatever the answer, Loos's first reaction on seeing Baker in the water may have been an urgent wish to undress himself.

Loos probably feared touching Baker's body, because the glass window prevents any immediate physical contact, but he definitely did not fear displaying his own body in public. The news of Baker's planned visit to Vienna in early 1928 provoked a scandal. The German nationalists in the city argued against the performance of a black woman who earned so much money. In addition, nationalists received support from the Catholic Church, which objected to Baker's "naked" performance on stage. On February 25, 1928, a special session of the Austrian Parliament was called to discuss the subject of Baker's planned "pornographic presentation." She was defended in parliament by Count Adalbert Sternberg, who, in his speech, expressed opposing liberal views that praised freedom, Jazz dance, Africa, and nudity.⁷⁷ He declared the female nude as a symbol of the humanist ideal, concluding that fighting nudity blasphemes God, who created man naked.⁷⁸ Loos, who presumably designed the Baker House before Sternberg's speech, definitely identified with modern dance and nudity as liberal causes. He was proud to be able to dance the Charleston,⁷⁹ which may have earned him the negative nickname "white Nigger," and he enjoyed being photographed in a swimsuit on the beach. Moreover, Loos did not mind appearing naked in nudist public swimming pools.⁸⁰

Austrian Expressionism documents the drive of artists to display the male body in public. Inspired by avant-garde dance performances in Vienna, Kokoschka and Schiele expressed their wish to reclaim their bodies in a rather aggressive manner in their art at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century.⁸¹ Yet, this desire was first observed in an

interior design exhibit. The first time Loos confronted a private bath shown publicly was in Otto Wagner's exhibit of his own bathroom in the Kaiser's grand Trade Anniversary Exhibition in June 1898. Wagner exhibited a glass bath as a modern revelation (Fig. 8), in contrast to the normative ceramic or metal baths of the time. While Peter Haiko analyzes Wagner's avant-garde claim to put the naked body on display, he also notes that the body is exhibited in a bath in the form of a sarcophagus, which insures the purity of the nude and which could be understood as an echo of the period tendency to desexualize the "newly discovered" body.⁸² Still, Haiko points out, Wagner transformed the rigid, sterile bathroom setting into a place of narcissistic and voyeuristic gratification of bodily delights.⁸³

Loos could have identified with the transformation of the sterile bath scene into one of luxury, as he admired both the hygienic norms and



FIGURE 8
Otto Wagner, private
bathroom, apartment in
Köstlergasse no. 3, 1898-1899.
Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek,
Bildarchiv.

the sports imported from American and British culture.⁸⁴ In his first effort to make a grand tribute to the "Bath cult," in the Villa Karma near Montreaux, he designed a black marble bathroom containing black marble baths for the owner Theodor Beer in 1904-1906. Here Loos connects bathing with sports and hedonistic delight:

The culmination [of the extravagant interior] is the bathroom that breathes an atmosphere of Roman hedonism. From a higher situated room for gymnastics, lighted from above and provided with an open fireplace, one descends, surrounded by marble columns, into the bathroom where two bathtubs are sunk into a black marble floor.⁸⁵

In contrast to Wagner's bathroom, which appears, as Haiko suggests, as the boudoir of an elegant "lady,"⁸⁶ Loos's bath designed with black marble for Beer suggested a sensual transformation of the classical gentleman's black frock coat. For Josephine Baker, Loos transformed the idea of Wagner's glass bath even further into a grand bath/swimming pool.⁸⁷

Wagner's private glass bath suggested his wish to present himself as a single man bold enough to compete with his young students.⁸⁸ In a similar fashion, Loos's bath/swimming pool for Baker could be interpreted symbolically as a fountain of youth,⁸⁹ and viewing the swimmer there could evoke the image of "architecture of the womb."⁹⁰ The sight of Baker swimming in her grand bath could also evoke fantasies of rebirth. Since her viewer is denied immediate access to the water (and to her body), "he" must run up the spiral stairs in order to ask if he can join her. At this point, the narrative implied in the interior as a relationship between viewer (Loos) and "object" (Baker) ends. The design of the swimming pool suggests that Loos wanted to share with Baker a primal space, but not her bed. Joining her would have provided Loos with the opportunity to descend into the womb metaphorically and to ascend from it with her. The dream of joining Baker in the swimming pool symbolizes Loos's desire for rebirth through designing for the star, with this space as the center of his romantic journey. The idea of reclaiming his body there further expresses Loos's wish that his design for Baker would help restore his sagging career.

