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**EXCAVATING ADOLF LOOS'S
CULTURAL CRITICISM**

BY

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ABSTRACT

Adolf Loos (1870-1933), architect and *Kulturkritiker*, was a key figure in discussions centring on the nature of modernity in Vienna at the turn of the century. In the last fifteen years, significant progress has been made in the field of Loos scholarship. However, the focus of much of this work has been illumination of Loos's architecture through the medium of architectural history, and Loos's textual works have therefore been interpreted selectively, resulting in an incomplete picture of his *oeuvre*. The emphasis on Loos as architect obscures other ways of seeing him, such as the theorist of modernity and the *Kulturkritiker*. This study aims to redress the balance by recognising the multiplicity of language-games of which Loos was a member. This full-length analysis of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, preceded only by Amanshauser (1985) and Roth (1995), is the first to appear in English and serves ^{to} present a 'new' perspective on Loos.

The first part of this thesis approaches Loos from the outside, establishing the method through which a 'new' perspective on his work can be achieved. The second part of this study uses this method to investigate the research object from the inside, through an examination of the cultural signifiers which circulate throughout Loos's textual *oeuvre*. The study concludes that in order to understand Loos's work, it is essential to distinguish between two distinct, yet interrelated moments of his thought. His texts are the vehicles through which he hoped to achieve his project of raising the level of culture in Austria to that of the Anglo-Saxon countries. However, they also contain a compelling analysis of the cultural forms of turn-of-the-century Vienna. Containing an awareness of the necessity of cultural homogeneity, Loos's ideas are those of the bourgeois critic of culture (Adorno, 1977). However, his texts simultaneously articulate a yearning for cultural heterogeneity and a recognition of the paradoxical nature of modernity and as such, represent a strand of proto-sociological thought.

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INTRODUCTION(S)

On 4 December 1930, a week before Adolf Loos's (1870-1933) sixtieth birthday, the following announcement appeared in the *Prager Tagblatt*:

Adolf Loos, den einmal kommende Geschlechter den großen Wohltäter der Menschheit seiner Zeit nennen werden [...] wird im Dezember 60 Jahre alt. [...] Wir rufen alle, die die Schönheit in der Ornamentlosigkeit erfühlen können und den großen sozialen Gedanken, der darin liegt, erfassen können, einen Baustein zur künftigen Loos-Schule beizutragen.
(Kraus et al, 1930) [1]¹

Of perhaps more significance than either the great deeds attributed to Loos, or the call to establish a Loos School of Architecture itself, are the signatories of this declaration: Karl Kraus, Arnold Schönberg, Heinrich Mann, Valéry Larband and James Joyce. The act of these well-known figures of the European avant-garde lending their names to this announcement amounts to a confirmation of the respect with which Loos was accorded on the modernist scene by 1930. It represents the culmination of a series of introductions to the European avant-garde, first in Vienna and then in Munich, Berlin, Prague and Paris, which Loos obtained for himself during his lifetime.

In 1893, at the age of 23, Adolf Loos secured an introduction to his father's relatives in Philadelphia (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.21) and on 2 July, set sail from Hamburg to New York aboard the SS *Wieland*, arriving in New York on 14 July (National Archives of the USA).² He spent the next three years in the USA, before returning to

¹Translations of long quotations can be found in appendix 3. These translations have been numbered consecutively throughout the thesis. Translation of shorter quotations appear in the text in square brackets. Where they are available, standard translations have been used. In particular, I am grateful to Mike Mitchell for making his translations of a selection of Loos's texts available to me before they were published. If not otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

²Loos travelled as a cabin passenger, his intended destination was given as Philadelphia and his occupation was 'merchant' (National Archives of the USA).

Vienna, via London. Little documentary evidence pertaining to Loos's sojourn in the USA has survived, and this is not the place for a detailed discussion of the few sources that are available. It is, however, the place to note that Loos used his visit to the USA to gain entry into Viennese cafe society. By 1897, he was already a member of Peter Altenberg's *Stammtisch* in the *Löwenbräu* (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.37), and Altenberg's letters to Kraus (Barker and Lensing 1995, p.231) indicate the emphasis that Loos laid on his experience of American culture in carving out a niche for himself in Viennese avant-garde society. At this time, Loos procured work with Karl Mayreder, a well-known Viennese architect, but also began writing for newspapers such as *Die Zeit*, *Die Wage* and the *Neue Freie Presse*. In the series of articles which he published in the *Neue Freie Presse* on the occasion of Kaiser Franz Josef's Jubilee Exhibition (1898), Loos justified his critique by arguing that his American experiences had allowed him to gain a new perspective on Austrian culture (Loos [1898] 1981, p.51).³

In 1898, Loos designed the interior of the Café Museum in Vienna which brought him to the attention of the art critics, Wilhelm Schölermann ([1898/99] 1985, pp.9-10) and Ludwig Hevesi ([1906] 1984, p.174). Both Schölermann and Hevesi emphasise the modernism of Loos's interior, but both also note that this is a modernism which is very different to that of the Secession. Thus, Loos's introduction to the Viennese avant-garde was contradictory; he was described as modern and yet not part of the Secession, his style was modern and yet also traditional (Schölermann [1898/99] 1985, p.9). These first articles were followed four years later by an entry in the *Deutsch-Österreichisches Künstler- und Schriftsteller Lexikon* (Kosel 1902, p.19). Thereafter, further articles on Loos appeared in Vienna; among them, sketches by Richard Schaukal (1908) in *Innendekoration*, by Peter Altenberg (1909), in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, and by

³Throughout this dissertation, references to Loos's texts include two dates. The first, in square brackets, is the date on which the essay was first published (or, in the case of a lecture, was first given). Bibliographical details can then be found in appendix 1 (essays) or appendix 2 (lectures). The second date refers to the location of the essay in the most recent edition of Loos's collected writings. Further discussion of the nature of these collections is included in chapter one.

Robert Scheu (1909), in Karl Kraus's *Fackel*. Moreover, as is made clear in a letter dated 31 October 1908, Kraus had asked Otto Stoessl to write an article for the *Fackel* which would 'emphasise Loos's importance' (Carr 1996, p.77).⁴ In 1910, these efforts to bring Loos to the public's attention became, to an extent, superfluous when he was commissioned to build a tailor's business premises opposite the *Hofburg* on the Michaelerplatz. His design was highly controversial, causing intense discussion in the press and catapulting him into the public spotlight (Czech and Mistelbauer 1984), thereby introducing him to a wider audience.

At this time, Loos was not only making a name for himself in Vienna, but was also becoming known in other European cities. In 1908, he gained an introduction to the avant-garde scene in Munich when he published a series of articles in the Munich-based journal, *März*. In the same issue in which Loos's first article appeared,⁵ the editors apparently felt it necessary to introduce Loos to their readership and published the following announcement:

Da Adolf Loos, der Wiener 'Architekt und Schriftsteller, Künstler und Denker', wie ihn Meier-Graefe nennt, nur einem kleinen Teil unserer Leser bekannt sein dürfte, erscheint eine Bemerkung über den Mann angebracht, damit unsere Leser nicht glauben, es handle sich um einen gewöhnlichen Krakeeler [...]. Wenn er sich jetzt entschließt, wieder zum Wort zu greifen, so verdient er gewiß gehört zu werden.
(*März* 1908, p.248) [2]

Two years later, Loos gained a similar introduction to the avant-garde scene in Berlin. On 3 March 1910, the same day on which he gave his first lecture in Berlin,⁶ Loos's

⁴In this letter to Kraus, Stoessl complains of the difficulty of writing an essay about Loos, especially as Loos had not made his texts available to Stoessl, despite continued requests that he should do so (Carr 1996, p.77). This would explain why Stoessl's published article on Loos did not appear until 1911, and focused on the *Haus am Michaelerplatz* (1910).

⁵Publication details for Loos's newspaper and journal articles are contained in appendix 1.

⁶'Ornament und Verbrechen' in Salon Cassirer, organised by Walden's *Verein für Kunst*. For further details and a list of Loos's lectures, see appendix 2.

([1900] 1981, pp.198-203) essay, 'Vom armen reichen Manne', was reprinted in the first issue of Herwarth Walden's journal, *Der Sturm*, followed by a note of introduction:

Wir führen mit diesem Beitrag den Berlinern einen neuen Mann vor. In seiner engeren Heimat, Wien, ist Adolf Loos wohl bekannt. Julius Meier-Graefe nennt ihn in seiner Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst einen Künstler und Architekten, Schriftsteller und Denker. Loos trat schon vor vierzehn Jahren, zu der Zeit als die moderne ornamentale Bewegung einsetzte, als ihr schärfster Gegner auf. Anfangs verspottet und verlacht haben aber die Wiener Kunstgewerbler bald seine Ideen zu den ihren gemacht.

(*Der Sturm* 1910, p.4) [3]

The similarity between this announcement and the one that had appeared two years previously in *März*, suggests that Loos himself was involved in formulating and possibly initiating these 'introductions' to new places. And indeed, from his correspondence with Walden, it becomes clear that Loos was aware of the importance of self-representation, if he were to be accepted in avant-garde circles. Thus, on 25 February 1910, Loos sent Walden 100 crowns to be used to advertise his lecture (*Sturm-Archiv*).

Furthermore, Loos's arrival on the avant-garde scene in Munich and Berlin was echoed elsewhere through lecture performances in Prague (1911) and the publication of 'Ornament und Verbrechen' in French (1913). In other words, before the outbreak of the First World War, Loos had secured for himself those introductions to the European avant-garde which would allow him later to be photographed by Man Ray (see fig. 1) and to give a series of lectures in the Sorbonne (1926), and which would allow Kraus, Schönberg, Mann, Larbaud and Joyce to call publicly for a Loos School of Architecture to be established in 1930.

However, Loos's concern for self-representation can be traced back further than his arrival on the Viennese avant-garde scene in 1896. Loos was born in Brünn (now Brno,



Man Ray
Paris

Fig. 1. Undated portrait of Loos by Man Ray.
(Rukschcio and Schachel 1982)

in the Czech Republic) on 10 July 1870. In 1889/90, after completing his schooling, he attended the technical university in Dresden, where he became a member of the *Architektenverein* (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, pp.17-18). The following year, Loos began a career in the military reserve and was accepted as a paying volunteer (*Einjährig-Freiwilliger*) by the 21st Infantry Battalion (p.18), completing his training and becoming an Officer of the Reserve in 1891.⁷ By the end of that year, he had been named Lieutenant of the Reserve – whereupon he had a uniform tailor-made and had himself photographed in it (pp.18-21) (see fig. 2). After a period spent in Vienna in 1891/2 (pp.19-20), Loos took up his studies again in Dresden, where he became a member of the *Burschenschaft Cherusia* (p.21). What does this sketch of Loos's early biography reveal in the context of his concern for self-representation? It outlines a classic case of a member of the bourgeoisie searching for the recognition of his personal honour (*Satisfaktion*) in order to be admitted to noble society (to become *gesellschaftsfähig*). In becoming a Lieutenant of the Reserve, Loos attained a certain level of social prestige,⁸ which he then consolidated by becoming a member of a duelling fraternity (*schlagende Verbindung*).⁹ Moreover, it is in the light of these attachments that Loos's later obsession with questions of etiquette, manners and the role of uniform becomes clear.

⁷In Austro-Hungary, all males were required to complete a period of national service. For those who had completed secondary schooling, it was possible to join the army voluntarily as an 'Einjährig-Freiwillige'. After a year's service, the volunteer would be transferred to the reserve army and also have the opportunity to sit the officer's exam (Basch-Ritter 1989).

⁸The social prestige granted to a Lieutenant of the Reserve is satirized in Schnitzler's *Liebelei* ([1894] 1960, p.111) in Mizi's dreamy and admiring reaction to seeing a photograph of a male protagonist in uniform.

⁹In *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, Elias (1992, pp.150-1) provides a detailed description of the search for 'Satisfaktion' and the chances of becoming accepted in the upper echelons of society, emphasising the importance of a career as an officer in the military, and of membership of *Verbindungen* such as student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*). Similarly, Inzenberg (1979, p.234) argues that one method for the bourgeoisie in Germany to gain in social prestige was through a military career.



Fig. 2. Portrait of Adolf Loos as Lieutenant of the Reserve.

Rukschcio and Schachel 1982.

A glance at Loos's biography suggests that his position as modernist and member of the European avant-garde is contradicted by his early experiences of securing introductions into noble society. Rather than representing a typical account of an avant-garde lifestyle, an investigation into the role of self-representation in Loos's life-story juxtaposes modernist elements with a traditional tale of upward mobility within a status society. However, existing accounts of Loos's life and work have often failed to pay attention to this paradoxical basis for his work, focusing on his self-proclaimed 'modernity' to the detriment of an investigation into his 'traditionalism'. The present study, entitled 'An Excavation of Adolf Loos's Cultural Criticism', represents an attempt to address this deficiency and to grasp the paradoxical nature of Loos's textual *oeuvre*. Its focus, as specified in the title, is on Loos's critique of culture contained in his essays and lectures.

In the last fifteen years, there has been a surge of interest in Adolf Loos, centring on the large Loos retrospectives held in the 1980s in Berlin (Worbs 1983a), London (Summerson 1985) and Vienna (Rukschcio 1989). However, the majority of recent studies are located in the field of architectural history, often focusing on Loos's role as a precursor and prophet of modern architecture. In such works, Loos's textual *oeuvre* is relegated to the status of auxiliary material, used either to illuminate his architecture, or to illuminate his life-story. These selective interpretations of Loos's textual *oeuvre* have resulted in an incomplete understanding of his work, since their emphasis on his architecture obscures other aspects of his work, such as his *Kulturkritik*. In comparison, there have been as yet only two full-length studies of Loos's textual *oeuvre*: by Hildegard Amanshauser (1985) and Fedor Roth (1995). The present study aims to redress this balance by presenting and investigating aspects of Loos's critique of culture contained in his essays and lectures. In attempting to remedy the lack of research into Loos's textual *oeuvre*, the balance is knowingly tipped in the opposite direction; Loos's architecture is bracketed out in order to enable this study to focus on other aspects of his work. Thus, this dissertation does not pretend to provide a comprehensive analysis of

Loos's life and work. Instead, by concentrating on one hitherto under-researched aspect of his work, it seeks to extend our understanding of Adolf Loos and his role in the context of the struggle to define the nature of modernity in Vienna at the turn of the century. In focusing on Loos's textual *oeuvre*, this dissertation lays the groundwork for a detailed examination of the interaction between Loos's texts and his architecture, but does not attempt to carry out such an analysis.

In her examination of architecture as mass media, Colomina (1994, p.1) suggests that existing studies of Loos are necessarily 'about [...] gaps, often being obsessed with them'. Similarly, this dissertation goes in search of the gaps in existing analyses of Loos's textual *oeuvre*. The gaps which it seeks to fill include: first, a critical investigation into the nature of the Loos-*Nachlaß*; second, an analysis of the form that Loos's *Kulturkritik* assumed, focusing on the differences and the similarities between the essay form and the lecture form; and third, a detailed examination of the content of Loos's *Kulturkritik*, identifying the cultural signifiers which circulate throughout his textual *oeuvre*. Loos's texts and lectures are located at the centre of this investigation, forming the main source of primary material. In order to contextualise his critique of culture, this source has been supplemented by correspondence, contemporary newspaper and journal articles and to a lesser extent, literary accounts of life in Vienna at the turn of the century. In focusing on the interior of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, it is not possible to address in any detail the reception of his work during his lifetime nor attempt to trace differences in reception over the long and chequered historical period with which this study is concerned (1896-1933). However, this detailed exploration of the content of Loos's critique of culture will allow us to critically evaluate his 'modernity', thereby shedding new light on the nature of modernity in Vienna at the turn of the century.

The method employed in this examination of Loos's *Kulturkritik* is derived from Walter Benjamin (1982) and Siegfried Kracauer (1969). It centres on processes of investigation and excavation, casting the researcher in the role of the detective. This

method allows the layers of myth and illusion surrounding the figure and work of Loos (Schachel 1989, p.15) to be stripped away revealing a 'new' Loos. The advantages of an archaeological method are two-fold; first, it allows the research object (in this case Loos's essays and lectures) to be embedded in its original context and second, it necessitates a critical investigation of the 'layers of rubble' which have to be sifted through in order to arrive at the original location (in this case, leading to an analysis of the reception of Loos's textual *oeuvre*). The first chapter describes this archaeological method in detail before turning to an examination of existing accounts of Loos's writings. Since these accounts fail to adequately address the complex nature of the history of the Loos papers, the final part of the first chapter contains an investigation into the struggles for ownership of his *Nachlaß*, critically evaluating the consequences of these disputes for Loos scholarship. While there are problems of access to the Loos papers, there have been significant new publications in recent years which cast new light on Loos's textual *oeuvre*, such as Rukschcio and Schachel's (1982) comprehensive study, collections of Loos's writings (Loos 1983; Opel 1985; Opel 1988; Opel 1996), the Altenberg/Kraus correspondence (Barker and Lensing 1995), or the Kraus/Stoessl correspondence (Carr 1996).

The investigation into the nature of the primary source material is extended in the second chapter. Under the headings of 'architextuality' (Genette 1992) and 'paratextuality' (Genette 1997), the form and locations of Loos's texts are investigated. Since his texts were originally either published as newspaper or journal articles, or given as lectures, the first part of this chapter involves an exploration of the essay form and the lecture form. It outlines the similarities between these forms before delineating the difference between them. The theoretical analysis contained in this section is underpinned with examples from Loos's essays and lectures. The second half of chapter two turns to an investigation into the 'paratextual' features of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, exploring in turn the location of Loos's texts in contemporary publications, the role of illustrations and the significance of titles. An investigation into the significance of *Das*

Andere, the title of Loos's short-lived journal published in 1903, provides the point of departure for the analysis of the content of Loos's textual *oeuvre* with which the remainder of this study is concerned.

While the first two chapters approach the research object from the outside, examining its form, location, genesis and reception, the second part of the study shifts the focus to the interior. In other words, the investigation into the content of Loos's textual *oeuvre* proceeds from his texts themselves, tracing correspondences to contemporary events and theories. Chapter three commences the analysis of the cultural signifiers circulating through Loos's texts by focusing on the role of The Other, whose importance was suggested in the title of Loos's journal, *Das Andere*. Investigating the multitude of national cultural signifiers that are encountered in Loos's texts, this chapter reveals the role of national cultural mythologies in describing difference, in the context of the visible cultural difference found in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and particular, in the city of Vienna itself. Concluding that Vienna was a city horizontally stratified along ethnic lines, chapter three paves the way for the investigation into social difference in Loos's Vienna which forms the central focus of the fourth chapter. This exploration into the role of vertical stratification in Loos's textual *oeuvre* proves to be of paramount importance for a critical investigation of the self-proclaimed 'modernity' of Loos's ideas, since it is in the context of his critique of social difference in Vienna that two opposing tendencies in Loos's thought reveal themselves, embodied in the figure of the English Gentleman. The contradiction between an elitist and a democratic model of consumption associated with the figure of the English Gentleman illustrates the tension between the ideal of cultural homogeneity and the yearning for a sense of distinction (*Vornehmheit*) that underlies Loos's critique of culture. This tension expresses itself in a dialectic of display and disguise which is articulated most clearly in Loos's work on fashion.