Conclusion

In his plans for her city house, Loos embodied a romantic fantasy that evolved from Josephine Baker's commanding performances. The architect chose to digress in time and to include varied cultural allusions regarding fashion, dance, and bathing from turn-of-the-century Vienna

in his design for the celebrated performing artist. Following a modern narrative, describing a relationship between a humble viewer and a brilliant performer, Loos succeeded in creating an authentic cultured “dress” for the façade and in planning for modern encounters in its interior. In 1902, in his article “Ladies’ Fashion,” Loos condemned ornamented dress as an expression of women’s wish for and actual dependency on men.⁹¹ Twenty-five years later, in his Baker House Project, he admitted through his daring ornamental “façade dress” and the “striptease” of the transparent swimming pool interior his unconscious longing to depend on a strong woman. By responding to Baker’s public charisma and at the same time adopting her as his mentor in his journey to reclaim his own body, Loos succeeded in making his design of the Baker House Project a bold tribute to Josephine Baker, a modern celebrity.

NOTES

Several people deserve special thanks for their contributions to this article. I am grateful to Irene Nierhaus of Bremen University for her critical remarks. I would like to thank Christopher Long of the School of Architecture, University of Texas at Austin, for his support of my research. Max Scheugel and my husband, Anton Legerer, deserve special thanks for the photographic work. I am grateful to my friend and colleague Lisa Silverman for her editorial and critical comments. Finally, I would like to thank John Gordon for inviting me to present this paper at the Annual Graduate Symposium of 2003, entitled “Designed Identities,” at The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture on April 25, 2003.

Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are mine.

1. A copy of the plans for the Baker House located in the Adolf Loos Archive in the Albertina Sammlung Vienna, and three published accounts by Loos’s wife, Claire Loos, and his students Heinrich Kulka and Kurt Unger, provide the only evidence of Loos’s designs of a house for Josephine Baker. In 1931, Heinrich Kulka presented a short description of the project, accompanied by a photograph of the model of the Baker House, in his publication on Loos (Heinrich Kulka, ed., *Adolf Loos: Das Werk des Architekten* [Vienna, 1931], 41). A detailed description can be found in a letter from Kurt Unger to Ludwig Münz of July 23, 1935. According to Unger, the presumed assign-

ment was to rebuild two existing corner houses on Bugeaud Avenue in Paris as one private house. The outer walls were to have remained, resulting in twelve by twenty-seven meters of available space, without a courtyard (Ludwig Münz and Gustav Künstler, *Der Architekt Adolf Loos* [Vienna and Munich, 1964], 178.) Claire Loos’s account is examined later in this essay.

2. The anachronistic character of Loos’s Baker House Project may have been a critical reaction against the popular tendency of the 1920s to expose the house’s inhabitants to the outside through the use of glass as outer walls: e.g., in Gerrit Thomas Rietveld’s Schröder House in Utrecht (1923-1924) and Le Corbusier’s Villa Savoye, Poissy (1928-1931). See also Jean-Louis Cohen, Monique Eleb, and Antonio Martinelli, *The 20th Century: Architecture and Urbanism: Paris* (Tokyo, 1990), 66, 76.

3. Expanding on the initiative of Beatriz Colomina, who criticized the unreflective and somewhat naïve analysis of the Baker House by her male predecessors (who seem unable to detach from the “object of pleasure”), Karen Burns reexamines the relevant citations from the earlier commentary (Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* [London, 1994], 280f) in “A House for Josephine Baker,” in *Postcolonial Space(s)*, ed. Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu and Chong Thai Wong [New York, 1997], 57f, 65f).