Therefore, the fifth chapter contains an investigation into the role of fashion in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, pointing to the similarities between the dialectic of display and difference articulated in his texts and Georg Simmel's diagnosis of fashion. According to Simmel, fashion expresses the interplay of the dual impetus towards equalisation and individualisation which characterises modernity. Focusing on representative clothing, women's fashion and men's fashion, this chapter explores the way in which fashion, in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, articulates the complexities of modernity. The final chapter, drawing on Loos's comment that there are 'striking similarities' between peoples' exteriors, in the form of dress, and the exterior of buildings, turns to an investigation into Loos's Vienna. It focuses on the interior of the city, following Loos on his strolls through its exhibition sites, museums, places of entertainment and city centre. It concludes by demonstrating that Loos's ideal of Viennese aristocratic urbanity is destroyed in the 1920s as the space of the city centre is threatened and invaded by the inhabitants of the suburbs. Introducing a temporal dimension which is bracketed out in the previous chapters, the final chapter locates the paradoxical juxtaposition of homogeneity and difference that lies at the root of Loos's textual *oeuvre* in his Vienna.

Throughout this study, correspondences are drawn between Loos's *Kulturkritik* and the sociology of Georg Simmel, Walter Benjamin and, to a lesser extent, Siegfried Kracauer. What are the justifications for the inclusion of this material? In addition to the general connection which can be established between *Kulturkritik* and sociology in Germany at the turn of the century (Hübinger 1994), there are also specific links between Loos and Simmel, and Loos and Benjamin. Both Loos and Simmel published in the Viennese weekly paper, *Die Zeit*, in the late 1890s, and both later gave lectures in the *Verein für Kunst* in Berlin. Moreover, as illustrated in a note from Loos to Herwarth Walden (*Sturm-Archiv*), Loos was aware of Simmel's work. Although parallels between Loos and Simmel have been noted in studies on Loos (see, for example, Müller 1977; McLeod 1994; Colomina 1994), they have not yet been explored in detail. In the course of the present study, these parallels are investigated closely, drawing attention to

the often striking correspondences, in both content and form, between Loos's *Kulturkritik* and Simmel's sociology. Meanwhile, around 1930, Benjamin's (1977, p.336; p.366; pp.1111-13) interest in Karl Kraus introduced him to Loos's work. His interest in Loos's work is compounded by the similarities in form and content between Loos's *Kulturkritik* and both his own texts and those of Kracauer, which centre on the use of *flânerie*, the context of the feuilleton and a concern with the everyday world.

This analysis of the form and content of Loos's *Kulturkritik*, drawing attention to its correspondences with a strand of German sociology and focusing on the sense of paradox which structures his thought, allows a new image of Loos to be introduced. Rather than reject the relevance of Loos's thought because of its paradoxical nature (Amanshauser 1985, p.209), or attempt to smooth out the paradoxes which underlie Loos's textual *oeuvre* (Roth 1995, pp.10-12), this study introduces a 'new' Loos, simultaneously 'modern' and 'traditional', whose sense of paradox identifies him as a sensitive barometer of the tensions characteristic of Viennese modernity. The disparity between the prescriptive and one-dimensional character of Loos's self-proclaimed modernity and the ambivalent experience of the contradictory nature of the new articulated in his texts represents a central theme in this study.

PART ONE

APPROACHING LOOS
FROM THE OUTSIDE

CHAPTER ONE

INVESTIGATING AND EXCAVATING

Der historische Materialist muß das epische Element der Geschichte preisgeben. Sie wird ihm Gegenstand einer Konstruktion, deren Ort nicht die leere Zeit, sondern die bestimmte Epoche, das bestimmte Leben, das bestimmte Werk bildet. Er sprengt die Epoche aus der dinghaften 'geschichtlichen Kontinuität' heraus, so auch das Leben aus der Epoche, so das Werk aus dem Lebenswerk. Doch der Ertrag dieser Konstruktion ist der, daß *im* Werke das Lebenswerk, *im* Lebenswerk die Epoche und *in* der Epoche der Geschichtsverlauf aufbewahrt ist und aufgehoben.

(Benjamin 1977, p.468) [4]

Schichtweise ist nach Rodung des Wildwuchses der Schutt abzutragen, welcher die Fundamente und Spuren Looschen Schaffens, Denkens und Fühlens überlagert hat.

(Schachel 1989, p.15) [5]

In the context of a discussion of problems of myth-creation and misinterpretation in Loos scholarship, Roland Schachel (1989) suggests that research into Loos's work should proceed in an archaeological fashion and indeed, this represents the method, following Walter Benjamin, which has been adopted in this study of Adolf Loos. A critical realist archaeological process involves three major steps: deconstruction, assemblage and reconstruction. The process of deconstruction is basically one of 'disenchantment', stripping away the layers of illusion. Benjamin's goal, which he shares with Marx, is to destroy existing perceptions and experiences, laying bare new layers of reality and thereby unlocking the door to a new understanding of modernity (Frisby 1985, pp.209-10). The second stage in this critical realist method is that of collection. In collecting the 'trivia of history' the Benjaminian figure of the Ragpicker (*Lumpensammler*) illustrates a process of tracing clues in the search for correspondences, informed by a belief in the possibility of regaining that which has

already been lost and forgotten (p.227). Finally, it is part of the task of the figure of the Collector (embodied for Benjamin (1977, pp.465-505) by Eduard Fuchs) to undertake a process of reconstruction, placing 'redeemed' elements of past culture into new constellations and so revealing new perspectives (Frisby 1985, p.227).¹ Having outlined briefly the salient elements of an archaeological method, we will now turn to consider its implications for the present study of Adolf Loos's cultural criticism.

Deconstruction

Das Spüren. Mit fast nichts fangen wir an. Das treibt uns, will mehr spüren.
Sieht sich danach um, tastet und greift. Doch das Empfinden schwebt noch
zwischen außen und innen, das Empfundene ist nicht dicht. Bleibt vag und
lose, zieht hin wie geträumt. Das alles kommt nur erst ineinander vor.
(Bloch 1972, p.21) [6]

The process of deconstruction involves both excavation and investigation. The method reflects that of the detective and entails following clues through the labyrinth of remembrance that is the archive. Likening the methods of the historian to those of the detective, Robin Winks (1969) points to the excitement of the search through the

¹The ontological position adopted in this dissertation is informed by a realist paradigm (Keat and Urry 1982) which is a necessary step to using a Benjaminian archaeological method. The foundation of a realist ontology is the belief that phenomenal forms can be explained by a set of essential relations. It is assumed that the world is an open system, and therefore no single causal source can be isolated; instead, a multiplicity of causal mechanisms is posited and research aims to show the necessity (the manner in which they are constrained by laws to work in a certain way) of causal relationships, as opposed to their regularity (Outhwaite 1990). Realism, then, rejects the claim of other ontologies, that causal mechanisms must be universal. A realist conception of theory has to take into account that social facts are ontologically dependent on human actions and on humans' conception of their actions. The theories which are generated are, then, concerned with the understanding of a form of life but reject methodological individualism in favour of intersubjective understanding. Unlike other paradigms, there is no single method associated with the realist position. Rather, C. Wright Mills's (1959) maxim that the method used should be appropriate to the nature of the object under examination applies. Within the overall framework of a Benjaminian process of historical materialism, this study will also use a semiological approach to explore the internal meaning of Loos's texts.

archive informed by the hope that discovery lies in the next folio, but also draws attention to the fact that initially, all fragments of evidence are potentially of interest; much 'trivia' stands between the historian and the 'answer'. Continuing with the detective analogy, Winks insists that in order to prove that a trail is false, it must be followed. Winks' remarks find resonance in Benjamin's (1972b) essay 'Ausgraben und Erinnern', in which two complementary methods of excavation are described. It is necessary, argues Benjamin (p.400), not only to excavate according to a plan, but also to make use of 'der behutsame, tastende Spatenstich in's dunkle Erdreich'. In other words, the researcher should be prepared to find things not specifically sought, by following traces which reveal themselves in the course of an investigation. This means, to use Siegfried Kracauer's (1969) terminology, that 'active passivity' must be cultivated; the researcher

must venture on the diverse routes suggested to him by his discourse with the evidence, let himself drift along, and take in, with all his senses strained, the various messages that happen to reach him. Thus he will more likely than not hit upon unexpected facts and contexts some of which perhaps turn out to be incompatible with his original assumptions. (pp.84-5)

And indeed, this is the method adopted in the course of the research carried out for this study which involved following traces and clues in archives and libraries located not only in Vienna, but also in Graz, Berlin, Marbach, Tübingen, Prague, Brno, New York, Philadelphia and Chicago.

The figure of the detective, then, suggests an openness to new avenues of enquiry. However, it also posits a critical perspective, for the detective does not believe everything which is seen or heard, but is prepared to search behind the surface appearance (Sanders 1974). Thus, this type of research focuses on 'the "genuine" hidden in the interstices between dogmatized beliefs of the world, thus establishing a tradition of lost causes; giving names to the hitherto unnamed' (Kracauer 1969, p.219). The discovery of that which is hidden in the interstices of modernity is the task of the

archaeologist, who is responsible for excavating the labyrinth, so that traces and signs of another reality can be recalled and redeemed, exposing hidden impressions to daylight. In the bounds of the present study, the process of excavation of Loos's cultural criticism exposes both a new perspective on Loos, and a new perspective on the topography of the ideological landscape in which he has been embedded. In revealing a 'new' Loos, it is important to focus on those aspects of his thought and criticism which have been repressed, flattened and hidden because they do not fit into the model of explanation of 'fin-de-siècle Vienna' at the level of macro-history.

Collection

Das Finden. Wir fangen an uns selber vag an. Nur als suchend, meinend beginnen wir zu sein. Das Suchen setzt mit sich ein, es hat noch nichts anderes. Doch allem, was es findet und emp-findet, geht sein Aufmerksam voraus. Der Suchende findet sich als einer, der immer schon ist, das Gefundene erscheint als ein auftretendes äußeres Da. Dies Äußere verschwindet, kehrt wieder, fließt oder steht. Das alles kommt noch durcheinander vor, hier muß gewählt oder bezogen werden.

(Bloch 1972, p.24) [7]

The mode of procedure adopted in this study is characterised not only by processes of excavation, but also of collection. According to Kracauer (1969, p.80), the process of collection requires the researcher to travel in order to find the objects he or she seeks. In this phase of collection, the historian needs to be immersed in the texts and remains with that on which he is working, journeying to the past and disregarding macro-assumptions. Indeed Kracauer, in what amounts to an early analysis of the intercultural research methods now in vogue, has likened the historian to the tourist who finally perceives the sights he has set out to see (p.80). Distinguishing between sight and perception, Kracauer's analysis becomes more subtle as he recognises that 'the job of sightseeing requires a mobile self' in order to 'penetrate the fog' initially veiling the sights (p.81). In other words, unless the historian is prepared to change his perspective

through interaction with the research object, his pre-conceived ideas will cloud his sight. In effect, this means that the historian must become a 'stranger', for

it is only in this state of self-effacement, or homelessness, that the historian can commune with the material of his concern. [...] A stranger to the world evoked by the sources, he is faced with the task – the exile's task – of penetrating its outward appearances, so that he may learn to understand that world from within. (p.84)

This stranger can be seen in the Benjaminian figure of the *flâneur*; the alienated person, lingering and gazing, while seeking a way through the labyrinths of the crowd and the metropolis, which is no longer 'home' (Benjamin 1982, p.437). And at this point, a theme of this study can be anticipated; this dissertation argues that the research object, Loos, himself adopts the mantle of the intercultural researcher, becoming a stranger to his own culture in order to comment upon it.

The process of collection insists on the need to search for the most insignificant of facts, to be sure that nothing should go lost. Indeed, the material to be collected by the critical realist is described by Benjamin (Frisby 1985, p.227) as the 'refuse of history', which belongs to the *Alltag*, to the 'lower sphere' of the world (to use Kracauer's (1969) distinction).² Thus, Benjamin's description of the process of collection, centring on the figure of the Ragpicker, underlines historical materialism's intimate relationship to everyday methods at play in social life itself,³ thereby anticipating the content of this

²Kracauer (1969, pp.203-6) distinguishes between an 'upper sphere' of philosophical abstraction, and a 'lower sphere' which is the location of the phenomenological concept of the *Lebenswelt*. Thus, he argues that history is 'a distinctly empirical science which explores and interprets given historical reality in exactly the same manner as the photographic media render and penetrate the physical world about us. History is much closer to the practically endless, fortuitous, and indeterminate *Lebenswelt* [...] than philosophy' (Kracauer, 1969, p.194).

³A realist ontology assumes, following Simmel, that the theoretical constructs of the social sciences can be regarded as second-order constructs built on methods at play in social life itself (Outhwaite 1990). This means that social science concepts are theoretical at two levels - both at the level of scientific practice, and at the level of the social actor's own theory of what he is doing. This dissertation operates

study, since the object of Loos's criticism is everyday life in Vienna. Indeed his position is neatly summarised in the memoirs of Claire Loos, his third wife, who recollected that on the subject of reading newspapers 'er [Loos] sagt, "Annoncen zu studieren ist ebenso wichtig, wie politische Nachrichten zu lesen. An ihnen erkennt man Bedarf und Überfluß eines Landes'" (Claire Loos 1985, p.141). Furthermore, Loos's concern with the sphere of everyday life is also underlined by a cursory glance at the titles of his textual work, which include 'Damenmode', 'Herrenhüte', 'Plumbers' and others.

In Benjamin's analysis, collection is a form of practical remembrance which involves recalling the individual fragments and traces of a culture which can no longer be immediately recalled (Benjamin 1982, p.271). In the context of this study, the process of remembrance does not only illuminate Loos's textual *oeuvre*, but also 'fin-de-siècle Vienna' itself. In other words, excavating Loos's cultural criticism will simultaneously shed new light on the conclusions of studies of Vienna at the turn of the century.⁴

on both levels, by exploring the articulation of modernity in Loos's texts, and also providing an account of his explanations in terms of metatheory.

⁴Since the publication of works such as *The Austrian Mind* (Johnston 1972), *Wittgenstein's Vienna* (Janik and Toulmin 1973), *Dionysian Art and Populist Politics* (McGrath 1974) and *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (Schorske 1981) which set out to explore cultural production in Vienna in context, there have been numerous studies and collections dealing with this period: for example, Waissenberger 1984, Francis 1985, Berner, Brix and Mantl 1986, Ehalt, Heiss and Stekl 1986, Timms 1986, Beller 1989, Brix and Janik 1993, Le Rider 1993, Nautz and Vahrenkamp 1993. Most focus on 'high culture' and the 'intellectual milieu', neglecting to examine the contradictions and conflicts of Vienna as a spatial location. However, there have been attempts to revise this view (for example, Ehalt, Heiss and Stekl 1986, Nautz and Vahrenkamp 1993). For a review of literature published in the 1980s on 'Fin-de-siècle Vienna' see Steinberg 1991.

Reconstruction

Montage holt sich das Ihre aus manchem Stegreif, der früher beliebig gewesen wäre, aus mancher betonten Unterbrechung, die früher nur unbetonte Störung geblieben wäre; sie holt eingreifende Mittel aus 29 verachteten oder verdächtigen Formen und aus Formen ehemals zweiter Hand. Aus den Trümmer-Bedeutungen zerfallender Großwerke dazu und aus dem Dickicht eines nicht mehr glatt arrangierten Materials.

(Bloch 1969, p.227). [8]

Collection, the middle element in this process of historical materialism, involves processes of both destruction and reconstruction. The destructive part of this process is characterised by ripping objects from their present context, thereby exposing the false context of a work as a function of its layers of reception, rather than as an inherent feature of the work itself. However, the task of collection is also reconstructive since it involves placing these objects in new constellations, making past elements contemporaneous by locating them in the space of the present (Benjamin 1982, p.273).⁵ This dual nature of collection, which contains both a negative and a positive moment (Frisby 1985, p.227), is signified by the figure of the Detective in Bloch's (1965, p.261) analysis of the detective novel, whose work is described as involving both processes of excavation ('forschend Aufdeckendes') and also of reconstruction ('forschend Heraufbildendes'). For the critical realist, history is regarded in terms of its relevance to the present, rather than merely as a narrative of the past. To paraphrase Kracauer's (1969, p.203) description of the historian, this process of reconstruction, or 'montage', involves the researcher returning to the 'upper sphere' putting his findings to good use.⁶

⁵In a comparison of Marx's and Nietzsche's view of the Collector as hoarder, Asendorf (1984, p.38) points out the double meaning of the verb 'to save', which first, means hoarding and saving, but second, also means 'saving in the sense of salvation.'

⁶However, it should be noted that in his conclusion Kracauer (1969, p.216) rejects a vertical hierarchy between the upper and lower spheres in favour of a model which places them side-by-side. This then allows him to describe history as an 'ante-room' situated between the *Lebenswelt* and the sphere of philosophical abstraction and extending into both.

The completion of the historian's journey lies in the assemblage of the collected material in new constellations, in order to illuminate and interpret both the past and the present. Yet this act of reassemblage and interpretation must include reflection on the processes of excavation and remembrance undertaken:

Und der betrügt sich selber um das Beste, der nur das Inventar der Funde macht und nicht im heutigen Boden Ort und Stelle bezeichnen kann, an denen er das Alte aufbewahrt. So müssen wahrhafte Erinnerungen viel weniger berichtend verfahren als genau den Ort bezeichnen, an dem der Forscher ihrer habhaft wurde. Im strengsten Sinne episch und rhapsodisch muß daher wirkliche Erinnerung ein Bild zugleich von dem der sich erinnert geben, wie ein guter archäologischer Bericht nicht nur die Schichten angeben muß, aus denen seine Fundobjekte stammen, sondern jene andern vor allen, welche vorher zu durchstoßen waren.

(Benjamin 1972b, pp.400-1) [9]

Reconstruction and interpretation, then, results in a reappraisal of text and context. Kracauer (1969, p.121) has described this process as the 'interpenetration' of micro-history and macro-history. In an analogy with film, he maintains that 'the big must be looked at from different distances to be understood; its analysis and interpretation involve a constant movement between levels of generality' (p.122). Within the bounds of this analogy, 'micro-history' – interpretative small-scale history – is likened to the 'close-up' which explores material to the full and results from the author's desire to supplement or invalidate notions and explanations which have been unquestioningly accepted by macro-historians. Thus, this 'close-up' study of Adolf Loos inevitably involves a reappraisal of 'fin-de-siècle Vienna'. Simultaneously, it represents an attempt to collect and assemble materials relating to Loos in an interdisciplinary space, rather than in the space of architectural history, which is where Loos has most often been sited. It is partly through changing the location of the collection that a new perspective on Loos's textual *oeuvre* is made possible.

Collection as assemblage is, as Benjamin (1982) maintains, inextricably linked to the ownership of property, since it is ownership that allows objects to be physically present rather than merely being imagined in their own space. The advantage of this method is that it removes the necessity for mediated construction from the larger context. And yet, when discussing 'ownership', Benjamin distinguishes between the 'true collector' (*der wahre Sammler*) and the 'profane owner' (*der profane Besitzer*).⁷ This distinction revolves around the process of seeing; the 'true collector' sees more than, and differently from, the 'profane owner':

Man muß nämlich wissen: dem Sammler ist in jedem seiner Gegenstände die Welt präsent und zwar geordnet. Geordnet aber nach einem überraschenden, ja dem Profanen unverständlichen Zusammenhange.]
(Benjamin 1982, p.274) [10]

Indeed, the difference between the 'true collector's' way of seeing and that of the 'profane owner' may be described in terms of Kracauer's distinction between sight and perception delineated earlier. This is a distinction which should be borne in mind in the discussion of the history of Loos's textual *oeuvre* and the nature of the Loos archive which forms the last section of this chapter. The tense relationship between the 'profane owner' and the researcher, which is necessarily mediated by money and defined by the commodification and reification of historical documents, plays a central role in this discussion.