4. Burkhardt Rukschcio und Roland Schachel, *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk* (Vienna, [1982] 1987), 312.

5. In this European usage, the ground floor is identified as the ground floor, the second as the first floor, and the third as the second floor. Loos's plans are marked with these European designations.

6. Groenendijk and Volland suggested that the façade was treated in an abstract manner in order to unite the separated parts. Furthermore, the choice of a striped pattern served to lighten the building's apparent volume (Paul Groenendijk and Piet Volland, *Adolf Loos: House for Josephine Baker* [Rotterdam, 1985], 32).

7. Münz and Künstler mentioned that the tower served to regulate the façade, to mark the border with the adjacent house, and to emphasize the entrance (Münz and Künstler, *Der Architekt Adolf Loos*, 178).

8. Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 606. See also the analysis of the first floor in Groenendijk and Volland, *Adolf Loos: House for Josephine Baker*, 32. It was Loos's student Unger who first suggested that the arrangement of public rooms around the swimming pool could be identified as a miniature entertainment establishment (Münz and Künstler, *Der Architekt Adolf Loos*, 178).

9. Already in his plans for the Goldman & Salatsch House (1911), Loos took advantage of the new building material of reinforced concrete in order to allow a more flexible division of internal spaces, spaces that are interrelated. Instead of the traditional division of successive levels, he conceived a complex organization of space, determining size and height in accordance with the aims of each room and the needs of its inhabitants. This progressive conception was identified by Heinrich Kulka as a "Raumplan" (Kulka, *Adolf Loos*, 13ff). Kulka argues in regard to the plans of the Baker House that the different aims of the rooms explain the different elevations, and the different sizes and placement of windows (Kulka, *Adolf Loos*, 41).

10. It should be noted that the plans and the model do not correspond precisely. For example, in the plans of the ground floor, the garage is located at the left corner with one large opening, while in the model the opening is pushed farther to the center following a narrow opening. Two narrow openings in the model are not noted in the ground floor plans.

11. Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 606.

12. The swimming pool is four by nine by two meters. The heavy weight of the basin, which could have contained seven tons of water, was to be supported by eight large columns rising from the basement.

13. Groenendijk and Volland, *Adolf Loos: House for Josephine Baker*, 32.

14. The two rooms were probably intended for Baker and Pepito Abatino, her lover and manager since 1926.

15. Münz and Künstler, *Der Architekt Adolf Loos*, 178.

16. "Sie kam zu mir und war schlechter Laune. Denken Sie, Loos, schmolte sie, ich will machen großen Umbau in mein Haus, und Pläne von Architekten gefallen mir nicht. Ich war außer mir. Was da kommen Sie nicht gleich zu mir? Wissen sie denn nicht, daß ich ihnen den schönsten Plan der Welt entwerfen kann? Josephine sieht mich mit ihren Kinderaugen groß an und fragt gedehnt: Sind sie denn Architekt??? Sie hatte keine Ahnung wer ich bin" (Claire Loos, *Adolf Loos Privat* [Vienna, Cologne, Graz, 1985], 11). My emphasis. Claire Beck, the future third wife of Loos, saw Baker's performance together with Loos and her father in the Johann-Strauß-Theater in Vienna in March 1928 (Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 334f).

17. As mentioned above, there is no documentation of Baker's request to Loos to design her house. Baker's biographer, Phyllis Rose, suggests that Loos's plan for the Baker House was never realized because Baker left Paris for a world tour with her show in 1928. Moreover, Rose explains that Baker did not appreciate modern art in general and that her taste was rather conservative. In 1929, Baker bought a mansion of eclectic style in the Parisian suburbs, Le Beau-Chêne (The Beautiful Oak), where she lived until 1947 (Phyllis Rose, *Josephine Baker oder Wie eine Frau die Welt erobert, Biographie* [Vienna and Darmstadt, 1990], 209f; translation of *Jazz Cleopatra: Josephine Baker in Her Time* [New York, 1989]).

18. Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity*, 281. Mary Mcleod, "Undressing Architecture: Fashion, Gender, and Modernity," in *Architecture: In Fashion*, ed. Deborah Fausch, Paulette Singley, Rodolphe El-Khoury, Svi Efrat (New York, 1994), 67. Burns, "A House for Josephine Baker," 59, 66f. Christine Threuter, "Ausgerechnet Bananen: Die Ornamentfrage bei Adolf Loos oder Die Evolution der Kultur," in *Um-Ordnung: Angewandte Künste und*

Geschlecht in der Moderne, ed. Cordula Bischoff (Marburg, 1999), 106-15.

19. Adolf Loos, "Damenmode," *Dokumente der Frauen*, Vienna (March 1, 1902), 661.

20. Adolf Loos, "Ornament und Verbrechen," in *Trotzdem 1900-1930* (Innsbruck, 1931), 92; see also Christine Threuter, "Ausgerechnet Bananen," 112.

21. Burns, "A House for Josephine Baker," 67.

22. *Ibid.*, 57f.

23. *Ibid.*, 61.

24. Threuter, "Ausgerechnet Bananen," 110.

25. Loos shared with the poet Peter Altenberg a fascination with purchasing erotic postcards showing partly naked women (Peter Altenberg, "La Zarina," *Was der Tag mir zuträgt* [Berlin, 1924], 216ff.)

26. Threuter, "Ausgerechnet Bananen," 113.

27. In 1924, Loos left Vienna with the hope of restoring his professional status through grand commissions in Paris. In Paris he lived in cheap hotels, and though he received several offers, only two were realized. His main achievement there was the house for the Romanian artist Tristan Tzara in Montmartre (1926-1927). Loos also hoped that his young wife, Elsie Altmann-Loos, would follow him, but she left him less than two years after his arrival in Paris. They divorced in March 1926 (Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 307, 315).

28. Baker left New York as the best-paid chorus girl, and arrived in Paris only after negotiating over salary and position in the dance group (Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Karen C. C. Dalton, "Introduction," *Josephine Baker and La Revue Nègre: Paul Colin's Lithographs of Le Tumulte Noir in Paris, 1927* [New York, 1998], 6). Further, Baker's wish at the age of twenty-one to purchase her own house proves her to be more independent than most white bourgeois Frenchwomen. In contrast, Loos's relation to money was childish. In 1927, when he worked for Fritz Wolff in his Paris fashion salon Knize, Wolff paid Loos only per day, supporting his tendency to live from hand to mouth (interview with Peter Knize, the son of Fritz Wolff-Knize, Vienna, October 2, 2000).

29. Loos's choice of a man's inconspicuous suit as a modern fashion dictum could be interpreted as a wish to "reclaim the body" from its dependence on its surroundings (Adolf Loos, "Die Kleidung," *Das Andere*, no. 1 [Vienna, 1903], 8). (Loos published

two issues of his own journal entitled *Das Andere* [The Other] in 1903. The first issue appeared as a supplement to Peter Altenberg's journal *Kunst*; the second issue appeared independently. Both issues were published in Vienna.) On the relationship between Loos and Kokoschka, see Elana Shapira, "The Pioneers: Loos, Kokoschka and Their Shared Clients," in *Oskar Kokoschka: Early Portraits from Vienna and Berlin 1909-1914*, exh. cat., ed. Tobias G. Natter (New York: Neue Galerie, 2002), 50-58.

30. I restate here a feminist argument that a woman should "reclaim her body" in order to claim her authority in artistry and elsewhere, an idea introduced by Hélène Cixous and Catherine Clément in their book *The Newly Born Woman* (Minneapolis, 1986; orig. pub. as *La jeune née* [Paris, c. 1975]). The idea of reclaiming the body literally means liberating the presentation of the private body from bourgeois codes of respectability and symbolically claiming authority over one's own artwork.

31. Adolf Loos, "Architektur," in idem, *Trotzdem 1900-1930* (Innsbruck, 1930), 106; English translation in *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, exh. cat., ed. Yehuda Safran and Wilfried Wang (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1985), 107.