The framework around which this study has been constructed is characterised by processes of deconstruction, collection and reconstruction. A deconstruction of the Loos narrative and of the secondary literature will be followed by an assemblage of the fragments of his letters, writings and lectures, and will include reflection on primary sources and the nature of archival research. Only then can we proceed to a process of reconstruction, using a semiological analysis to interpret Loos's textual *oeuvre* in the

⁷The 'profane owner' might be likened to Marx's definition of the miser as the 'capitalist gone mad' whose relationship to his treasure is 'an entirely furtive private relationship' (cited in Asendorf 1984, p.37).

light of the new constellations which have been unearthed. Throughout this dissertation, an awareness of the interaction of these three methodological aspects will be of importance. In other words, this study recognises the importance of the circularity of excavation, collection and reconstruction, which Kracauer (1969, p.138) highlights in his insistence on the significance of the new fragment that changes the perspective of the object under investigation, thereby exposing the illusory nature of the belief in the progress of historiography. The next section, then, turns to a deconstruction of the secondary sources on Loos. It is followed by a discussion of the primary sources. Thus, the remainder of this chapter involves approaching Loos from the outside, sifting through the layers of interpretation and re-interpretation which cover Loos's life and work.

SIFTING THROUGH THE LAYERS OF SECONDARY LITERATURE

Although Beatriz Colomina (1990, p.15) has argued that Loos is better known for his writings than for his architecture, existing studies have largely failed to adequately investigate Loos's textual *oeuvre*. Highlighting this lack of research into Loos's textual *oeuvre*, Schachel (1989, p.15) has commented that it is difficult to understand why there has not yet been any attempt to provide a critical edition of Loos's texts. Reiterating this view, Susanne Eckel (1995) has criticised the lack of a sustained analysis of Loos's textual corpus and argued, in contradiction to Colomina, that Loos's literary work has been hitherto largely overlooked, in comparison to the attention which his architectural *oeuvre* has received. An examination of the role that Loos's textual *oeuvre* has been assigned in existing studies reveals that although his texts have not been ignored by scholarship, they have been mainly regarded either as source material from which the narrative of Loos's life can be reconstructed, or as an aid to understanding and illuminating his architectural work. Correspondingly, Loos's texts have not been seen as

a corpus of work worthy of investigation in its own right. Reflecting on the reception of Loos's texts reveals areas of interest identified, but not yet adequately addressed in existing studies, as well as gaps in our knowledge of Loos, thereby providing pointers for the direction in which this investigation of Loos's textual *oeuvre* should proceed.

Narrating Adolf Loos

There are three major German-language monographs on Loos: Kulka 1931, Münz and Künstler 1964, and Rukschcio and Schachel 1982; 1987. Additionally, in the last fifteen years, a number of other life-and-work volumes on Loos have been published in English and in German, including Gravagnuolo 1982,⁸ Tournikiotis 1994, and Lustenberger 1994. All these works, including Kulka 1931 which was written during Loos's lifetime, quote extensively from Loos's writings in order to substantiate their accounts of his life. The most comprehensive of these monographs is *Adolf Loos. Leben und Werk* (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, 1987) which is impressive precisely because of its scope.⁹ The first part, comprising Loos's life, provides a chronological overview of Loos's life giving a detailed description of events, sometimes on a daily basis, and providing the context for part two, which contains a catalogue of Loos's architectural work. Employing Loos's writings, the material contained in the Adolf Loos Archive (ALA),¹⁰ memoirs and other published works, and the contents of three private collections as source material, this monograph is certainly an essential reference book for any exploration of Loos's *oeuvre* and yet, as its authors recognise, it does not represent a closed work providing the last word on Loos's life. Indeed, since the work was published, new information has come to light which casts doubt on the validity of

⁸The legitimacy of this volume is questionable, since it apparently quotes large sections from Burkhardt Rukschcio's dissertation on Loos, without, however, acknowledging the source (Weingraber 1987, p.11).

⁹Indeed, Colomina (1994, p.3) has suggested that this book is the Adolf Loos Archive in its present form.

¹⁰The Adolf Loos Archive is held in the *Graphische Sammlung der Albertina* in Vienna.

some of the sources used.¹¹ Moreover, the self-reflexivity which, the authors claim, characterises their use of primary materials (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.7) is largely missing in their utilisation of Loos's texts as autobiographical documents.¹² In regarding these texts as autobiographical source material, they fail to adequately address problems posed by the literary nature of Loos's writings.

Texts and Architecture

While Rukschcio and Schachel (1982) mainly employ Loos's writings to reconstruct his life-story and so to provide the background to a discussion of his architectural work, other studies have used his textual *oeuvre* more directly to shed light on his architecture. Thus, Dietrich Worbs (1982a) has argued that interpretations of Loos's architecture should take into account the interaction between his architectonic and textual work, pointing out that Loos's lectures and essays provided the most important media through which he could disseminate his architectural ideas. A historical overview of existing interpretations of Loos' architecture with reference to his writings reveals a picture changing over time; in the 1960s, Loos was interpreted as pioneer of the modern movement, in the 1970s, the sensuality of his architecture was highlighted, while in the 1980s, it was the classical nature of his architecture that was underlined (Colomina 1990). Since the mid-1980s, in the wake of new publications such as Rukschcio and Schachel 1982 and Gravagnuolo 1982, there has been an increased interest in Loos's architecture mediated through his writings, appearing mainly in architectural

¹¹At the insistence of Adolf Opel, who prepared a list of errors in the 1982 edition, a second edition of *Adolf Loos. Leben und Werk* was published in 1987, which corrected many of the inaccuracies in the first edition (see Weingraber 1987, p.11). Nevertheless, this study, for pragmatic reasons, refers to the 1982 edition.

Schachel (1989) discusses the problems associated with the apparent fictionality of Kokoschka's autobiography which had been used as a source of biographical detail.

¹²Large sections of Rukschcio and Schachel's account of Loos's life are made up of a montage of quotations from his textual *oeuvre*. The section dealing with Loos's 'Wanderjahre' in America provides an illustration of this point (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, pp.21-33).

publications. Much of this recent research has focused on three main areas of interest: interculturality, fashion and architecture, and the relationship between the interior and the exterior.

Investigations of intercultural influences on Loos's architecture and the role of evolutionary cultural theory in Loos's texts and architecture tend to focus on his well-known essay and lecture, 'Ornament und Verbrechen' ([1910] 1982a, pp.78-88). In the discussion surrounding this text, the debate is structured by two poles which are represented on the one hand, by Loos's rejection of the ornamentation he associates with 'primitive' cultures, and on the other, by his affirmation of 'modern' American and Anglo-Saxon cultures, characterised by a lack of ornamentation.¹³ The discussion of 'Loos's primitivism' (Berry 1987) in the context of his architectural theory focuses on its function as a polemic illustration of architecture which, according to Loos, is not modern. In an attempt to trace possible sources for Loos's view of 'primitive' cultures, Jules Lubbock (1983) has suggested Herbert Spencer's ([1877] 1896) social evolutionary cultural theory, and Cesare Lombroso's ([1887] 1896) work on criminology. Diametrically opposed to the ornamentation of the 'primitive' in Loos's writings is the modern, symbolised by American or Anglo-Saxon culture. Various studies of Loos's texts and architecture have, therefore, attempted to explain Loos's modernism by tracing the influence of American architecture on Loos (Rukschcio and Schachel, 1982; Sekler 1989). Others, following Loos's comments on the primacy of English culture, look to the England as a source for Loos's architecture (Sekler 1983; Spalt 1985). These articles draw both on Loos's writings and on a reconstruction of his experiences of America and England. However, Mitchell Schwarzer (1995) has undermined this approach by demonstrating that the emphasis on America and England

¹³However, recent architectural debate has shown that in Loos's work, a simple dichotomy between ornament and lack of ornament does not map neatly onto the distinction between the non-modern and the modern (see for example Mallgrave 1987; Masiero 1990; Schachel 1994).

in Loos's writings is mirrored in much of the German architectural discourse at the turn of the century.

A further, but related, line of investigation is concerned with the role of antiquity in Loos's work. This aspect is dealt with in a number of studies (for example, Steiner 1985), often exploring it in conjunction with the dichotomy contained in Loos's texts between the 'primitive' and the 'modern' (Schachel 1970; Vidler 1982; Wiseman 1982; Vergo 1983; Maley 1990). Worbs (1984) connects Loos's use of both the modern and the classical traditions to a division between the interior and exterior, arguing that the use of American ideas in the interior allowed Loos to continue his struggle against the Secessionists, while the use of the classical in the exterior linked his work to the traditions of the early 19th century. But while Schachel (1970) concludes that Loos's America has more to do with classicism than modernism, Worbs (1984, p.78) argues that Loos eventually came to emancipate himself both from the influence of classicism and from American 'domestic revival' architecture, instead, realising his own modern language. In seeking to explain intercultural influence on Loos's architecture, these interpretations of Loos's architecture and his texts have attempted to analyse his use of cultural markers in his texts. However, a comprehensive analysis of the multiplicity of cultural signifiers that Loos uses in his textual *oeuvre* has not yet been achieved. Hence, this represents one direction in which the present study proceeds.

Lubbock (1983) explores the connections between architecture and fashion in Loos's texts and architecture. His article suggests that the figure of the Dandy embodies an important source for Loos's architectural theory and furthermore, argues that it was Loos who introduced the style of dress of the Dandy into the mainstream of 20th century architecture and design. These ideas have since been expanded upon by Harry Mallgrave (1987), Mary McLeod (1994) and Mark Wigley (1994; 1995) who, taking Gottfried Semper's influence on Loos as a point of departure, have explored the

conception of architecture as a form of clothing.¹⁴ Both McLeod and Wigley argue that Loos's writings contain a critique of fashion, and a corresponding affirmation of evolutionary changes of style. Moreover, both link this insight to the gendered view of fashion contained in Loos's critique of ornament. Wigley suggests that although fashion should be conceived as part of the prehistory of modern architecture (an insight which he accredits to Loos), architecture, an essentially masculine pursuit, has denied this relationship to fashion. However, through focusing on the relationship of fashion to architecture and Loos's role in 'unsecuring the line' between architecture and fashion, a more complex position is reached (p.302). The significance of McLeod's analysis lies in her recognition of the analysis of modernity which is to be found in Loos's writings along with his contribution to architectural theory. Thus, having established that fashion, and in particular, men's fashion, has played an important role in the development of modern architecture, she identifies the powerful bond between fashion and modernity contained in Loos's texts. This allows her to link Loos's thought on fashion to Georg Simmel's sociological writings, in which fashion is depicted as a mask (p.64).¹⁵ Colomina (1994, p.35) has also begun to explore the correspondences between Simmel's portrayal of fashion as a mask and Loos's architecture, suggesting that the subject of Loos's architecture can be equated with Simmel's analysis of the citizen of the metropolis, struggling to maintain his individuality in the onslaught of a pervasive objective culture. However, this connection between Loos's *Kulturkritik* and Simmel's

¹⁴Indeed, Wigley (1994) has argued that Semper's theories represent a common source for Otto Wagner, Louis Sullivan and Loos. However Wigley's claim (for which he cites no source) that Loos and Sullivan had been in contact since Loos's stay in America (1893-6), is based on a misunderstanding that can be traced back to Kulka (1931) and represents an example of the way in which Loos's life-story has been mythologised. In fact, any contact between Sullivan and Loos before 1920, when they were introduced to each other by Rudolf Schindler, has been ruled out by Rukschcio and Schachel (1982, p.25).

¹⁵A similarity of ideas between Loos and Simmel on the subject of fashion has been recognised in a number of studies published in the 1990s (Anderson 1991, Colomina 1994, McLeod 1994, Wigley 1994, Wigley 1995). Moreover, Müller (1977; 1984; 1987) also notes connections between Loos's and Simmel's thought, focusing on ornament.

sociology, focusing on fashion and modernity, represents an aspect of Loos's work not yet adequately researched and therefore, of interest for this study.

Colomina (1994) also highlights the correspondence between the separation of subjective and objective culture in Simmel's analysis of modernity and the apparent dichotomy between the interior and the exterior contained in Loos's writings and in his architecture. However, both Colomina (1990; 1994) and Massimo Cacciari (1993) have demonstrated the complexity of Loos's treatment of the relationship between the interior and the exterior, which plays a central role in his work. Thus, Cacciari has argued that Loos's work is not only based on a dialectic of interior and exterior, but also a dialectic of the interior itself, while Colomina (1990) has shown that the interior in his work can be divided into what she terms 'intimacy' and 'spectacle'. Yet in exploring the interior/exterior problematic, Colomina attempts to differentiate between Loos's writings and his architecture, arguing that the 'dogmatic division' of interior and exterior, private and public contained in Loos's writings is subverted by his architecture (p.13). This argument highlights the need for a critical analysis of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, since a close reading of his texts reveals that they do not merely present a 'dogmatic division' of interior and exterior; instead slippage of the binary opposition is also to be found in the texts. Thus, in 'Die Interieurs in der Rotunde', Loos ([1898] 1981, pp.75-81) defines the distinction between the private sphere and the public sphere in terms of purposive and non-purposive social action, thereby assigning those areas of the interior used collectively for a specific purpose to the public sphere.

In analysing Loos's architecture, the concept of 'cubic space' (*Raumplan*) has been used to articulate his complex understanding of interior space (Kulka 1931; Posener 1980; Worbs 1982a; 1983; Tripp 1983; Heynen 1992; Jara 1995), describing it as his ability of 'thinking in space' (Cacciari 1993, p.168). Worbs (1982a; 1983) has analysed the connections between Loos's theory of *Raumplan* and his architectural projects, suggesting that Loos's originality lies in the fact that he uses economics to legitimise

this new aesthetic and functional conception of space. Furthermore, this has allowed Worbs to reveal the social nature of Loos's architectural project which is, he argues, to make life more liveable (*wohnlich*) for all. The concept of *Raumplan*, like Loos's analysis of fashion, also suggests connections between architecture and a theory of modernity. Indeed, Friedrich Achleitner (1985, pp.95-7) has argued that all aspects of Loos's cultural critique are unified in his ability to 'think in space', while Heynen (1992, p.88) has demonstrated that this concept of *Raumplan*, defined as 'a whole of dissonances', reveals the modernity (as opposed to the modernism) of Loos's architecture.¹⁶ She argues that Loos's architecture, through its emphasis on divisions and fragmentation, mimetically reflects the experience of modernity, of a world falling apart. Simultaneously however, his architecture also articulates a sense of 'home', underlining an awareness of the contradictory nature of modernity. Heynen's analysis of the modernity of Loos's architecture suggests a further direction in which this dissertation will proceed, investigating the manner in which the experience of metropolitan modernity is articulated in Loos's textual *oeuvre*. Bearing in mind Cacciari's (1993) argument that Loos's *Kulturkritik* is located in the new space of the Metropolis, this study will investigate the manner in which Loos's textual *oeuvre* is embedded in Vienna as metropolis, in terms of the conditions of production and consumption of his texts, as well as in terms of their content.

¹⁶In defining the terms *modernity*, *modernism* and *modernisation*, and the relationship between these concepts, this study refers to Marshall Berman's (1983) analysis which defines *modernity* as 'a mode of vital experience - experience of space and time, of the self and others, of life's possibilities and perils' (p.15), *modernisation* as 'social processes' which cause a maelstrom of change and 'keep it in a state of perpetual becoming' (p.16) and *modernism* as the 'visions and ideas that aim to make men and women the subjects as well as the objects of modernization' (p.16). In describing the relationship between modernity, modernism and modernisation, Berman suggests that the inner dichotomy, based on a dialectic of stability and change, which represents modernity gives rise to the ideas of modernisation and modernism (p.17).

For examples and an analysis of the discussion surrounding the concept of the *Moderne* at the turn of the century see Wunberg 1971.

Loos's Texts as *Kulturkritik*

Many existing studies have investigated, or at least described, Loos's writings as *Kulturkritik* (Adorno 1977; Müller 1977; Janik and Toulmin 1973; Adams 1980; Barnouw 1981; Schorske 1981; Timms 1986). A number of these analyses discuss Loos's *Kulturkritik* in the context of an analysis of the milieu of the Viennese avant-garde at the turn of the century, often basing their arguments on Loos's well-documented friendship with Karl Kraus, but also explaining his writings with reference to his acquaintance with other figures such as Peter Altenberg, Arnold Schönberg and Ludwig Wittgenstein.¹⁷ Janik and Toulmin (1973) have located the central impulse of Loos's *Kulturkritik* in his radical separation of the sphere of facts from the sphere of values which reveals parallels to Karl Kraus's thought. In other words, a major consideration of Loos's *Kulturkritik* is informed by his rigid differentiation between artefacts and 'genuine' objects of art, which ensures the autonomy of the cultural sphere (Cacciari 1993).¹⁸ And indeed, it is the radical separation of the facts and values, art and craft, facade and function, art and life, centring on Loos's critique of ornament, which forms the focus of a number of accounts of his *Kulturkritik* (Adorno 1977; Adams 1980; Barnouw 1981; Schorske 1981; Gusevich 1985; Müller 1987; Pfabigan 1991; Schwarzer 1995).

However, in concentrating on the separation of the artistic sphere from the sphere of life, many of these studies neglect to adequately explore the location of Loos's critique

¹⁷For example, both Janik and Toulmin (1973) and Barnouw (1981) focus on the connections between Loos, Kraus and Wittgenstein, while Schorske examines Loos in the context of his association with Oskar Kokoschka.

¹⁸The idea of the separation of the aesthetic, the ethical and the instrumental spheres of life can be traced back to Kant who, in the preface to his *Third Critique*, equates pure reason with knowledge (*Erkenntnis*), practical reason with morality and judgement with the aesthetic (Kant 1838, pp.3-7). Moreover, an extended version of Kant's model on the separation of spheres of life forms a cornerstone of Max Weber's (1963) theory of modernity (see Schroeder 1992, pp.23-8), and also plays an important role in Habermas's (1981) theory of communicative action.

in the sphere of life. In an example of scholarship which does recognise Loos's concern with everyday life, Adams (1980) has argued that the originality of Loos's view of culture and art lies in his definition of 'Kultur' as what is today described as 'low culture'. Thus, Loos's cultural critique is concerned with popular culture although it does not argue that the popular is of value merely in its status as popular culture;¹⁹ instead, Loos's texts contain a sustained critique, as well as a description of everyday culture. This focus on the 'mundane surface' of everyday life suggests an affinity with the work of Siegfried Kracauer and Walter Benjamin worthy of further exploration. And indeed, Michael Müller (1977; 1984; 1993) has examined Benjamin's analysis of Loos's architecture and texts, focusing on the destructive force of Loos's *Kulturkritik*. However, despite the emphasis on destruction in Loos's later texts, his textual *oeuvre* implicitly maintains that everyday life represents a purposeful sphere that can be improved, in comparison to the sphere of art which is higher, rarer and socially purposeless. It is this idea which forms the focus for Adorno's (1977) critique of Loos's *Kulturkritik*, contained in 'Funktionalismus heute', a lecture first delivered to the *Deutscher Werkbund* on 23 October 1965.

Loos's Textual Oeuvre

In addition to publications examining Loos's architecture through the medium of his writings and analyses of Loos's *Kulturkritik*, two full-length studies of Loos's textual *oeuvre* exist: by Amanshauser (1985) and Roth (1995). Due to an imprecise thematic, Amanshauser neither presents any great insight into the writings of Adolf Loos, nor draws any satisfactory conclusions on the nature and content of his texts. Concluding that Loos' writings do not form a coherent theoretical treatise (p.209), she argues that Loos exhibited a hostility to theory attributable to the Viennese context (p.212).

¹⁹Loos's critique is therefore more differentiated than present-day analyses of popular culture (for example, Fiske 1989) which are based on arguments about the inherent value of the popular, allowing no space for critique.

Amanshauser, unable to grasp the paradoxical structure of Loos's critique and to see the interconnections between his works as anything more than repetition, has produced a study which is itself rather disjointed. Nonetheless, it does contain a number of valuable insights and pointers for further research. For example, in identifying 'Ornament und Verbrechen' as Loos's most significant text, she focuses on its economic argument, which describes ornament in terms of the waste of material, time and labour power (p.28), and thereby provides Roth (1995) with his point of departure.

Roth (1995, p.10) states that his study represents an attempt to develop a method of access to Loos's writings which will contribute to the understanding of Loos's writings. Thus, he concentrates on the concepts of 'comfort' (*Bequemlichkeit*), 'economy' (*Ökonomie*) and 'the everyday' (*das Alltägliche*) in Loos's writings, defining 'economy' as an attempt to simplify the practical necessities of human life and linking Loos's conception of economy to that of John Ruskin (p.50). This allows him to develop a focused argument and hence, to take issue with Amanshauser's negative appraisal of the paradoxical nature of Loos's texts, suggesting that this conclusion is a result of her failure to engage fully with his writings (p.10). However, despite Roth's (p.12) assertion that Loos's textual *oeuvre* demonstrates an internal logic, this point is not adequately argued in his book. Moreover, his conception of 'economy' appears inadequate compared to Cacciari's (1993, p.104) penetrating economic analysis of Loos's thought which identifies Loos's anti-ornamentalism as the 'destiny' of rationalisation, and therefore of capitalist civilisation (*Zivilisation*).

Both Amanshauser (1985) and Roth (1995) focus on the role of ornament in Loos's thought. Although not questioning the validity of this line of enquiry, this dissertation suggests that by focusing on this particular aspect of Loos's writings, other aspects are necessarily neglected. Hence, neither study satisfactorily addresses the manner in which Loos's textual *oeuvre* articulates modernity, illustrated by Amanshauser's (p.209) criticism of the paradoxical nature of Loos's writings and Roth's (p.12) denial of it.

Rather than subscribe to either of these positions, this study embraces the paradoxical nature of Loos's writings as an essential feature of their articulation of modernity. On a rather more pragmatic level, neither Amanshauser nor Roth has engaged in a satisfactory critical analysis of Loos's *oeuvre*. Roth seems unaware of any difficulties with the Loos estate, and is content to proceed with his analysis based on the writings available in published form. In her discussion of method, Amanshauser does refer to the inaccessibility of Loos's papers and the incomplete body of texts with which she was forced to work, but claims that analysis of other texts would not have changed her conclusions to any great extent (p.3). Moreover, neither study sets out to examine in sufficient depth the form which Loos's critique took. Roth (p.13) mentions that Loos's thought was conveyed both in his essays and in the form of lectures but does not separate the two forms for the purpose of his argument. Similarly, Amanshauser (pp.8-17) devotes a few pages to the form of Loos's critique, mentioning Loos's use of both the essay and the lecture form, but omitting to provide a more detailed discussion. Other studies have also referred to the distinction between the lecture and the essay in Loos's textual *oeuvre* (Glück 1962; Adams 1980; Barnouw 1981; Colomina 1994; Eckel 1995; Opel 1983; Slapeta 1983; Worbs 1983b) and yet only the latter two, through their research into lectures which Loos held in Czechoslovakia and in Berlin, have begun to lay the groundwork for a detailed analysis of these closely related and yet distinct forms of communication. Building on these foundations, this examination of Loos's textual *oeuvre* will include an analysis of the form of Loos's *Kulturkritik*, focusing on the similarities and differences between the essay form and the lecture form. However, before turning to a detailed discussion of the form of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, it is necessary to consider the nature of its contents.

SIFTING THROUGH THE LAYERS OF PRIMARY LITERATURE

The Publishing History of Loos's Texts

In their original form, Loos's texts appeared either as newspaper or journal articles, or were delivered as lectures. However, many of his writings were subsequently collected and published in book form during his lifetime, and it is to these collections that we now turn. The first edition of Loos's essays to appear, published by Georges Crés et Cie (Paris-Zurich) in 1921, was entitled *Ins leere gesprochen*. It was based on a selection of early essays (1897-1900), including the series of articles which Loos wrote for the *Neue Freie Presse* on the occasion of the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition (1898).²⁰ According to Loos's (1921, p.5) preface to this edition, his original intention had been to publish this series of articles in book form immediately after the exhibition.²¹ However, the publisher then backed out, deeming the articles no longer relevant and Loos made no further attempts to secure publication. The 1921 edition, as Loos's preface makes clear, was made possible by the work of his architecture students in seeking out and collecting Loos's early articles some twenty years after their original publication.²² This feature of

²⁰The *Neue Freie Presse* was the best-known Viennese daily paper at the turn of the century. Highlighting its importance, it has often been dubbed 'The Times of Austria'.

The Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition was held in Vienna in 1898, forming part of the celebrations on the occasion of Kaiser Franz Joseph's 50th Jubilee.

²¹An article entitled 'Adolf Loos', which appeared in *Dekorative Kunst* (ss 1899, p.173), confirms that there were plans to publish Loos's early essays in book form shortly after they first appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse*.

²²This suggests that Loos did not concern himself with a careful collection of his writings, either in published or in manuscript form. This is confirmed by Glück's (1962, p.466) editorial report to *Adolf Loos. Sämtliche Schriften*. Moreover, Loos's lack of interest in documenting the history of his texts is underlined in an anecdote related by Gustav Schleicher in a letter to Ludwig Münz, dated 23 October 1957 (ALA). He recalls that Adolf Schneck had been collecting Loos's early essays with the intention of having them published in book form. On a visit to Stuttgart, Loos looked over the essays briefly and then closed the folder, saying to Schneck 'Aber jetzt lieber Kollege, muß ich Ihnen die ganz neuen Tanzschritte des Tangos zeigen, wie sie in Paris getanzt werden. Das muß man wissen, wenn man als Tänzer in Gesellschaft mitmachen will' [But now, my dear friend, I really must show you the newest

the genesis of the text inevitably caused some inaccuracies in bibliographical information.²³ A first attempt to publish the articles with the Kurt-Wolff Verlag foundered on Loos's refusal to edit out personal attacks on Josef Hoffmann (p.5). Finally, Georges Crés et Cie agreed to publish the collection, emphasising in their advance notices that no German publisher had been prepared to publish *Ins leere gesprochen* (p.6).

A second, reworked edition of *Ins leere gesprochen* was published in 1931 by the Brenner-Verlag, Innsbruck and edited by Franz Glück (1962, p.466).²⁴ This second edition of *Ins leere gesprochen* appeared in the wake of a second collection of Loos's texts, entitled *Trotzdem*,²⁵ (see fig. 3) which was published by the Brenner-Verlag in

Tango steps as they are being danced in Paris. These are things that you must know, if you want to dance in society].

²³The section headed 'Aus der "Wage" 1897' (Loos 1921, pp.22-34) includes two articles which were actually published in 1898, 'Kunstgewerbliche Rundschau I' and 'Kunstgewerbliche Rundschau II'. It also includes 'Die englischen Schulen im österreichischen Museum' which really appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1899. Meanwhile, although 'Damenmode' is dated 21 August 1898 and included as part of the series which appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse*, an examination of the *Neue Freie Presse* of that date reveals that the article was not published at that time (the first known publication of this article is in *Documente der Frauen*, 1902). A comprehensive chronological list of Loos's publications can be found in appendix 1.

²⁴The most obvious differences between the 1921 and 1931 editions of *Ins leere gesprochen* lie in their form. First, in the 1931 edition, 'Kunstgewerbliche Rundschau II', 'Die Winterausstellung im Österreichischen Museum' were omitted, while 'Die Potemkin'sche Stadt' was added. Second, the order in which the individual articles appeared was altered; whereas the 1921 edition is divided into six sections, according to the newspaper or journal in which the texts were first published, the 1931 edition contains only two sections. The first section contains the texts which were published on the occasion of the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition in 1898, and the second, the remaining texts. Moreover, the 1931 edition has a new preface, which comprises a shortened version of the preface and the afterword from the 1921 edition, and a set of notes written by Loos (1931, pp.221-2). Other modifications made by Glück include variations in content of the individual articles, editing out sections of text, and orthographic and grammatical changes.

²⁵There were, in fact, two editions of *Trotzdem* published that year. The second, extended edition included two new articles: 'Der Staat und die Kunst' and 'Oskar Kokoschka'.



Fig. 3. Covers of the 1931 editions of *Ins leere gesprochen* and *Trotzdem*.
Rukschcio and Schachel 1982.

1931, coinciding with the publication of the first monograph on Loos (Kulka 1931).²⁶ While the bibliographical inaccuracies in *Ins leere gesprochen* were relatively few, there are many more problems with *Trotzdem*, which is unsurprising, given the much longer period that the articles in this collection span (1900-1930).²⁷ Since 1931, two further editions of *Ins leere gesprochen* and *Trotzdem* have been published. In 1962, they appeared together as the first volume of *Adolf Loos. Sämtliche Schriften* edited by Franz Glück,²⁸ while in 1981 (*Ins leere gesprochen*) and 1982 (*Trotzdem*) they were published by the Georg Prachner Verlag, edited by Adolf Opel.²⁹ However, although these volumes comprise the only collections of his essays to appear during his life-time, they are not a full representation of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, as Glück's planned publication of a second volume illustrates.

²⁶The publication of Adolf Loos's writings by the Brenner-Verlag was the first project planned after the Viennese professor of architecture, Karl Jaray, took over the finances of the publishing house in 1928. Jaray initiated the project, while the texts were edited by Glück and Ludwig Münz (Stieg 1976, p.19).

²⁷The most famous example of incorrect dating is that of 'Ornament und Verbrechen' which has conventionally been assigned to 1908. However, as Rukschcio (1985a, pp.58-9), has shown, Loos first held a lecture under this title in 1910, the article was first published in French in 1913 (translated by Marcel Ray and heavily edited), and did not appear in German until 1929, when it was published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. In his preface to the 1982 edition of *Trotzdem*, Opel (1982, pp.15-16) provides a list of the first publications. However, this list is not exhaustive and it has been corrected and extended in this dissertation (see appendix I). It is possible to provide accurate bibliographical information for Loos's texts by searching for the original newspapers and journals in which they appeared. However, the situation is complicated by the fact that many of Loos's texts were first delivered in lecture form and it is therefore often unclear whether the texts that exist are the complete manuscript of lectures, or manuscripts put together by others at a later date, or texts reconstructed from the notes of a member of the audience. 'Architektur' is a prime example of the problems here. In the 1931 edition of *Trotzdem*, it is dated to 1909. However, Opel has identified the first publication of the text to be in *Der Sturm*, 15 December 1910. However, consultation of *Der Sturm* reveals that this text is in fact a reprint of part of the lecture which Loos gave to the *Verein für Kunst* (Berlin) on 8 December 1910 entitled 'Über Architektur' and that it is not consistent with the version of 'Architektur' contained in *Trotzdem*.

²⁸Only the first volume was ever published. It is not known why the second volume was not completed (Eckel 1995, p.85).

²⁹While Glück's edition of *Ins leere gesprochen* is based on the 1931 edition, Opel's version reproduces the 1921 edition.

In the 1980s, three new collections of Loos's texts were published, edited by Adolf Opel. The first, entitled *Die Potemkin'sche Stadt* (Loos 1983), consists of a collection of articles by Loos mainly uncovered by Opel during searches through archives, libraries and primary publications. The others, *Kontroversen* (Opel 1985) and *Konfrontationen* (Opel 1988), contain a few articles by Loos, but the majority of the essays are contemporary articles and reports about Loos. Subsequently, Opel edited a further collection of Loos's writings on architecture under the title *Über Architektur* (Loos 1995), based on the original newspaper and journal publications rather than the versions of the texts which appeared in previous collections. Rukschcio has criticised

Opel's editions of Loos's texts for their lack of accuracy (Weingraber, 1987, p.10). Eckel (1995, pp.87-9) adds another critical voice, claiming that the publication of *Die Potemkin'sche Stadt* has caused serious confusion in Loos scholarship, due to the fact that Opel neglected to include accurate bibliographical references for the articles he reproduced. However, despite his lack of accuracy which has indeed caused confusion among Loos scholars, Opel's new collections have rediscovered forgotten, hidden or rather inaccessible texts and therefore, represent an important resource for research into Loos's textual *oeuvre* which cannot be simply disregarded.³⁰ Accurate or inaccurate, the appearance of 'new' material, such as the texts unearthed by Opel, is part of the process of excavating Loos's *Kulturkritik*. Indeed, it is often the appearance of new material which necessitates the layers of interpretation and reinterpretation being sifted through once more.³¹ Therefore, rather than ignoring Opel's collections, it is necessary to engage with them, accepting the challenge to provide the missing bibliographical material (in as far as is possible) through tracing the texts reproduced in these

³⁰In a letter to the author of 6 July 1996, Worbs related that he did not use any of the texts collected by Opel in his research, due to the fact that the details could not be verified.

³¹In particular, Opel's collections ^{include} many reports of Loos's lectures and it is the existence of this source material which emphasises the importance of the lecture form in disseminating Loos's *Kulturkritik*.

collections to the journals and newspapers in which they first appeared.³² Moreover, coupled with the non-appearance of the second volume of *Sämtliche Schriften*, the often bitter criticism of Opel's editions of *Trotzdem* and *Ins leere gesprochen*, and of the four new collections of Loos's writings which he has edited, suggests that Loos's textual *oeuvre* represents a location of intense dispute. And indeed, the history of Loos's textual *Nachlaß* is complex. An investigation into this tale will complete this process of sifting through the layers of rubble that have, according to Schachel (1989, p.15), obscured the foundations and traces of Loos's thought.

'The Messy Space of the Archive'

Most studies on Loos are silent on the subject of the archive and the fate of the Loos estate, although an exception to this silence is provided by Colomina (1994). However, her partial account of the Loos estate focuses on the story of Loos's architectural papers and plans, thus suppressing the fate of his personal and literary papers. It was the case, as Colomina (1994, p.1) asserts, that Loos ordered Heinrich Kulka and Grethe Hentschel to pack up the contents of his office when he left Vienna for Paris in 1922,

³²This study has traced the majority of Loos's texts which appeared as articles in his lifetime and lists the bibliographical details in appendix 1. There are, however, a number of texts published by Opel which cannot be traced directly to original publications or manuscripts: In *Die Potemkin'sche Stadt*, these articles are: 'Kunstförderung' (Loos 1983, pp.99-101), 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' (pp.122-3), 'Adolf Loos über Wiener Gebäude' (pp.124-5), 'Wintersporthotel' (pp.126-7), 'Hotel Friedrichstrasse' (pp.128-9), 'Über Josef Hoffmann' (pp.217-8) and 'An einen großen Möbelfabrikanten in Deutschland' (pp.227-8); in *Konfrontationen*, these are 'Die Emanzipation des Judentums' (Loos 1985, p.13) and 'Adolf Loos, Architekt. Selbstdarstellung' (pp.80-4), finally, in *Kontroversen*, the problematic text is 'Das Haus auf dem Michaelerplatz' (Loos 1988, pp.48-51).

On close examination, many of these texts turn out to be reprints of fragments of articles and manuscripts published in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982 (Eckel 1995, p.87). For example, 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' (Loos 1983, p.123), represents a juxtaposition of fragments published in Kulka 1931, joined to create an apparently seamless text, while 'Das Haus am Michaelerplatz' (Loos 1988, pp.48-51) bears a striking resemblance to the version of 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' published for the first time by Rukschcio (1985b) (Eckel 1995, p.88).

and to destroy the papers which he had left behind. It was also the case that Kulka and Hentschel did not follow these orders, but kept the papers. However Colomina's claim that the collection of papers rescued by Kulka and Hentschel 'will become the only evidence for generations of scholarship' (p.1) draws a veil over the full story of Loos's *Nachlaß* and fails to adequately address the nature of the documentary sources available to Loos scholars today. There are two major flaws in Colomina's version of the tale. First, her assertion that Loos himself was solely responsible for the removal of traces of his life and work, forcing later researchers into processes of reconstruction, masks the fact that the destruction and loss of documents can often be attributed to scholars and self-appointed guardians of Loos's inheritance and second, her comments are only partially applicable to the textual part of Loos's *Nachlaß*.

In 1934, the following announcement appeared in various newspapers, including the *Wiener Zeitung*, 24 October 1934, and the *Prager Presse*, 26 October 1934:

Alle, die Pläne, Skizzen, Photographien, Nachrichten, Briefe und sonstige Dokumente von Adolf Loos besitzen oder Erinnerungen an ihn aufgezeichnet haben, werden gebeten, sich mit den Herren Dr. Ludwig Münz, Wien 4. Bez., Goldeggasse 2, oder Dr. Franz Glück, Wien 3. Bez., Landstraßerhauptstraße 140, in Verbindung zu setzen.

Es wird ein Archiv angelegt, in dem das gesamte Material mit dem Nachlaß vereinigt und geordnet werden wird.

Geplant wird dann eine große Gedächtnisausstellung, die das für ein weiteres Publikum Interessante aus dem Archiv öffentlich zugänglich machen soll, und *die Herausgabe des architektonischen und schriftlichen Nachlasses*.

Das eingesandte Material wird mit der größten Gewissenhaftigkeit und mit der größten Diskretion behandelt. Es ist aber wichtig, alles zu erfassen, und die Freunde werden daher gebeten, dem Archiv ihr Besitztum ausnahmslos zugänglich zu machen. Die Verwertung soll selbstverständlich jeweils im Einvernehmen mit den Besitzern der Briefe oder Erinnerungen erfolgen. In das Archiv sollen nur Abschriften hinterlegt werden, während alle Originale den Besitzern binnen Kurzem zurückgestellt würden. (My emphasis) [11]

In fact, this was the second attempt to begin a collection of materials relating to Loos; the first, based on a questionnaire sent out by the Anton Schroll Verlag, served as the foundation for Kulka's (1931) monograph on Loos.³³ These attempts to collect and to order Loos's papers and texts follow the spirit of the suggestions for dealing with literary estates that appeared in *Richtlinien für ein Kunstamt* (1919), a set of guidelines for a proposed Ministry of Culture edited by Loos:³⁴

Briefe, Manuskripte und Nachlässe der deutsch-österreichischen Autoren müssen vor Zersplitterung geschützt und unter Schutz des Staates durch eine Vermittlungsstelle wissenschaftlich benützbare gemacht werden. Für literarisch wertvolle Dokumente wird ein Archiv errichtet. Die im Gemeinde- und Privatbesitz befindlichen Handschriftensammlungen sind zu inventarisieren.

(Loos 1919, p.9) [12]

However, the sentiment underlying these guidelines is in marked contrast to the fate of the Loos estate, and particularly to the fate of the textual part of his *Nachlaß*. Although, as is documented by the newspaper announcement cited above, it is evident that as early as 1934, there were plans to publish the previously unpublished articles and papers included in the Loos estate, these plans – over sixty years later – have still not been realised. Nor has it been possible to establish a usable and comprehensive archive in which the contents of the *Loos-Nachlaß* would be united with donated materials such as letters, manuscripts and others, despite Schachel's (1982, p.76) plea that materials in private collections should be brought to the Albertina.

³³Examples of the questionnaires which were sent out by the Anton Schroll Verlag requesting information and documentary material relating to Loos have been preserved and can be consulted in the ALA.