32. Loos, "Architektur," 109; English translation in Safran and Wang, *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, 108.

33. The expectation that there should be a correlation between architectural design and modern fashion was promoted by Otto Wagner in his book *Modern Architecture of 1896* (Otto Wagner, *Moderne Architektur* [Vienna, 1896], 33).

34. Gates and Dalton, *Josephine Baker and La Revue Nègre*, 6.

35. *Ibid.*, 6f.

36. Burns, "A House for Josephine Baker," 60. Mcleod even suggests a possible link to safari imagery by associating the bands with zebra stripes (Mcleod, "Undressing Architecture: Fashion, Gender, and Modernity," 67).

37. Elite fashion designers offered to design Baker's dresses: "If she [Baker] resembled some bizarre form of wild animal onstage, on the street she was a model of Parisian chic in designer Paul Poiret's dresses, with her well-oiled hair hugging her skull. . . . Within a year, there would be Josephine Baker dolls, costumes, perfumes, and even a hairdressing called Bakerfix" (Gates and Dalton, *Josephine Baker and La Revue Nègre*, 7).

Paul Poiret was known as "the Killer of the Corset" and Baker was proud of his designs for her.

38. During the 1880s, in an attempt to bridge the gap between the practical style of men's fashion and the awkward and unhealthy style of women's fashion, a two-piece ladies' suit was developed imitating the three-piece men's suit. The new ladies' tailored costume included a jacket with a flowing skirt and was produced in better-quality materials. Loos's tailors, the Goldman & Salatsch firm, advocated these tailored suits in their advertisements at the end of the 1880s. For Loos the new suit expressed a new partnership between the sexes: "The woman may be no more than a good friend to the man. This tendency too has been taken into account; it has led to the creation of the 'tailor-made costume,' clothes made by the man's tailor" (Adolf Loos, "Ladies' Fashion" [1902], translated in Adolf Loos, *Spoken into the Void*, ed. Joan Ockman [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1982], 100).

39. Adolf Loos, "Die Kleidung," *Das Andere*, no. 1 (Vienna, 1903), 8.

40. A comparison with Loos's façade design for the Tristan Tzara House (1926-1927) suggests that Loos chose a conspicuous façade design for the Baker House.

41. Several reviews of the Goldman & Salatsch House in 1910 compared the house to an unsuccessfully fitted woman's dress and suggested its resemblance to a sensual skirt with a naked top (Hermann Czech and Wolfgang Mistelbauer, *Das Looshaus* [Vienna, 1976], 86).

42. One of the rumors that caused a scandal and helped market Baker's show in Vienna concerned the unbelievable costs of her costumes, 25,000 francs (Rose, *Josephine Baker*, 180). Perpetually out of money himself, Loos expressed his respect for business's success in his journal *Das Andere* (Adolf Loos, "Wie der Staat für uns sorgt," *Das Andere*, no. 1 [Vienna, 1903], 2).

43. Loos's inspiration for the stripe pattern on the upper parts of the Baker House façade may have been the stripes of the American flag, but his primary interest was apparently to link it to different cultural discourses inside Europe.

44. The Secession House, recognized as a product of multicultural sources, was identified both with rejected and with admired representations of Modernism in Vienna. For example, the first major exhibition of Japanese art and two scandalous avant-garde dance performances (Isadora Duncan in 1902 and Mata Hari in 1906) were shown there.

Thus, Loos may have chosen to reinterpret select cultural associations of the building.

45. On the top of the Secession House is a cupola consisting of intertwining leaves of gilded bronze which may have served as a reference to the golden Dome of the Rock near El Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. Moreover, Olbrich referred to the Greek temple of Segesta in Sicily, a recognized pilgrimage destination, as the inspiration for this temple-house (Joseph Maria Olbrich, "Das Haus der Secession," *Der Architekt* 5, no. 1 [January 1899]: 5).

46. Gravagnuolo mentions the Cathedral in Pistoia as a source of inspiration for the Baker House (Benedetto Gravagnuolo, *Adolf Loos: Theory and Works* [1982; New York, 1995], 191). The striped pattern also resembles that of the striped church of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas. Loos could have visited Pistoia during his journey to the Carrara marble quarries in Italy (1906). Loos may have been so impressed by the sacral architecture in Pistoia that he planned a study trip for his second-year students that included Pistoia among several other famous Italian cities in 1914 (Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 170). A further source of inspiration for the black-and-white-striped pattern could have been typical façades of sacral and residential buildings in Genoa and its surroundings such as the cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa and the church of Sant' Andrea in Lévanto as well as the palace of Spinola dei Marmi in the Piazza delle Fontane Marose and the palace of Andrea Doria in the Piazza di San Matteo in Genoa. Loos's possible reference to residential striped façades of prominent Italians, including noblemen, would have fitted his wish to ennoble Baker and to integrate further her success story in European history. He visited Genoa in the above-mentioned trip to Italy of 1906, and returned at least two more times, in 1913 and 1914.

47. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, striped façades were identified with the "Oriental-style" fronts of bath and café houses, like the Oriental Baths in Leeds by Cuthbert Brodrick of 1866 or the Café Orient in the outskirts of Wiesbaden of c. 1895. About the latter, Koppelkamm refers to the architecture of a painterly exotic excursion place, architecture that also fulfills the aim of an advertisement for the place itself (Stefan Koppelkamm, *Der imaginäre Orient* [Berlin, 1987], 83). Nevertheless, in the mid-1920s, Oriental (Islamic) architecture (identified as the "architecture of occasions") had been abandoned as unsuitable to the new Modernist *Weltanschauung* (John Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession* [Cambridge, 1987], 254.) Thus, Loos had to reconcile the popularity

and charm of the Oriental with the "Modernist" canon. His solution of making the stripes in white and black may have been inspired by a review of the dance performance of Maud Allan in Vienna (1906) by the critic Ludwig Hevesi. Hevesi quoted the architect Otto Wagner, who described the dancer as "built completely modern," and added that she was a slender figure in white and black, which were the colors of the Wiener Werkstätte (Ludwig Hevesi, "Miß Maud Allan," in *Altkunst—Neukunst* [1909; Klagenfurt, 1986], 281).

48. Gravagnuolo, *Adolf Loos*, 191. Loos had already designed several private houses with flat roofs, such as the Scheu House in Vienna (1912). Yet, his choice would have also fitted the French trend, since Le Corbusier and Lurçat designed their Modernist houses, mentioned above, with flat roofs.

49. Ludwig Hevesi, "Miß Duncan in der Sezession," in *Acht Jahre Sezession, Kritik—Polemik—Chronik* (1906; Klagenfurt, 1984), 24.

50. Ludwig Hevesi, "Mata Hari, die indische Tänzerin (Sezession)," *Fremden-Blatt* (December 16, 1906), 15.

51. Hofmannsthal reported on Ruth St. Denis's performance in Berlin in idem, "Die Unvergleichliche Tänzerin" (*Die Zeit*, 1906); idem, *Reden und Aufsätze, 1891-1913* (Frankfurt am Main, 1979), 496-501.

52. Hevesi was one of the few Viennese critics who published favorable reviews of Loos's work.

53. "Mata Hari—pikanter klingt zwar Lady MacLeod—ist vor allem schön. Nicht wie 'man' Schön ist sondern wie sie schön ist, sie allein. Das Mischwesen von Indisch und Holländisch, das zweirassige Weib, wie es nur der Orient hervorbringt, der dem alte Paradiese so viel näher ist, als wir ausgewiesene Kulturwelt" (Ludwig Hevesi, "Mata Hari, die indische Tänzerin [Sezession]," 15).

54. "Sie heißt Ruth St. Denis. Oder sie heißt irgendwie und nennt sich Ruth St. Denis. Es ist möglich, daß sie eine Kanadierin ist, in der sich französisches Blut mit angelsächsischem mischt und dazu noch ein Tropfen fremderer Blutes, eine Großmutter aus indianischem Geblüt, etwas vom Geheimnis und von den Kräften einer Urrasse, die schwindet" (Hofmannsthal, *Reden und Aufsätze*, 496).