³⁴Although the only section which Loos authored was that on 'Kunst', he was also the editor of the whole document (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.235) and so it is justified to consider the opinions expressed in the brochure as being close to his own.

Nevertheless, the Albertina in Vienna does house an 'Adolf Loos Archive' (ALA). The basis of this archive is formed by materials which were collected by Ludwig Münz who, according to a declaration written by Elsie Altmann-Loos³⁵ in 1933, was given authority to take care of all the 'künstlerische Fragen in Sachen Loos' (Weingraber 1987, p.7).³⁶ These materials were sold to the Albertina in 1966 by Maria Münz's³⁷ heirs and comprised 28 labelled large folders, four unmarked large folders and 14 smaller folders as well as plans, drawings, photos and correspondence (p.8). In 1968, Rukschcio began sorting, ordering, cataloguing, and adding to the collection.³⁸ However, other researchers attempting to use the materials contained in the archive reported meeting with barriers. In a letter to Gustav Schleicher dated 8 January 1970 (ALA), Kulka writes that Vera Behalova³⁹ had informed him of problems encountered while working in the archive and furthermore, that she had found the archive in a state of disorder.⁴⁰

³⁵Elsie Altman-Loos was Loos's second wife. In his will, written in 1922, she was named as his sole heir (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.389)

³⁶The question of Münz's entitlement to the materials, which he took with him to London when he fled from Vienna in 1938, is complex. Robert Hlawatsch has suggested that Münz and his wife forced their way into Loos's flat after his death, thus bringing his estate into their possession (Weingraber 1987, p.7). Moreover in 1966, Franz Glück informed Koschatsky (the then curator of the Albertina) that the materials by then in the possession of the Albertina had not belonged to Ludwig Münz, but to Loos's heir and widow, Elsie Altmann (pp.7-8). However, after archiving the material sold to the Albertina by Münz's heirs, Rukschcio has estimated that 60% belonged to Kulka, Münz, Glück und Unger, 0-20% to Elsie Altmann, while 20-40% was material collected from friends and clients of Loos (p.8).

³⁷Wife of Ludwig Münz.

³⁸At this time, materials belonging to Loos's students, Robert Hlawatsch and Gustav Schleicher, were added to the archive, while Rukschcio also had access to the private collections of Franz Glück and Grethe Hentschel (Weingraber 1987, p.8).

³⁹Vera Behalova completed her PhD thesis on Loos's Villa Karma in 1974.

⁴⁰My own work in the ALA confirms Behalova's assertion. There is still not a system of cataloguing in place for the individual letters and other written documents contained in the archive, which have been roughly sorted into folders. Some documents are now obviously in the wrong folder. Moreover, a letter from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* to Kulka, referred to on a folder in the archive, is missing from that folder. This letter, cited by Rukschcio and Schachel (1982, p.353) invited Loos to give a series of radio lectures while visiting Frankfurt in 1929. Although it would appear that Loos was not able to take up this offer, this letter represents an important document for any analysis of the form of Loos's textual *oeuvre*.

Rukschcio completed his work in the archive in 1973, by which time, according to the report which he made to the Austrian *Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung*, he had first, ordered the material in the *Nachlaß* into folders containing plans, texts and photos respectively; second, discovered new plans and corrected the dating of architectural works; third, created a photo archive; and fourth, produced a catalogue of Loos's work (Rukschcio 1973). However, his claim to have achieved a 'Vervollständigung der Loos-Schriften- und Publikationen' (p.3) ['complete collection of Loos's writings and publications'] is undermined by the discrepancies between the textual material included in the ALA, and the manuscripts and typescripts referred to in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, or indeed, the published articles reprinted in the new collections of Loos's texts edited by Opel.

The most glaring omission from the ALA is undoubtedly the lack of manuscripts, drafts of articles and other materials relating to Loos's texts. The fate of the articles and texts which, according to the newspaper announcement from 1934 cited earlier, were intended for publication remains veiled in mystery. It seems that the *Loos-Nachlaß* was divided up between Münz and Glück and that while Münz felt himself to be responsible for the architectural part of the *Nachlaß*, Glück assumed responsibility for the texts. Indeed Rukschcio has intimated that as early as 1930 (at the time of Loos's sixtieth birthday), it was understood that Glück would edit a third volume of Loos's texts to follow *Ins leere gesprochen* and *Trotzdem* and had collected the material which would allow him to carry out this intention (Weingraber 1987, p.7). However, the third volume has still not appeared and the question of the ownership and the location of the material intended for this publication has not been resolved. Weingraber has uncovered important facts in this case, tracing the debate over ownership back to 1930 when, according to Rukschcio, Glück took on the job of editing the second collection of Loos's texts (*Trotzdem*), and received materials for the collection and other manuscripts in lieu of payment (p.6). However, when the first volume of *Sämtliche Schriften* was published

in 1962, it was agreed that the royalties were to be split equally between Glück and Altmann-Loos (p.8), calling Glück's ownership of these materials into question. In 1980, Adolf Opel, on behalf of Altmann-Loos, received confirmation from the Herold Verlag that the rights to the texts had reverted to her. And then the struggle over the texts began in earnest, for at that time, Rukschcio and Glück were planning to finally publish the unpublished materials (pp.9-10). According to Rukschcio, Glück did not want to negotiate with Opel, (who by that time had been given certain rights to the texts by Altmann-Loos) and so the unpublished materials once more remained unpublished (p.10). In 1981, Opel wrote to Glück on behalf of Altmann-Loos, requesting the return of the manuscripts in his possession. Glück, however, died shortly before receiving this letter and the unpublished writings passed into the joint possession of his widow and his son, Wolfgang Glück (p.10). They remain unpublished.

Indeed, even the location of these unpublished texts is now uncertain. In private correspondence with the author, both Opel and Anton Unterkircher, of the Brenner Verlag in Innsbruck, have recently confirmed that the textual part of Loos's estate passed into the possession of Wolfgang Glück. Yet in a telephone conversation with the author on 23 October 1995, Wolfgang Glück denied that he was in the possession of part of the *Nachlaß* and refused to comment on the present location of the writings. In the face of this uncertainty, there are various rumours about the fate of the writings, including a doubt as to their very existence (Worbs 1996). However, since Rukschcio and Schachel (1982), who had access to Franz Glück's collection, have published fragments of unpublished manuscripts and typescripts and Rukschcio (1985b) has published the manuscript of Loos's 1911 lecture 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz', it is highly unlikely that Worbs is right.⁴¹ Nevertheless, it is certain that the unpublished texts will not be published as long as there is disagreement over their ownership and ultimately, over who benefits financially from the publication of these texts.

⁴¹A list of the previously unpublished texts that Rukschcio and Schachel (1982) mention or quote from can be found in appendix 1.

Weingraber's account of the struggles surrounding the vexed question of who owns Adolf Loos was published in 1987. Ten years later, a new round in the dispute has begun; Opel has brought a civil action against the Republic of Austria and the Albertina in the hope of forcing the publication of the contents of the Adolf Loos Archive in the possession of the Albertina (Seeh 1997; Opel 1997). Concluding his article, Weingraber (1987, p.11) succinctly describes the consequences of the continuing dispute over the Loos *Nachlaß*:

Es geht [...] um die beschämende und bereits vom ersten Moment an nicht mehr verantwortbare Situation des Zurückhaltens und Sperrens der von aller Öffentlichkeit (und vor allem Studierenden!) verlangten Pläne und Schriften. [...] Den Loos-Bearbeitern schließlich sollte es nicht genügen, einander Unwissenschaftlichkeit, gegenseitige Behinderung und Gier nach Geld und Ruhm vorzuwerfen, [...] sondern alle müßten doch lediglich um das geistige Erbe jenes Mannes bemüht sein, der selbst sein Werk stets als öffentliches Gut betrachtet und jede Behinderung desselben auf das schärfste verurteilt hat. [13]

Weingraber's plea for the whole Loos estate to be finally made available to researchers is given even greater resonance if read in conjunction with Loos's (1919, p.9) guidelines for a state literary archive: 'Die Herausgabe der bisher der Öffentlichkeit entzogenen oder unzugänglich gewesenen literarischen Dokumente ist durch das Staatsamt anzuregen oder durchzuführen' (Loos 1919, p.9). ['Publication of literary documents hitherto withdrawn from public access or inaccessible should be brought about by or indeed carried out by the public office']. Until the unpublished texts are finally made available to the researcher, analysis of Loos's textual *oeuvre* is reduced to those texts already in the public domain: first, *Ins leere gesprochen* and *Trotzdem*; second, *Die Potemkin'sche Stadt*, *Kontroversen*, *Konfrontationen* and *Über Architektur* (the volumes edited by Opel); third, the fragments of manuscripts from private collections published

in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982;⁴² and finally, articles published during Loos's lifetime, but not reprinted in any of the existing collections.

In her discussion of the relationship of history to the archive, Colomina (1994, p.9) criticises traditional historical studies for ignoring 'the messy space of the archive' and instead, producing a 'seamless account of the archive'. In the same way that history provides a facade for the 'messy space of the archive', the book form masks the fractured and partial nature of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, and the struggles over the 'exclusivity', 'correctness' and 'authenticity' of his texts and textual *Nachlaß*. Any close analysis of Loos's work is faced with the problem of claiming 'authenticity' or 'originality' for any particular text, or version of a text (Eckel 1995, p.90). This problem affects each individual text, but also Loos's texts as a whole since, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter, the individual texts are inextricably related to each other through a complex circular pattern of repetition and restatement of ideas and motifs. Thus, there is no obvious starting point, nor indeed endpoint, to Loos's textual *oeuvre*, in which the emphasis is on intertextuality. Moreover, the intertextuality of Loos's texts is not confined to the contents, but is also a central feature of their form. Therefore, a detailed investigation of Loos's textual *oeuvre* must explore the links between the written word, the spoken word and the visual (both illustrations and architectural work) which characterise his texts. This will be the task of the next chapter.

⁴²Although as Eckel (1995, p.87) has claimed, Rukschcio and Schachel's publication of textual material which had been previously unknown amounts to a considerable increase in the availability of Loos's texts, the fact that they have only been able to publish shortened excerpts from this body of unpublished material diminishes its importance somewhat.

CHAPTER TWO

'THE STONE IN THE FOREST': EXAMINING THE FORM OF LOOS'S CULTURAL CRITICISM

Hätte er [Loos] im Altertum gelebt, so wäre er wahrscheinlich ein Wanderphilosoph geworden, der auf dem Marktplatz seine Weisheit verschenkt, im Mittelalter vielleicht ein Bettelmönch, der predigend von Ort zu Ort zieht.

(Friedell [1920/21] 1985, p.77) [14]

Der Erzähler - das ist der Mann, der den Docht seines Lebens an der sanften Flamme seiner Erzählung sich vollkommen könnte verzehren lassen.

(Benjamin 1977, pp.464-5) [15]

Loos's textual work spans a range of genres including the feuilleton, the lecture, the poster, the journal, the book and others. This chapter explores these various genres in detail, tracing their similarities and their differences. Investigating the intertextuality of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, it investigates the 'architextuality', and then the 'paratextuality' of his texts and lectures, where 'architextuality' (Genette 1992) describes the gestures towards genre demarcation contained in the set of categories which determine the nature of a text, and 'paratextuality' (Genette 1997) denotes the relationship between the body of a text and its titles, illustrations, dedications, mottoes, prefaces and others. The conduct of such an analysis casts the researcher in the role of Collector, performing an excavation of Loos's texts in book form, and collecting the texts by returning to their original locations. This method involves wrenching the texts out of the context of the book form – the context in which we are most used to confronting them at present – and placing them in new constellations. These new constellations are represented by an analysis of the essay as form and the lecture as form together with an exploration of the context of the urban locations (in the case of the lectures), and the newspaper and journals (in the case of the essays) in which they first appeared. Catalogues of these collections are contained in appendices 1 and 2. Appendix 1 lists Loos's publications

with bibliographical details, while appendix 2 contains a comprehensive list of Loos's lectures (identifying dates, titles, locations and sources), thus providing information which has hitherto been missing from Loos scholarship.

ARCHITEXTUALITY

The appearance of Loos's texts in book form was a necessary step in the survival of his textual *oeuvre*, or, to quote Benjamin (1972b, p.11), in its rise to the 'Zeitalter seines Ruhmes' ['its age of fame']. Indeed, the reception of Loos's texts in book form bears out Bourdieu's (1984) observation that it is the book form which consecrates the text.¹ In this way, Loos's collected articles, which were originally journalism, become legitimate objects of academic study. However, in 'consecrating' the texts in this manner, the book form

imposes the norms of its own perception and tacitly defines as the only legitimate mode of perception the one which brings into play a certain disposition and a certain competence. (Bourdieu 1984, p.28).

Thus, Loos's texts have been identified as standard reading in architectural history, but largely ignored by other disciplines. Excavating Loos's textual *oeuvre* calls into question the status of this mode of perception as the 'only legitimate mode of perception'. And indeed, in his ([1924] 1982a) essay on Schönberg, 'Arnold Schönberg und seine Zeitgenossen', Loos's critique is directed against just such closed patterns of thought. Faced with the new, in the form of a human embryo, crocodiles, argues Loos, will see only a crocodile (Loos [1924] 1982a, p.181). In other words, they will not entertain the possibility of a different perspective. However, since 'in Loos, one does

¹I am grateful to Alison Phipps for making the connection with Bourdieu's work on consecration of the text. For a detailed analysis of Bourdieu's theories on the consecration of culture see Fowler 1997.

not find just one form of thought: one finds musical-thoughts, pictorial-thoughts, philosophical-thoughts – and architectonic thoughts' (Cacciari 1993, p.163), Loos's texts can and should also be explored in the context of other disciplines such as German studies, sociology, theatre and performance, journalism and others.

However, it is not possible to examine Loos's work in this manner by considering the texts only in book form, since to an extent, this form masks Loos's intentions as the producer of essays and lectures, as well as obscuring their reception.² Indeed, the book form has been instrumental in disguising the fact that although Loos conceived his texts in terms of their functionality, they were directed at changing the perceptions of a wide audience rather than providing a theory of his architecture for a specialised audience. Of his essays, Loos wrote in an advertisement for a journal to be entitled *Das Leben* (which, however, did not materialise), which originally ^{appeared} in Maximilian Harden's *Die Zukunft*:

Zweck der Zeitschrift ist, mir meine Berufsarbeit zu erleichtern. Ich richte nämlich Wohnungen ein. Das kann ich nur für Leute, die abendländische Kultur besitzen. Ich war so glücklich, drei Jahre in Amerika zu leben und westliche Kulturformen kennen zu lernen. Da ich von deren Überlegenheit überzeugt bin, halte ich es für charakterlos, auf das österreichische Niveau - subjektiv gesprochen - herabzusteigen. Das führt zu Kämpfen. Und in diesen Kämpfen stehe ich einsam da. (Loos [1904] 1988, p.15) [16]

And of his lectures, Loos wrote in the *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 20 September 1919:

Frage: Wen wünsche ich mir als Zuhörer für meine Vorträge?

²Indeed, in comparison to Loos's central role in writing, publishing and performing his original texts, it is impossible to regard Loos as the sole producer of the book form since, as documented in the previous chapter, the materials were eventually collected and edited by others, and Loos apparently held his ownership of manuscript materials in disregard (Weingraber 1987, p.6).

Antwort: [...] Also: alle Herren der Regierung und solche, die es werden wollen, Sozialpolitiker, Pädagogen und Ärzte.

(Loos [1919] 1983, p.176)³ [17]

The function Loos assigns to both the essay and the lecture, then, is one of education in the sense of changing perceptions. As Cacciari (1993, p.157) has recognised, the purpose of Loos's textual *oeuvre* is to 'train' people to see in a different manner. This aim is emphasised by Loos's self-identification as 'Fremdenführer für Kulturfremde' (Loos 1903b, p.9). Thus, Loos's textual work cannot be seen in terms of Bourdieu's (1984, p.30) concept of the 'pure' artistic gaze in which form has absolute primacy over function. Nevertheless, the variety of forms which Loos utilised must be explored in greater detail before the relationship between the form and function of his texts can be described. In a letter to Max Horkheimer, dated 16 April 1938, Benjamin describes how his study of Baudelaire was intended to reveal an impression which 'muß so klar und so unberührt hervortreten, wie der eines Steines, den man, nachdem er jahrzehntelang an seinem Platz gerührt hat, eines Tages von der Stelle wälzt' (Benjamin 1966, p.752) ['must emerge so clear and untouched as that of a stone which, after it has lain for decades in the same spot, is one day rolled from its resting place']. In other words, the impression is at once both ancient and 'suddenly new' (Frisby 1985, p.202). Having dislodged the book form from its resting place, the following section reveals the original modes of production and consumption of Loos's text by investigating in turn the essay as form and the lecture as form.

The Essay and the Lecture: 'eine Querverbindung der Elemente'

On returning to Vienna from America in 1893, Loos not only took up work in the field of architecture⁴ but also became influential in other spheres; from 1897 he published

³Although Loos identifies a specific audience for this series of lectures, it is still not directed at a specialised architectural audience.

articles in newspaper and journals such as *Die Zeit*, *Die Wage* and the *Neue Freie Presse*. Continuing to publish critical articles in a number of publications, Loos branched out to disseminate his ideas through the medium of the lecture from about 1910 onwards, giving around sixty lectures in Vienna, Graz, Berlin, Munich, Stuttgart, Brünn (Brno), Prague and Paris. In Loos's textual *oeuvre*, the genre boundary between the essay and the lecture was rather fluid. Many of his published essays were based on material which he had first presented in the lecture form, while many of his lectures included material published in his early essays. Perhaps the best illustration of this point is the case of Loos's best-known essay, 'Ornament und Verbrechen' (see fig. 4). As Rukschcio (1985a) has shown, the essay was published in French in 1913, but was not published in German until 1929, when it appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on 24 October 1929. However, Loos had given lectures under this title from 1910 onwards. Furthermore, close analysis of a series of articles by Loos which appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1898 reveals that much of the material contained in 'Ornament und Verbrechen' was first discussed in these earlier texts (Roth 1995, p.77).

The point of departure for this investigation is provided by a comparison of the lecture as form with the essay as form. This exploration into genre-demarkation focuses on two essays on the essay – Georg Lukács's (1911) *Die Seele und die Formen* and Theodor Adorno's (1974) 'Der Essay als Form' – as a framework for analysis. It will be demonstrated that both forms are closely connected with modernity and yet can also be sufficiently differentiated to justify exploration of the lecture as a distinct form. In exploring the grounds for differentiation, a simple distinction based on the features of text and speech will be rejected in favour of a model recognising the importance of the notion of 'performance'. The lecture as per-form-ance can be described through use of the analytical model of the Wittgensteinian 'language-game' which exists to be played or performed (Wittgenstein 1953).

⁴On his return from America, Loos took a position with Karl Mayreder, husband of the bourgeois feminist, Rosa Mayreder (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.35).



Fig. 4. Poster for Loos's lecture 'Ornament und Verbrechen'.