55. Ibid., 497.

56. Hevesi, "Miß Duncan in der Sezession," 24.

57. See Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 311.

58. Jean-Claude Baker and Chris Chase, *Josephine: The Hungry Heart* (1993; New York, 2001), 127. Harry Kessler was an important figure in the modern art world in Germany, and Loos may have known him through his search for contacts for Oskar Kokoschka in Germany during the 1910s.

59. I refer to Rykwert's explanation of Loos's opposition to ornamental applications as making a claim to our attention (Joseph Rykwert, "Adolf Loos: The New Vision," in idem, *The Necessity of Artifice* [London, 1982], 68).

60. The color alternation in the façade is the source of its exoticism, and it expresses the unification of the two aspects of a European cultural discourse in one form. It is necessary, however, to consider the character of this phenomenon carefully. The French theater critic André Levinson, who identified Baker as a black Venus, described her dance as having the potency of the finest examples of Negro sculpture and as a race of sculptures coming to life (Gates and Dalton, *Josephine Baker and La Revue Nègre*, 7). Yet, there is a crucial difference between Picasso's assimilating African artifacts as "primitive symbols" in his European art and Loos's metaphorically dressing a black artist in a sporty modern suit.

61. Gates and Dalton, *Josephine Baker and La Revue Nègre*, 7f.

62. Gravagnuolo notes that the cylindrical corner tower is a self-referential allusion to the Villa Karma (1906) and the Project for the Hotel Champs Elysées (1924) (Gravagnuolo, *Adolf Loos*, 192).

63. "Josephine tanzt. Loos sieht ihr aufmerksam zu. 'Ich halte Josephine für eine ganz große Künstlerin,' sagte er leise. 'Sehen Sie nur, welche Anmut und welche Kraft in ihren Bewegungen liegt. Sie erinnert mich immer an ein Tier in der Wildnis. Aber die Menschen hier haben kein Verständnis für ihre große Kunst,' fügt er traurig hinzu. 'Sie sehen nur den schönen Körper. In Paris ist das ganz anders. Da johlt der ganze Saal vor Begeisterung, wenn Josephine tanzt.' Loos verstummt. Als Josephine geendet hat, applaudiert er mit aller Kraft und reißt das übrige Publikum zu immer neuen, stürmischen Ovationen mit" (Claire Loos, *Adolf Loos Privat*, 10). My emphasis.

64. "Ich zeichnete für Josephine einen Plan . . . ich halte ihn für einen meiner besten. Die Außenmauer ist mit weißen und schwarzen Marmorplatten—quer gestreift—verkleidet. Das Schönste im Hause ist das Bad—mit überirdischen Lichteffekten" (Claire Loos, *Adolf Loos Privat*, 11). Loos used

the word "das Bad" for the swimming pool, which could also mean the bath.

65. Adolf Loos, "Heimatkunst," (1914), in Adolf Loos, *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Franz Glück (Vienna, Munich, 1962), 339.

66. Baker and Chase, *Josephine: The Hungry Heart*, 137. It should also be noted that Paul Poiret designed the interiors in this apartment (ibid.).

67. Ibid.

68. Frampton refers to the classical clubroom elegance of the Bar's interior (Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture, a Critical History* [1980; London, 2000], 92).

69. Münz and Künstler, *Der Architekt Adolf Loos*, 178. See also above, first section of the present article: "Excursion: The Baker House Project."

70. Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity*, 264.

71. Ibid., 269.

72. Adolf Loos, "Das Heim," *Das Andere*, no. 1 (Vienna, 1903), 9.

73. Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity*, 281.

74. Loos complained about the Viennese, who only admired Baker's beautiful body. See quotation in n. 63 above (Claire Loos, *Adolf Loos Privat*, 10).