(Rukschcio and Schachel 1982)

This analysis of Loos's lectures should be seen in the context of a recognition of the importance of the lecture form in the metropolis at the turn of the century. This is an approach which has so far been overlooked in literature on the discourse of modernity, despite the popularity and importance of the lecture form, which can be illustrated by considering the number and variety of lectures advertised in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* on a single Thursday evening, 6 February 1914, chosen at random. More than twenty separate lectures are mentioned and the topics covered are as diverse as 'Moderne Wirtschaftsprobleme im Recht' to 'Oskar Wilde' and 'Der Wille zur Weltsprache'. Indeed, in Vienna at the turn of the century, much emphasis was put on the cultivation of the art of public speaking which gave rise to theoretical discourse on the subject. Thus, at the same time as Loos's early articles appeared in *Die Wage*, Robert Scheu (1898) published an article entitled 'Redende Künste' in the same journal, in which he distinguishes between the academic lecture and the *Vortrag* as a work of art. He justifies this distinction on the grounds that an academic discussion of a topic is only possible when paradoxes have been overcome, whereas the *Vortrag* thrives on the eternal recurrence of paradox, which is a consequence of the nature of the *Vortrag* and is predicated on the fact that the creation of a visual image represents the aim, but also the limits of the lecture.

Scheu's (1898) distinction between the academic lecture and the artistic *Vortrag* is missing from Adorno's (1974) theory of the essay, which represents an attempt to identify the essay as an essential vehicle for cultural critique and critical social theory in modernity. In his text, Adorno contrasts the essay with other carriers of discourse, including the lecture, arguing that the scientific world view and its corresponding use of discursive logic has effected a change in the nature of the lecture. This has now lost its grounding in dialogical communication and become merely a means of imparting knowledge (i.e. monological communication). Adorno's argument then concludes that the essay is the only form which conserves traces of communicative language through its autonomy of representation, which he describes as a 'Querverbindung der Elemente'

['criss-crossing of elements'] rather than a 'bündige Ableitung' ['concise derivation'] (p.31).

However, Adorno (1974) is comparing the essay to the academic lecture, while the lectures which Loos and others gave at the turn of the century were not primarily concerned with the delivery of knowledge through the medium of discursive logic. Indeed, the following report of a Loos lecture entitled 'Die technische, künstlerische und kulturelle Bedeutung der Sparsamkeit', expressly rejects any direct comparison of Loos's performance to an academic lecture:

Es ist immer ein sehr reizvolles gesellschaftliches Ereignis, wenn Adolf Loos sich mit dem Publikum über zeitgemäße Fragen des Alltags unterhält. Man könnte seine Art, als Conferencier vor die Rampe zu treten, kaum anders bezeichnen. *Vortrag ist ein viel zu gewichtiges Wort für die spielerische Leichtigkeit einer Plauderkunst, die von Konzept und Rhetorik so wenig weiß wie von schulmeisterlicher Wichtigtuerei.* Es ist Stegreifkunst voll genialen Witzes, die auf gut wienerisch frozzelt, spottet, temperamentvoll wettert, auch lobpreist und hochhält, was alten Zeiten lieb und heilig war, dem Zweckmäßigen bewundernd salutiert und gegen die Sinnwidrigkeit sozusagen künstlich ausgeschmückter Nutzgeräte funkelnde Bosheitsraketen explodieren läßt. [. . .] Verblüffen und gleich darauf zu überzeugen - das ist das reizvolle Geheimnis einer für Adolf Loos charakteristischen Vortragskunst. (L.K. 1922, p.1 - my emphasis) [18]

The emphasis here is on 'Plauderkunst', a term which suggests the art of conversation, or dialogue. This is, then, close to Adorno's (1974, p.31) description of the modern essay which is grounded in 'communicative language', implying an interactive, or 'dialogical' process. An affinity between the essay as form and the lecture as form is thus suggested, where both are grounded in dialogical communication. This proposition is given greater weight by the fact that many of the writers of communicative essays

identified by Adorno, such as Georg Simmel, Walter Benjamin and others, also engaged in, and recognised the importance of giving lectures.⁵

The similarity between the essay and the lecture is not only grounded in dialogical communication, but also in their articulation of the socio-cultural context of modernity. It was Lukács (1911) who first pointed to the reflection of modernity contained in the fragmentary nature of the essay, recognising that the essentially fragmentary nature of the essay lends to the form the possibility of expressing the fragmentary nature of modernity itself and going on to argue that it is only through examination of the particular that any analysis of the totality of modern life becomes possible (p.29). The fragmentary nature of the essay and its rejection of mere discursive logic is expanded upon by Adorno (1974) in his discussion of the essay form. He rejects both the notion of the essay as a totality which begins 'with Adam und Eve' (p.10) and only ends when the subject is exhausted, and also the notion of the essay as containing a single linear argument. Instead, he describes the structure of the essay as the interaction of a collection of interlocking arguments in which 'der Gedanke schreitet nicht einsinnig vor, sondern die Momente verflechten sich teppichhaft' (p.21) ['the thought does not progress stubbornly; instead, the individual moments are interwoven']. And in this description we can hear a striking echo of Simmel's analysis of the form of life in the modern metropolis, where he describes the social identity of the individual as being located at the intersection of the social circles in which he participates:

So bilden wir aus den einzelnen Lebenselementen, deren jedes [Sein] sozial entstanden oder *verwebt* ist, dasjenige, was wir Subjektivität [...] nennen, die Persönlichkeit, die die Elemente der Kultur in individueller Weise kombiniert. [...] Der moralischen Persönlichkeit erwachsen ganz neue Bestimmtheiten, aber auch ganz neue Aufgaben, wenn sie aus dem festen Eingewachsenen in einen Kreis *in den Schnittpunkt vieler Kreise* tritt.
(Simmel [1908] 1992b, p.467 - my emphasis) [19]

⁵In his memoirs, Simmel's son, Hans, provides a description of the importance of the lecture to Simmel (Simmel 1978).

Moreover, just as Simmel's sociology describes the social forms of modern life in terms of the interaction of social circles, so the form of his own essays is also characterised by the interaction of fragments (Frisby 1992, pp.70-77). This juxtaposition of fragments points to one of the central features of Simmel's essays – his use of paradox (Frisby 1992; Christen 1992). Moreover, the role of paradox in the open-ended essay form is also emphasised by Adorno (Burgard 1992).

Turning to Loos's textual *oeuvre*, it is clear, as the following passage taken from 'Architektur' illustrates, that Loos recognises the series of paradoxes upon which his work is constructed:

Hatte ich nicht einmal den satz geprägt: modern gekleidet ist der, der am wenigsten auffällt. Das klang paradox. Aber es fanden sich brave menschen, die diesen wie so viele andere meiner paradoxen einfälle sorgfältig aufhoben und von neuem drucken ließen. Das geschah so oft, daß die leute sie schließlich für wahr hielten. (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.99) [20]

Furthermore, the description of Loos's 1922 lecture quoted above highlights its lack of linear progression, of 'planned structure' and 'rhetoric' (L.K. 1922, p.1). And indeed, investigation into the existing texts and partial texts of Loos's essays and lectures does yield evidence of a non-linear structure, of paradox and of a concern with the fragments of daily life. For example, 'Ornament und Verbrechen' ([1910] 1982a, pp.78-88), his best-known essay and lecture, is constructed out of a collection of interlocking remarks and conjectures, jumping from Socrates, Voltaire, and Beethoven, to the tattooed people of Papua New Guinea, Goethe's use of language, and the uniform of the Austro-Hungarian infantry. These disparate threads are woven together in a masterly example of Loos's cultural criticism which ultimately focuses on aspects of modernity in Vienna.

Adorno's theory of the essay, then, represents a model through which Loos's individual essays and lectures can be described. Simultaneously, it suggests a model through

which Loos's textual *oeuvre* as a whole can be investigated. As Amanshauser (1985, p.209) has pointed out, Loos's textual *oeuvre* rejects linear progression and refuses to offer a single coherent theory. However, this does not represent a weakness of Loos's work. Rather, the complex interweaving of disparate elements into a complex circular structure based on paradox, which characterises both each individual text and Loos's textual *oeuvre* as a whole, reflects the structure of modern metropolitan life. Loos's individual lectures and essays both refer to each other in a complex fashion, and simultaneously lead an independent existence as 'fragments of modernity'.

His concern with the fragments of modernity reveals the embeddedness of Loos's lectures in their own socio-cultural context, for the typical subject matter of both the lecture and the essay in the modern period is the subjective experience of daily life. This is underlined in Eckhardt Köhn's (1989) study of the 'kleine Form' where he shows how the essay form is intimately linked to everyday urban experience and indeed, consisting of short texts which are thematically concentrated on the metropolis, constitutes the form which expresses the experience of the metropolis itself. Loos's lecture topics demonstrate an affinity with this insight; in 'Architektur' ([1910] 1982a, pp.90-104), the experience of life in Berlin and Vienna is compared with country life, in 'Ornament und Verbrechen' ([1910] 1982a, pp.78-88), the increased tempo of modern life and the nature of work in the metropolis are analysed, and in 'Vom Gehen, Stehen, Sitzen, Essen und Trinken' (1911), the uniqueness of the cultural forms found in the modern bourgeois city is discussed.

The urban experience located in modernity which is articulated in both the essay and the lecture is explicitly that of the bourgeoisie and indeed, the place of consumption of both forms is also part of bourgeois urban experience. Essays would appear in newspapers 'unter dem Strich', or in one of the plethora of periodicals available at the time and would be consumed largely in the private-public space of the club or the coffee-house, whose dual nature (private and yet public) rests on their exclusivity in the context of the

interiority of the bourgeois public sphere. In other words, although coffee-houses were ostensibly public locations in which anyone could join discussions, the operation of informal social constraints meant that such discussions were 'private' in that only members of certain social classes – primarily artists and intellectuals, and business and professional people – were admitted (Segel 1993, p.5).⁶ An insight into the nature of the coffee-house and its significance in creating a reading public is provided by an advertisement which appeared in the first issue of Loos's short-lived journal *Das Andere* (1903) for *Café Casa Picolo*, the coffee-house belonging to the parents of Loos's first wife, Lina Obertimpfler. The advertisement draws attention to the periodicals available in the cafe, which range from *Dekorative Kunst* to the 'Ladys Pictorial.' Furthermore, the coffee-house was not only instrumental in creating a reading public, but also in providing a location in which, before the advent of non-print mass media, discussion and wider dissemination of information was facilitated (Segel 1993, p.34). In this context, it is illuminating to consider the case of Loos's *Café Museum*. One of the well-known coffee-houses situated in central Vienna, its interior was designed by Loos in 1899. It was described as being 'nihilistic' by the art critic, Ludwig Hevesi ([1906] 1984, p.174), not least because of the simplicity of the design and the fact that Loos 'hatte hier kein gemütlich-räumliches Nischencafé, sondern ein übersichtliches Einraumlokal für geistige Kommunikation eingerichtet' (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.67) ['had not created a cosy coffeehouse full of nooks and crannies, but rather an open-

⁶Richard Sennett (1994, p.345) suggests that coffee-houses represented a space in which strangers could meet and talk despite differences in social rank. However, in the context of turn-of-the-century Vienna, this assertion must be qualified, noting that a continuing emphasis on rank and formality imposed limits on an individual's freedom to communicate. Indeed, in his autobiography, Trotsky (1990, p.191) comments sarcastically, 'Im alten kaiserlichen hierarchischen betriebsamen und eitlen Wien titulierten die Marxisten einander wonnevoll mit "Herr Doktor". Die Arbeiter redeten die Akademiker oft mit "Genosse Herr Doktor" an.' ['In the old, imperial, hierarchical, bustling and vain city of Vienna, the Marxists referred to each other with delight as "Doctor". The workers often addressed the academics with the title, "Comrade Doctor"'].

plan space designed to facilitate intellectual communication'].⁷ Its interior represents an open space conducive to large-scale discussion and ever-changing constellations.

As well as facilitating discussion, the coffee-houses represented a place in which lectures could be held. Thus, just as Loos's essays, located in the space of the newspaper or (literary) journal, would often have been consumed in coffee-houses, so his lectures were either also consumed in coffee-houses,⁸ or in the grander urban bourgeois locations associated with the theatre such as the *Musikvereinsaal* (see fig. 5), the *Sophiensaal*, or the *Festsaal des niederösterreichischen Kunstgewerbevereins* in Vienna.⁹ Indeed, one of his first lectures, 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' (1911), which comprised a spirited defence of Loos's much-maligned business premises for Goldman & Salatsch ('gentlemen's outfitters') built on the Michaelerplatz in Vienna directly opposite the *Hofburg*, reportedly filled the 2,000-seat *Sophiensaal* to capacity (Wymetal [1911] 1988, p.74). All these bourgeois venues were located in the centre of Vienna.¹⁰

⁷As Rukschcio and Schachel (1982, p.67) note, because of the Café Museum's proximity to the Secession, the Akademie der bildenden Künste, the Technische Hochschule, the Oper, the Musikverein and the Künstlerhaus, it soon became a meeting-place for Viennese artists and performers. See also Segel 1993, p.25-7.

⁸For example, as in the case of a lecture which he gave in a small café in Montmartre, Paris (Lang 1926).

⁹For example, on 4 February 1914, Loos gave a lecture entitled 'Vom Gehen, Stehen, Essen und Trinken' in the *Großer Musikvereinsaal*; on 4 April 1911, he gave a lecture entitled 'Meine Kämpfe' in the *Festsaal des niederösterreichischen Gewerbevereins*; and on 11 December 1911, he gave a lecture entitled 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' in the *Sophiensaal*. For a comprehensive list of dates, titles and locations of Loos's lectures see appendix 2.

¹⁰In the context of an article on the locations occupied by the *Volkshochschule* to communicate knowledge in Vienna (1900-1938), Taschwer (1995) comments that the locations other than the University in which knowledge was disseminated have not yet been explicitly thematised. He argues that at the macro-level, the urban centres functioned as central points of intellectual life at the beginning of the 20th century, but then turns to explore the differentiated space occupied by educational establishments within Vienna, showing that while the University was located on the bourgeois Ringstraße, places of adult education were located not only in the centre (as in the case of *Urania*), but also on the periphery of Vienna. Although focusing on adult education and the popularisation of science and therefore, not discussing the lecture as entertainment given by Loos, Karl Kraus, Egon Friedell and others (and corresponding locations such as coffee-houses), Taschwer's article represents a first attempt to

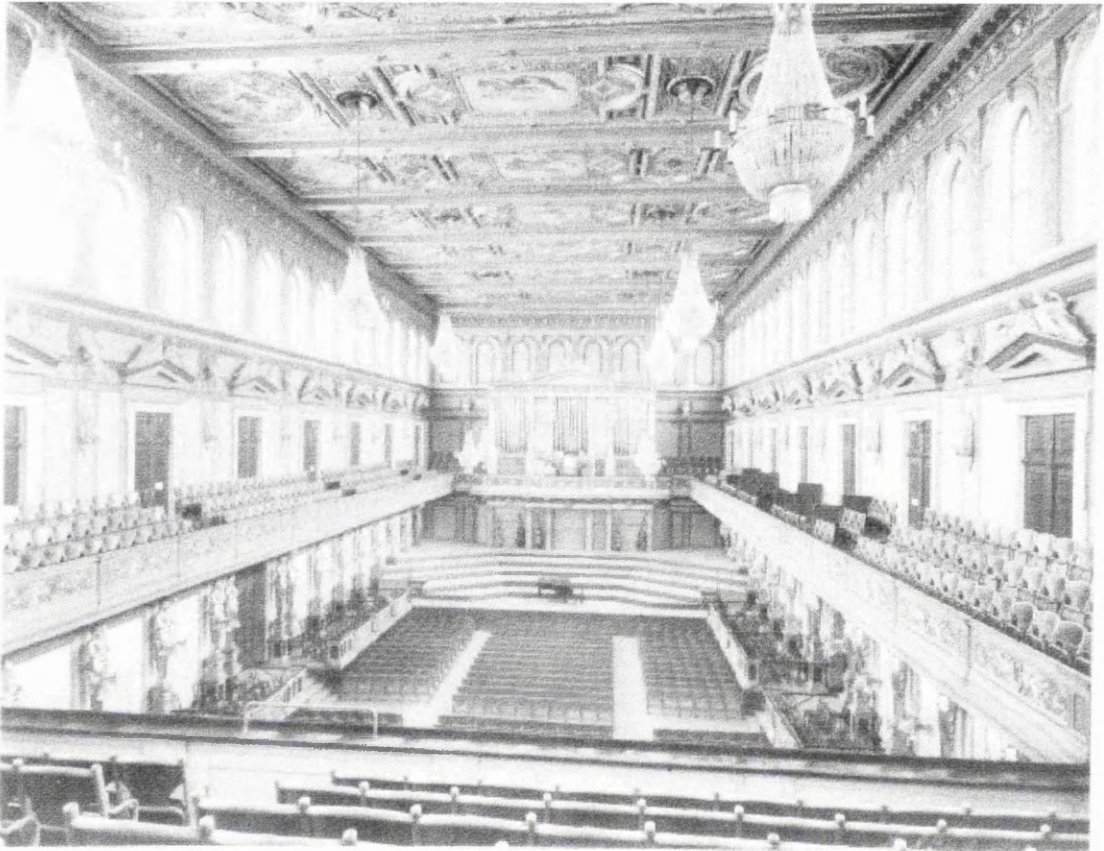


Fig. 5. Großer Saal des Musikvereins, Vienna
(Courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

account for the importance of place in a discussion of the lecture form which, as he notes, plays an essential role in the way in which the lecture functions.

It was not until the post-First World War period that Loos ventured to lecture in the outer suburbs of Vienna when, in the context of his work as Chief Architect of the *Siedlungsamt* (1921-1924), he gave lectures at the invitation of *Siedlers'* associations (Worbs 1982, p.6) and taught in the *Siedlerschule* (Novy and Förster 1991, p.138).¹¹

An investigation into the space in which lectures were held is of central importance when assessing the lectures given by Loos, an architect who has argued that it is important to 'think in space' (Cacciari 1993, p.168) and who has shown himself to be aware of the existence of a 'grammar of architecture' whereby, as he argues, it is the task of the architect to ensure that users of a building understand the language of its architecture so that the building can generate the appropriate atmosphere according to its function (Loos [1910] 1982a, pp.102-3). The grand halls in Vienna such as the *Musikvereinssaal* were designed to create an atmosphere of grandeur and ceremony appropriate to the bourgeois public sphere and yet reports of Loos's lectures document the fact that the atmosphere of these grand halls did not inhibit his audiences, but rather that on occasion, as reported in the *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, spectators questioned him during, and following his lectures (f.o. 1922, p.4). In other words, these private-public locations were not merely sites of passive reception of entertainment, but rather the stage for lively debate and participation, once more underlining the dialogical nature of the communicative act. However, reports of one of Loos's later lectures, 'Das Wiener Weh' (1927), suggest that long pauses in the delivery of his lectures were required as heckling from the audience had become so loud that the speaker could no longer be heard:

Nunmehr kam es zu dem ersten Krawall. Eine Stimme rief: 'Das ist nicht wahr!' Heftige Pfuirufe gegen Loos setzten ein, die alsbald wieder von

¹¹Worbs (1982b) provides a detailed account of Loos's involvement with the *Siedlungsbewegung* in Vienna, and provides evidence to show that, for example, Loos gave a lecture on 12 September 1920 in the *Arbeiterheim*, Laxenburg 8-10 at the invitation of the committee of a branch of the *Siedlers'* association (p.6). Loos also taught a course in the *Siedlerschule* entitled 'Das Siedlerhaus als Erzieher', in the company of Otto Neurath and others (Novy and Förster 1991, p.38).

Beifallsklatschen abgelöst wurden. Erst nach einigen Minuten konnte Loos seine Ausführungen fortsetzen. [...] Abermals kam es zu minutenlangen Lärmszenen.

(*Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* [1927] 1985, p.96) [21]

In this case, it is debatable whether one can justifiably talk of 'dialogical communication'.

Text and Speech: 'Das Klangwerden der Sprache'

Nevertheless, the affinity between the essay as form and the lecture as form in modernity rests on their impetus towards dialogical communication. This affinity is located in the socio-cultural context of the metropolis in which the forms are embedded; both forms reflect the structure of modern life in their emphasis on the interweaving of disparate fragments. Furthermore, their subject matter and the locations in which they were consumed situate both the essay form and the lecture form in the modern metropolis. Yet it is important to trace not only the similarities, but also the qualitative differences between the two forms. In order to investigate these differences, a logical starting point appears to present itself in the distinction between text and speech. However, an investigation of Loos's lectures challenges this position and indeed, Loos's own writings contain a critique of the rigid distinction between text and speech, which he identifies as a fundamental feature of the German language:

Das starre festhalten an der schreibung der hauptwörter mit großen anfangsbuchstaben hat eine verwilderung der sprache zufolge, die davon herrührt, daß sich dem Deutschen eine tiefe kluft zwischen dem geschriebenen wort und der gesprochenen rede auftut.

(Loos [1921] 1981, p.204) [22]

As a result of this distinction, so Loos argues in typically polemic fashion, the German is able neither to write nor to give speeches. In order to overcome this problem, Loos insisted, citing Jakob Grimm as the precedent for such a move, that when the first

collection of his essays was finally published in book form under the title *Ins leere gesprochen* (1921), the nouns should not be capitalised.¹² Moreover, his practice of allowing his lectures to evolve into essays, and vice versa, can also be understood as an attempt to subvert the boundary between text and speech.

Furthermore, examination of reports of Loos's lectures reveals that his lectures actually assumed a variety of types in which interaction between text and speech can be identified. According to the memoirs of Loos's third wife, Claire Beck-Loos, he never spoke from notes, preferring to improvise: 'Niemals habe ich mich auf einen Vortrag vorbereitet! Das, was ich spreche ist immer im Moment improvisiert. Einen Vortrag vom Blatt zu lesen, wäre mir unmöglich' (Claire Loos [1936] 1985, p.105) ['I have never prepared for a lecture. I always improvise at the last minute. It would be impossible for me to read a lecture from notes']. Nevertheless, the existence of a manuscript for Loos's lecture *Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz* (1911) suggests that at least at the outset of his career, he did make use of scripted material (Rukschcio 1985b). There is, moreover, also evidence to suggest that Loos's lectures included him reading aloud from the work of others. For example, an unpublished poem by Peter Altenberg (n.d.), entitled 'Vortragsabend' suggests that Loos read from Altenberg's works:

AL [Adolf Loos] las die 'Tulpen' des PA [Peter Altenberg] vor - - -
'Wunderbar - - -!' erscholl das begeisterte Chor. [23]

Meanwhile, Kraus's letters to Sidonie Nadherny von Borutin mention that Loos closed one of his lectures by reading Kraus's open letter to Loos, 'Die Schönheit im Dienste des Kaufmanns' (Kraus 1974, p.213). In other words, the surface appearance of Loos's

¹²The texts published in both *Ins leere gesprochen* and *Trotzdem* appeared without German capitalisation and subsequent editions have followed this convention. However, when the texts were published in their original form as newspaper articles, they obeyed conventional German rules of orthography. Nevertheless, since the quotations appearing in this dissertation refer to the book forms, non-capitalisation has been used. If, however, a text does not belong to either *Ins leere gesprochen* or *Trotzdem*, then conventional orthography has been adhered to.

lectures, characterised by differing levels of interaction between text and speech, displayed heterogeneity of form.

Hans Georg Gadamer provides a theoretical insight into the relationship between text and speech in the context of the lecture form through his exploration of the differences and similarities between, for example, theatre, the reading and the lecture which rest, he argues, on the varying degrees of interaction between the written and the spoken word, between production and reproduction. According to Gadamer (1993), the lecture encompasses moments both of speaking, defined as 'in ein Offenes hineinsprechen' (p.265), and 'Vorlesen', described as 'einen Text zu Gehör bringen' (p.267). Having established this, he extends his analysis to include a recognition of the importance of the receptive act of listening for an understanding of the lecture form, thus acknowledging the significance of the dimension of the audience. Gadamer then links listening to reading, yet again underlining the actual interaction between text and speech in the lecture form. For him, 'Vorlesen' importantly represents

eine Zwischenform zwischen der Aufführung auf einer Bühne und jener Aufführung auf der inneren Bühne, die gar keine Aufführung ist, sondern ein inneres Hören auf das Klangwerden der Sprache. (p.274) [24]

Extending his analysis, Gadamer argues that the strength of the lecture as form lies in the interaction between meaning and sound, and the sense of closeness which is created when the originator of an idea is heard to voice that same idea. Similarly, according to contemporary reports, the force of Loos's lectures lay in his talents as a speaker. For example in 1927, Josef Hoffmann wrote of Loos: 'Herr Loos ist außerordentlich witzig und sehr geschickt in Reden, was ich leider nicht bin' (Hoffmann [1927] 1988, p.120) ['Herr Loos is extraordinarily witty and a very accomplished speaker. Unfortunately, I am neither'], while in reporting on a Loos lecture, Max Ermers ([1927] 1985, p.90) described Loos as a 'Künstler und scharfer Sprecher' ['artist and a sharp speaker']. Indeed, one report of Loos's lecturing talents went as far as to declare, 'es gibt zwei Kategorien von Menschen, solche die Vorträge von Adolf Loos gehört haben, und

solche, die sie nicht gehört haben' (cited in Loos 1983, p.220) ['there are two categories of people, those who have experienced Loos's lectures and those who have not']. While Gadamer's analysis suggests that a distinction between the essay and the lecture based on an analytical distinction between text and speech cannot be justified, these reports of Loos's lectures suggest a different paradigm upon which such a distinction might be predicated.

Differentiating the Lecture from the Essay: 'Das große Geheimnis des Auftretens'

According to Scheu's (1898, p.266) theory of public speaking, 'das große Geheimnis des Auftretens' ['the great secret of performance'] was an essential feature of the lecture. Thus, he defines performance as 'ein prachtvolles Wort, worin Alles schon ausgedrückt ist; denn es liegt darin, daß schon die erste Erscheinung, das Auftauchen phänomenalisch die ganze Wucht des Mannes mitbringt' (p.266) ['a magnificent word which expresses everything; for it articulates the fact that the whole force of the man is contained in his very first appearance, his emergence']. And indeed, the various forms which Loos's lectures assumed point to the socio-cultural location of the lecture; the use of improvisation (*Stegreifkunst*) suggests direct links to the Viennese tradition of popular theatre, while recitation and reading aloud from one's own work or from that of others was an important part of coffee-house life. Moreover, the existence of such a variety of forms demonstrates that, just as was the case between the essay and the lecture, genre demarcations between the lecture as form and other forms of performance were permeable. As well as connections to the tradition of Viennese popular theatre, the lecture also displays affinities with cabaret which, as Stephen Kern (1983) has shown, is a cultural form which rose with the bourgeoisie and, concomitantly, with a new attitude to time, space and performance.¹³ One of Loos's later lectures, on the Charleston and

¹³On the development of cabaret in Vienna see Segel 1987. Loos had close connections to cabaret in Vienna through his first wife, Lina Loos, and Egon Friedell who were both involved with *Cabaret*

the Blackbottom, given in Berlin (1926), verged on cabaret, for, according to a report in *Die literarische Welt*, it contained not only the description of the new dance crazes in Paris, but also a 'graceful' demonstration of the most important steps, in which Loos lead 'beautiful women' (Dolbin 1926, p.11) and apparently referred to Loos's personal experience of the Charleston under the tutelage of Josephine Baker (Worbs 1983b, p.8).¹⁴ Moreover, it is evident that this was not a one-off performance; an undated newspaper cutting found in the ALA, entitled 'Pose-Tempo-Mode', contains a review of Loos's lecturing skills. After noting that anyone not having experienced one of Loos's lectures had missed out, Catharina Godwin describes Loos in action:

In wahrhaft amüsanter Weise illustriert er den Menschen des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, der sich in seiner Fußstellung durchaus von dem unseres Jahrhunderts unterscheidet. Er läßt das Militär des alten Fritz mit starr nach auswärts gerichteten Füßen vorbeixerzieren, er zeigt die Gangart des modernen Menschen, dessen Zehenspitzen immer sichtlicher geradeaus weisen. Sollte vielleicht auch diese Erscheinung mit dem gesteigerten Tempo verknüpft sein, so daß der Fuß, als Träger des Körpers, unwillkürlich das Ziel in geradester Richtung erstrebt? Werden nicht alle unwillkürlichen Gesten heute bereits als tiefere Absicht gedeutet, sucht nicht der Analytiker in all dem scheinbar Nebensächlichen das Wesentliche aufzudecken? - Auf einer Kante seines Stuhles hockend, imitiert Herr Loos den bescheidenen Untergebenen und weist uns auf die seltsame Tatsache hin, daß die Menschen stets in dem Glauben sind, ihrem Gegenüber Hochachtung und Ehrerbietung zu beweisen, wenn sie es sich auf ihrem Sitze möglichst unbequem machen.¹⁵ [25]

Fledermaus (pp.192-6), as well as through his acquaintances, Karl Kraus and Peter Altenberg who were involved in *Nachtlicht*, one of the first attempts to introduce cabaret into Vienna (p.185). Altenberg, in particular, is a figure who features prominently in the history of cabaret in Vienna and in 1906, on the opening night of *Nachtlicht*, wrote a sketch describing the importance of the form (Altenberg 1909).

¹⁴Worbs (1983b) refers to this lecture, but wrongly dates it to February 1927. Since Dolbin's report appeared on 24 December 1926, the lecture must have been held sometime in mid-December. Loos did give a lecture in Berlin in February 1927, but its subject was clothing rather than dance. See appendix 2 for details.

¹⁵Since this cutting is not dated, it is not possible to identify the specific lecture to which Godwin refers. However, the theme of changing cultural forms bringing about changes in objective culture is one

The connections between the cabaret and the lecture lie essentially in the element of performance, and the presence and use of the body. Unlike traditional drama, however, in both the cabaret and the lecture, the Cartesian fourth wall between performer and spectator is torn down, demanding interaction rather than reception, i.e. dialogical rather than monological communication.

It is the importance of the aspect of performance that suggests a different analytical model – the language-game as conceived by Wittgenstein (1953) and further elaborated by Karl-Otto Apel (1973) and Jürgen Habermas (1981) – which can provide a grounding on which to differentiate between the essay and the lecture. This model unites the three main aspects of the lecture which have been identified in the course of this chapter – the relationship between the essay as form and the lecture as form, the relationship between text and speech, and the dimension of the audience. Applied to an exploration of the lecture form, the language-game model proceeds in two main directions; first, analysing the pragmatic rules which are operative in the game and second, investigating the form of life (*Lebensform*) (Wittgenstein 1953), or the situational context, in which the language-game is embedded. In addition, the model of the language-game emphasises the lecture's dependence on performance which can be considered as that aspect of the lecture which finally differentiates it from the essay. A language-game exists to be played or performed, thereby producing a particular interpretation of the world. The lecture is grounded in performance, with both the speaker and the audience engaging in rule-governed play, assuming particular roles and making general claims to validity and thus, striving towards the ideal of the creation of a

reiterated throughout Loos's textual *oeuvre*. He gave lectures under the title 'Vom Gehen, Stehen, Essen und Trinken' from 1911, and his later lecture series in Vienna (1918 and 1919) used much of the material contained in these earlier lectures (Loos [1919] 1983, p.176). Furthermore, the series of lectures he gave in Paris (1926) entitled 'Der Mensch mit den modernen Nerven' also referred to this same material (*Neues Wiener Journal* [1926] 1983, pp.219-20). Dates and locations of individual lectures are given in appendix 2.

communicative community, as outlined by Apel (1973, p.172). The rules of the lecture as language-game are essentially linked to pragmatic considerations of subject matter (what can be said), form of presentation (use of text, notes, polemic, satire, irony and others), rules of interaction between the audience and the speaker (when questions can be asked, whether heckling is allowed), and the space in which such events are located (grand halls, cafés and others).

The rules of the language-game, as Wittgenstein (1953) argues, can be contextualised with reference to the *Lebensform* in which the game is embedded. At this point, a more detailed analysis of the composition of the audience and the task of the speaker becomes necessary. In the case of Loos, the *Lebensform* under examination is, in the first instance, that of a specific part of the Viennese bourgeoisie, the *Bildungsbürgertum*. To use Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) method of classification, this signifies that part of the bourgeoisie high in 'cultural capital' but lower in economic capital.¹⁶ M. Rainer Lepsius (1992) has provided a useful characterisation of the form of life of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, describing this section of the bourgeoisie as comprising those who have found sociation (*Vergesellschaftung*) by acquiring *Bildungswissen*.¹⁷ In other words, its form of *Vergesellschaftung* depends on the prestige of the social and educational qualifications set up as entry credentials by the group. Using the Wittgensteinian model, *Bildungswissen* can be conceived of as the rules of the language-game, which have to be understood before one can join that game. In the particular socio-cultural situation of fin-de-siècle Austro-Hungary and Germany, the *Bildungsbürgertum* demanded *Vergesellschaftung* through participation in a discursive space or, in Habermasian (1981) terms, a public sphere, which it created in order to form and disseminate intellectual ideas and raise a general claim to validity. This

¹⁶Cultural capital' is a term used by Bourdieu (1984) to describe a form of symbolic capital which is mainly gained through education. For a discussion of this concept and its development in Bourdieu's sociology see Fowler 1997, especially pp.20-30.

¹⁷*Bildungswissen* is a term coined by Max Scheler ([1926] 1960) for a specific type of knowledge acquired through classical formal education.

discursive space was represented in part by the lecture form, and dominated by various heterogeneous bourgeois organisations which invited speakers and organised lecture evenings such as the *Verein für Kunst* in Berlin, or the *Akademischer Verband für Musik und Literatur* in Vienna, or indeed the plethora of organisations which came together under the umbrella of the *Volksbildungsverein* in Vienna.¹⁸

Thus, conceiving the lecture as a language-game permits analysis of both the rules of the game and of the form of life in which the game is embedded. To continue in the game metaphor, this analysis then leads to an insight into the goals of the game. An important goal of the lecture form is, to use Bourdieu's (1984) terminology, the reproduction of 'cultural capital' which is accumulated and transmitted through the language-game of the lecture by both the audience and the speaker. Of significance for the audience is the increase in both cultural knowledge and in social standing which attending the lecture (and thereby entering into the language-game) can bring about. Loos's lectures not only allowed audience participation during the performance, but also often became the subject of vigorous discussion in the public sphere, fuelled by the press, as in the case of the three lectures which he gave in Vienna in 1927 – 'Die Geburt der Form' (15 February 1927), 'Die Wiener Küche' (19 February 1927), and 'Das Wiener Weh' (20 April 1927) (see fig. 6).¹⁹ Thus, the lecture, unlike modernist literature (Lublinski [1904] 1974, pp.185-216), represented an open form in which 'das wunderliche Monstrum' (p.185) of the public could take part.

¹⁸For example, Loos gave a lecture entitled 'Ornament und Verbrechen' at the invitation of the *Akademischer Verband für Literatur und Kunst* on 21 January 1910. He gave a lecture under the same title at the invitation of the *Verein für Kunst* on 3 March 1910. His lecture 'Meine Kämpfe', given on 4 April 1911, was one of a series of lectures organised by the *Volksbildungsverein* under the title 'Aus eigener Werkstatt' (*Wiener Volksbildungsverein 1912*). A detailed list of Loos's lectures is given in appendix 2.

¹⁹Examples of the articles published in this period can be found in Opel 1985, pp.89-112 and Opel 1988, pp.107-20.

KONZERTDIREKTION OSKAR GRÖNNER
TELEPHON 63-4-43 I., GRABEN 28 TELEPHON 63-4-45

MITTWOCH, DEN 20. APRIL, 8 UHR ABENDS
GROSSER MUSIKVEREINS-SAAL

ADOLF LOOS

DAS WIENER WEH
(DIE WIENER WERKSTÄTTE)
EINE ERLEDIGUNG
MIT LICHTBILDERN VON DER PARISER AUSSTELLUNG

Karten zum Preise von 1,- bis 8,- sind an der Konzertkasse
Oskar Grönnér, I., Graben 28, erhältlich
„K. E. am Graben“, Vorverkaufsstelle für sämtl. Wr. Theater,
Konzerte, Sportveranstaltungen und Bäder

Fig. 6. Poster for Loos's Lecture 'Das Wiener Weh'
(Rukschcio and Schachel 1982)

The speaker also accumulated cultural capital through the lecture form which could be used as a vehicle for self-presentation or, in Habermasian terms, for 'dramaturgisches Handeln' (1981, pp.135-40). Referring to Erving Goffman's (1971) study of self-presentation in everyday life, Habermas identifies this type of action as an encounter between audience and speaker, in which the speaker, by presenting certain features of his subjective world, is intent on being seen and accepted in a certain way by the audience (p.136). From contemporary correspondence, it becomes clear that Loos took the process of preparing an audience seriously. For example, before he gave his first lecture in Berlin (1910), a number of earlier articles of his were reproduced in *Der Sturm*.²⁰ At the same time, a favourable article entitled 'Adolf Loos – Geistige Landschaft mit vereinzelter Figur im Vordergrund' written by Richard Schaukal (which had previously been published Munich-based journal, *Innendekoration* (Schaukal 1908)), was also reprinted in *Der Sturm* (Schaukal 1910). This was at Loos's request, as is made clear in a letter written by Herwarth Walden to Karl Kraus, dated 31 March 1910 (Herwarth Walden/Karl Kraus correspondence. I.N 147.701). Not only was Loos concerned that intellectual circles in Berlin were made aware of his work through its prior publication in *Der Sturm*, but he suggested, in an undated fragment of a letter to Herwarth Walden, that certain intellectuals – 'die Nationalökonom Sombart, Philosophen (Simmel) und Psychiater' – be invited to attend his lecture (*Sturm-Archiv*).²¹ It is also true that in appearing and presenting the self in this manner, it became possible for Loos to gain entry, through his accumulation of 'cultural capital', to further avant-garde circles in other cities including Paris, culminating in the series of lectures which he gave at the Sorbonne in 1926 under the title 'Der Mensch mit den

²⁰On 3 March 1910, Loos gave the lecture 'Ornament und Verbrechen' and on 8 December 1910, he gave 'Über Architektur'. Both were given in Berlin and organised by Walden's *Verein für Kunst*. The articles that appeared at this time in *Der Sturm* were: 'Vom armen reichen Manne' (1/1910-11: 4); 'Der Sattelmeister' (3/1910-11: 20); 'Damenmode' (6/1910-11: 171-2) and 'Tristan in Wien' (27/1910-11: 216). Details of the first publication of these articles can be found in appendix 1.

²¹This fragment was probably attached to a postal payment voucher with which Loos transferred 100 Kronen to Walden to be used for advertising (*Sturm-Archiv*). In this case, it refers to Loos to Loos's first Berlin lecture, 'Ornament und Verbrechen' (given on 3 March 1910).

modernen Nerven'. According to a report in *Die literarische Welt*, the first of these lectures, delivered in German, was given in a small lecture theatre in the Sorbonne which had the capacity to hold 450 people. The three following lectures were then moved to the largest lecture theatre at the Sorbonne, the 'salle Descartes', and its 900 seats were all occupied (p.m. 1927, p.7).²²

This investigation into the architextuality of Loos's textual *oeuvre*²³ has revealed both similarities and differences between the lecture form and the essay form. It has identified gestures towards genre demarcation, centring on the role of performance in the lecture, but equally, it has also been demonstrated that there is a blurring of the boundaries between the genres, which results from their intimate relationships to urban modernity. Having established that the border between the essay and the lecture in Loos's textual *oeuvre* is fluid, this study now turns to an analysis of the border, or margins, of Loos's texts themselves, since the 'paratext' is 'neither on the interior nor on the exterior: it is both; it is on the threshold' (Genette 1997, p.xvii).