75. A popular example is Jacopo Tintoretto, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1555-1556 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.) Loos could have seen the original there and a copy in the salon of his client Theodor Beer in Villa Karma.

76. The idea of marketing Baker's performance through a voyeuristic fantasy appeared also in the programme brochure of the Johann Strauss theater where she appeared in Vienna in 1928. Baker is seen on the cover smiling invitingly, top naked and adorned with flashy jewelry, through a golden framed keyhole. The humiliating dream refers to his failed marriage to Elsie Altmann. In her memoirs, Altmann recalled Loos telling her that she must become a famous dancer if he was to marry her. Loos argued that he could not marry a "small farmer girl" and recommended that she rent a room, hire a piano player, and start inventing her own dances (Elsie Altmann-Loos, *Adolf Loos der Mensch* [Vienna, Munich, 1968], 69). During their marriage Loos acted as Altmann's agent, obtaining contracts for her in different places (Rukschcio and Schachel, *Adolf Loos*, 268-89).

77. Rose, *Josephine Baker*, 179.

78. Ibid., 180.

79. In the form of a discussion between Loos and “Lady X,” Claire Loos reported that Baker considered him to be one of the best Charleston dancers (Claire Loos, *Adolf Loos Privat*, 9f). Furthermore, according to Loos’s witness in this discussion, he once even earned money by dancing the Charleston with an unknown woman. Asked by the horrified witness why he accepted the money, he answered that the woman considered him to be an “Eintänzer,” which also implies a professional gigolo (Burns, “A House for Josephine Baker,” 68). Loos concluded his argument with the proud declaration that as a Charleston dancer he had the best teacher: Josephine Baker! (Claire Loos, *Adolf Loos Privat*, 10).

80. Claire Loos, *Adolf Loos Privat*, 49.

81. Werkner has established that the avant-garde dance performances served as a stimulus for Kokoschka and Schiele to develop a private body language in their art (Patrick Werkner, “Kokoschka’s frühe Gebärdensprache und ihre Verwurzelung im Tanz,” in *Oskar Kokoschka, Symposion, abge-*

halten von der Hochschule für angewandte Kunst in Wien, ed. Erika Patka [Salzburg and Vienna, 1986], 93–99).

82. Peter Haiko, “Otto Wagners Interieurs: Vom Glanz der französischen Könige zur Ostentation der ‘modernen Zweckmässigkeit,’” in Paul Asenbaum, Peter Haiko, Herbert Lachmayer, Reiner Zettl, *Otto Wagner Möbel und Innenräume* (Salzburg and Vienna, 1984), 30f.

83. Ibid., 31.

84. Adolf Loos, “Die Plumber” (1898) in idem, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 75.

85. Groenendijk and Vollard, *Adolf Loos: House for Josephine Baker*, 18. See also Gravagnuolo, *Adolf Loos*, 112.

86. Haiko, “Otto Wagners Interieurs,” 31. Haiko points out the toilet cover and the use of Forttee fabric to shroud the walls, floor, chairs, and even the heater.

87. Described by one scholar as “this transparent bowl of water” (quoted in Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity*, 265).

88. Haiko points out that the whole interior of the apartment, publicized in *Ver Sacrum* 3 (1900), suggests that he wanted to create a modern bachelor apartment rather than an apartment for his family and himself (Haiko, “Otto Wagners Interieurs,” 57, n. 76).

89. The idea of recovering youthful vitality through entering the fountain of youth is well rooted in German culture and celebrated in a masterpiece by Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Der Jungbrunnen* (*The Fountain of Youth*), 1546 (Gemaldgalerie, Kulturforum, Berlin-Tiergarten.) This romantic idea also served to promote the match between a reformed lifestyle and modern architecture. For example, Peter Behrens’s alcohol-free restaurant in Düsseldorf was called *Jungbrunnen* (1903–1904). Behrens’s design of this establishment was reviewed by major critics at the time (Stanford Anderson, *Peter Behrens and a New Architecture for the Twentieth Century* [Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2000], 326f).

90. See also Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity*, 265.

91. Loos, “Damenmode,” 660.