PARATEXTUALITY

The analysis here extends Genette's definitions of paratexts, which relate primarily to the book form, to cover the lecture and the essay. Considering Loos's lectures, it becomes clear that in a historical reconstruction of the lecture, it is marginal material such as reports, lecture notes, manuscripts, posters and first-hand accounts (diaries and letters) which must form the centre of the investigation since, due to the essential characteristics of performance – ephemerality, contingency and particularity (George

²²A detailed investigation of Loos's lectures given at the Sorbonne on 17, 22 and 25 February, and 8 March 1926 still has to be carried out, since the secondary literature on Loos and Paris has often ignored these lectures (for example, Hines 1991).

²³Henceforth, 'Loos's textual *oeuvre*' is understood to refer to both his lectures and his essays.

1996, p.18) – it cannot be directly reproduced.²⁴ The introduction of mass media such as film and radio does change this situation, as Benjamin (1974) argues in 'Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter der technischen Reproduktion'. However, although in 1927, Albert Ehrenstein ([1927] 1988, p.106) argued that Loos had earned access to the '*auditorium maximum des Radio*', and although in 1929, Loos was invited by the *Frankfurter Zeitung* to give a series of radio lectures (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.353), no recordings of Loos's lectures exist.²⁵ Thus, in investigating Loos's lectures, the researcher is immediately confronted with 'paratexts'.

The Illustrative Category of Seeing

Much knowledge can be gleaned from these paratextual sources; for example, reading the poster advertising Loos's 1911 lecture 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' not only confirms the date, title and location of the lecture, but also reveals that this lecture was illustrated with the aid of a magic lantern (*Skiptikonbilder*) (see fig. 7).²⁶ And indeed, Rukschcio (1985b) has published the manuscript to 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz', complete with illustrations of many of the original images. That Loos's use of images in this lecture was not an isolated phenomenon is confirmed in a report of a lecture entitled 'Das Wiener Weh' given by Loos in Vienna in 1927, in which Loos criticised the *Wiener Werkstätte* and the Austrian contribution to the Paris Arts and Crafts Exhibition of 1925

²⁴In the context of an exploration of the lecture form in modernity, these aspects of performance represent a link between the lecture as form and modernity, defined by Charles Baudelaire (1964, p.13) as 'le transitoire, le fugitif, le contingent.'

²⁵Although Loos agreed to the series of radio lectures in Frankfurt, there is no evidence to suggest that he actually gave the lectures. Rukschcio and Schachel (1982, p.353) conjecture that it is doubtful that he managed to carry out the lectures, the first of which was to be given a week after he received the offer (6 November 1929), with further lectures to be given two weeks later.

²⁶The use of the magic lantern (*Skiptikon*) to illustrate lectures was fairly common at the turn of the century. For example, Taschwer (1995, p.13) writes that in the last decade of the 19th century, the *Volksbildungsverein* in Vienna had, at their own cost, installed electricity in the *Gemeindsaal* in the 3rd district to allow the use of the *Skiptikon*.



Fig. 7 Poster for Loos's lecture 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz'.

(Courtesy of the Historisches Museum, Vienna)

(*Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* [1927] 1985, p.96), illustrating his arguments with images ostensibly from the exhibition. However, this report states that the authenticity of some of Loos's illustrative material was called into question during the lecture by members of the audience.²⁷

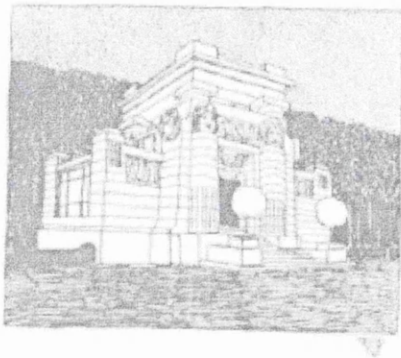
Turning to an examination of Loos's textual *oeuvre* as a whole, it becomes clear that Loos did not only use illustrative material in his lectures, but also made use of images in a number of his essays.²⁸ Of his early texts (1897-1902),²⁹ the two articles which originally appeared in *Ver Sacrum* (1898) – 'Die Potemkin'sche Stadt' (Loos 1983, pp.55-8) (see fig. 8) and 'Unseren jungen Architekten' (pp.59-61) – and two of the articles published in *Die Wage* (1898) – 'Kunstgewerbliche Rundschau I' and 'Kunstgewerbliche Rundschau II' – were illustrated. However, while the illustrations which appeared in *Die Wage* exemplify Loos's critique of applied arts and are referred to in the text,³⁰ those which appear in *Ver Sacrum*, the journal of the Secession, are

²⁷This lecture, which was reported widely in the press, polarised the audience. As Max Ermers ([1927] 1985, p.90) noted, 'Diskussion und Zurufe schollen von Bank zu Bank hin und zurück und jeden Augenblick schien es möglich, daß Loosianer und WeWeer sich in die Haare gerieten' ['Discussions and interjections were exchanged from row to row and it seemed possible that at any moment a fight could break out between Loos's supporters and those in the *Wiener Werkstätte* camp'].

²⁸In *Paratexts*, Genette does not investigate in detail the place of the illustration, although he does mention illustrations in his introduction as an example of a 'paratext' (Genette 1997, p.1).

²⁹In her study of Loos's texts, Amanshauser (1985) has used a periodisation which divides Loos's texts into three groups: the early texts (1897-1902) and *Das Andere* (1903); the texts written around 1910; and the texts written after the First World War. I will adopt this basic periodisation, although noting first, that the second category extends from 1908 until about 1918 and encompasses many of Loos's most famous texts and lectures, and second, that there is a fourth category, consisting mainly of the lecture genre, which date from after Loos's move to Paris (1924). However, while working with this periodisation, it is also important to note that the cyclical nature of Loos's textual *oeuvre* transcends any rigorous linear progression.

³⁰Illustrating 'Kunstgewerbliche Rundschau I', there is a silk embroidery by H. Obrist, jewellery by René Lalique, and a gold jug by Eduard Frank, a copper drinking fountain and a storage seat by H.E. v. Berlepsch, while alongside 'Kunstgewerbliche Rundschau II' there is an Austrian Tiffany-glass vase, a wine-cooler designed by the architect, Hammel, and an English armchair dating to the middle of the 17th century.



DIE POTESKIN'SCHE STADT.

Wer kennt sie nicht, die Poteskin'schen Treppen, die der edlere Günstling Katharina in der Ukraine erbaut hat? Dürer von Leinwand und Pappe. Dürer, die die Aufgabe hatte, eine Ebene für die Augen Ihrer kaiserlichen Majestät in eine blühende Landschaft zu verwandeln. Aber eine ganze Stadt soll der schlaue Minister fertig gebracht haben!

(Das ist wohl auch nur in Russland möglich.)

Die Poteskin'sche Stadt, von der ich hier sprechen will, ist unterlichen Wapp selbst. Eine schwere Aufgabe, deren Beweise mir wohl auch schwer gelingen wird. Dennoch besteht darin Hüten vor so verabscheuten Reichtümern, wie sie in unserer Stadt leider auch recht häufig zu finden sind.

Wer sich für etwas Höheres sorgt, als er ist, ist ein Hochstapler und verfällt auch dann der allgemeinen Verurteilung, wenn niemand dadurch geschädigt wurde. Wenn aber jemand diesen Effekt durch falsche Bekleidungen und andere Mittel zu erreichen sucht? Es gibt Länder, wo über das gleiche Schicksal verhandelt werden würde. In Wien ist dies aber nicht so weit. Nur ein kleiner Kreis hat das Gefühl, dass hier eine unaufrichtige Handlung, ein Schwund vorliegt. Und diesen Effekt sucht man nicht nur durch die falsche Bekleidungen, sondern auch durch die Wohnverhältnisse, die sich aus letzteren ableiten lassen, sondern auch durch die Wohnung, durch das Wohngebäude zu erreichen.



KUNSTLER UND
F. H. H. H. H.

Die Poteskin'sche
Stadt, 2. Aufl.
1871. 1. Aufl.

Fig. 8. Illustrated version of Loos's essay, 'Die Poteskin'sche Stadt', in *Ver Sacrum*..

purely decorative and attributable not to Loos, but to the editors of the journal.³¹ Indeed, the images which adorn Loos's contributions to *Ver Sacrum* are direct examples of the kind of 'applied art' that Loos criticises in *Die Wage*, and also in the series of articles which appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1898.

Loos's short-lived journal, *Das Andere* (1903), represents another important example of the interplay of illustration and text in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, particularly since Loos edited the journal himself and was responsible both for its layout and for the advertisements it carried (Glück 1976).³² The front covers of both issues sport advertisements for the tailor's firm, Goldman & Salatsch, and the English gentleman who appears in the illustrations represents Loos's ideal of modern man (*der moderne Mensch*) (see fig. 9). Moreover, *Das Andere* also highlights Loos's concern with lettering as image, discussing the relationship between lettering and modernity under the rubric 'Was man druckt' (Loos 1903b, p.4) ['What is printed']. Loos describes the lettering used in *Das Andere* as difficult to decipher, but then argues that it was the very 'unreadability' of the posters used by the Secession that guaranteed them free advertising in the form of a half-column write-up in the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*. In other words, a successful poster is reliant on alternative modes of signification, and not merely on writing.³³ Other articles by Loos appearing with illustrative material include 'Meine

³¹An 'architectural study' by Josef Hoffmann, decorations for books by Josef Auentaller and Olbrich, and a design for a silk embroidery and a decorative landscape by A. Böhm adorn 'Die Potemkin'sche Stadt', while architectural studies by Hoffmann, and designs for a glass and a leather mosaic by Böhm appear alongside 'Unseren jungen Architekten'.

³²Loos's interest in lettering and in the use of posters has been explored in some detail by Franz Glück (1976) who details Loos's work in the field of type-setting and publishing. Furthermore, the connections between ornament and writing in Loos and Kafka form the basis of an article by Anderson (1988).

³³Loos follows up this article with a short expose of good posters which could be seen in Vienna in 1903. These were 'Kathreiner's Malzkaffee', 'Die amerikanische Barfuß tänzerin im Orpheum' and 'Pendelversuch in der Rotunde'. It has been possible to locate the first of these posters in the *Museum für angewandte Kunst* in Vienna. The other two posters have not, as yet, been traced.

TAILORS AND OUTFITTERS
GOLDMAN & SALATSCH

K. U. K. HOF-
LIEFERANTEN
K. BAYER. HOF-
LIEFERANTEN



KAMMER-
LIEFERANTEN
Sr. k. u. k. Hoheit des
Herrn Erzherzog Josef
etc. etc.



WIEN, I. GRABEN 20.

Fig. 9. Advertisement for Goldman & Salatsch from the front cover of *Das Andere* (issue 2).

Bauschule' ([1913] 1982a, pp.64-7), which was originally published in *Der Architekt*, is illustrated with a drawing by one of Loos's students, Wilhelm Ebert.

The case of illustrative material neatly demonstrates an obvious difference between Loos's lectures and essays in their original locations, and the way in which they were reproduced in book form. None of the existing German-language editions of Loos's collected works contain the images which accompanied his texts and lectures and therefore, any reference to illustrations in the original publications are edited out in the book form.³⁴ Hence, it is only through carrying out an excavation of the texts that the importance of relationship between image and text in Loos's textual *oeuvre* becomes apparent.³⁵ Having recognised this aspect, the interpretations of Loos's work contained in this study are based on an awareness of the interactions between the written word, the spoken word and the visual which characterise his textual *oeuvre*.

Locating Loos's texts

However, although the visual played a central role in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, an examination of the original sources shows that the majority of Loos's texts appeared without illustrations. This can be explained with reference to the locations in which Loos's texts were originally published. Although Mitchell Schwarzer (1995) has demonstrated the correspondences between Loos's ideas and the whole body of architectural discourse at the turn of the century, it must also be recognised that Loos's

³⁴However, an English translation of *Ins leere gesprochen*, entitled *Spoken into the Void* (Loos 1982b), has reproduced some of the images which accompanied Loos's original publications and moreover, has added a further selection of illustrations. The additional illustrations include pictures from Max von der Boehn's ([1923-5] 1982) work on fashion, such as examples of tattooing to accompany 'Ladies Fashion' (Loos 1982b, p.86).

³⁵Bloomer (1993) has pointed to the use of illustrations as emblems or maps for reading an allegorical text, arguing that an examination of the slippage of the boundary between visual and verbal criteria, characteristic of Benjamin's analysis of allegory, is a useful tool in close analysis of the text. On the importance and meaning of the 'dialectical image' in Benjamin's work see Buck-Morss 1989.

texts only rarely appeared in architectural journals (Amanshauser 1985). Rather than being published in architectural journals, which were often illustrated, Loos's texts appeared in newspapers and (literary) journals, the majority of which did not carry illustrations. However, the lack of pictorial material was not the only consequence of Loos's texts being located in newspapers and journals rather than specialised architectural publications; it also meant that his texts were received by a different, wider reading (and listening) public. The character of his readership can be demonstrated by considering that Loos's early texts were mainly published in bourgeois Austrian newspapers. Most importantly, in terms of creating a large readership, his series of articles written on the occasion of Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition of 1898, appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse*, a German liberal newspaper regarded as the epitome of Austrian journalism (Paupé 1960, p.134).³⁶ The other newspapers in which Loos published his early texts, *Die Zeit* and the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, were also broadsheets and, like the *Neue Freie Presse*, firmly anchored within the liberal bourgeois tradition.³⁷

Even in this early period, Loos did not publish exclusively in the bourgeois press; his articles also appeared in avant-garde journals such as *Ver Sacrum*, *Die Zukunft*, *Die Wage* and the *Wiener Rundschau*, as well as in the bourgeois liberal feminist publication, *Documente der Frauen*.³⁸ Furthermore in 1903, Loos published two issues of his own journal, entitled *Das Andere*. The first issue was published as a supplement

³⁶According to Paupé (1960, p.134), it was considered correct to order the newspaper, even if one did not share its views. He adds that for every contributor it was an honour to work on the *Neue Freie Presse*, and a considerable honour to write a feuilleton.

³⁷Founded on the model of the New York magazine, *The Nation*, *Die Zeit* was a weekly newspaper (after 1902, it appeared as a daily newspaper) which tended towards *Kulturpolitik*. Although it was regarded as a liberal publication, it often attacked the *Neue Freie Presse* (Paupé 1960, pp.160-61).

In circulation terms, the German democratic *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, read by *Beamten*, merchants and the petty-bourgeoisie, exceeded the *Neue Freie Presse*, and yet it was the latter which gained international fame (p.151).

³⁸Detailed analyses of these journals can be found in: Nebehay 1987 (*Ver Sacrum*); Greuner 1983 (*Die Zukunft*); Wunberg 1976 (*Die Wage, Wiener Rundschau*); Bubenicek 1986 (*Documente der Frauen*).

For a list of Loos's articles and where they were published see appendix 1.

to Peter Altenberg's *Kunst*; the second appeared independently, perhaps because, as is documented in a letter from Altenberg to Karl Kraus dated September 1903, Altenberg was not entirely happy with the initial arrangement:

Adolf Loos hat sich *perfidester Weise* in meine Zeitschrift *eingedrängt*, durch *Inseraten-Bringen* meine Herausgeber auf seine Seite gebracht, mich hinterrücks lahmgelegt, *verdrängt!* Eine Welt von Tücke, Hinterlist und Gemeinheit! [...] Schimpf u. Schande über AL u. seine 'amerikanische Kultur'!

(Barker and Lensing 1995, p.231) [26]

An investigation of *Das Andere*, bearing in mind that Loos himself was responsible for layout, choice of illustration, advertisements as well as for the written text, reveals that through the juxtaposition of diverse elements and the use of provocation, Loos's journal both highlights the contradictions inherent in Viennese modernity and aims to suggest a cultural alternative in the shape of Western culture.³⁹ In matters of content and tone there are correspondences not only between *Das Andere* and Peter Altenberg's *Kunst*, but also between *Das Andere* and Kraus's *Die Fackel* (Cacciari 1993, p.156). In other words, *Das Andere* locates itself in the context of other avant-garde publications which appeared in Vienna at the turn of the century.

In 1908, probably through Loos's well-documented friendship with Karl Kraus, a series of articles by Loos were published in *März*, an avant-garde journal based in Munich. The publication of these articles coincided with the first meeting of the German *Werkbund*, which was held in Munich the same year. In 1910, Loos had a series of articles reprinted in *Der Sturm* which brought him to the attention of the Berlin avant-garde scene (Banham 1957).⁴⁰ Around this time, articles by Loos also appeared in *Der*

³⁹This concern is encapsulated in the sub-title of *Das Andere*: '*Ein Blatt zur Einführung abendländischer Kultur in Österreich*' ['A Journal for the Introduction to Austria of Western Culture'].

⁴⁰Eckel (1995, p.77) points out that although there have been attempts to show the aesthetic importance of Loos's work for the Sturm-Kreis, a close textual analysis remains to be carried out.

Brenner, an Innsbruck-based avant-garde publication edited by Ludwig von Ficker,⁴¹ and *Der Ruf*, the journal of the *Akademischer Verband für Musik und Literatur in Vienna*.⁴² Access to these journals meant that Loos was able to participate in the up-to-date discussions on the nature of art, culture and the nature of modernity in Austria and Germany (Eckel 1995). For example, it was through his connections to Ludwig von Ficker, that Loos made the acquaintance of Ludwig Wittgenstein in 1914 (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.195).

Immediately after the First World War, Loos published a series of articles in the *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, a left-wing liberal newspaper characterised by Paupé (1960, p.185) as 'a forerunner of the modern tabloid newspaper'. These articles, as is made clear in an introductory announcement which appeared in the *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, on 7 June 1919, were conceived as a continuation of a 'postbag' feature which had first appeared in *Das Andere* (1903) and consisted of Loos's answers to questions from his readership on matters of taste and etiquette, casting Loos in the role of 'agony uncle'. These articles, which appeared weekly, serve to underline Loos's continuing concern with the culture of everyday phenomena.⁴³ During this post-war period, Loos also published articles in other Viennese newspapers such as the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and the *Neue Freie Presse*, as well as in German and French publications.⁴⁴ In 1929, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* published 'Ornament und Verbrechen' in German for the first time, and also three further articles by Loos.

⁴¹For a detailed account of *Der Brenner* see Stieg 1976.

⁴²Loos also gave lectures in Vienna at the invitation of the *Akademischer Verband für Literatur und Musik*. See appendix 2 for details.

⁴³The articles were concerned with such questions as 'Was halten Sie von amerikanischen Schuhen?' ['What do you think about American shoes?'], 'Der Mann ohne Hut?' ['The man without a hat?'] or 'Leinenunterwäsche?' ['Linen underwear?']. For a full list, see appendix 1.

⁴⁴See appendix 1 for details.

Thus, Loos's articles were located both in avant-garde publications and also, importantly, in newspapers of various kinds.⁴⁵ This fact has ramifications, both in terms of the production and the consumption of Loos's work. Indeed, Pfabigan (1991, p.59) has argued that in order to understand Loos in context, it is necessary to concentrate more on his role in the mass media than in his contribution to specialist architectural discourse. Journalism, as Benjamin (1982, p.559) has argued, provided the social and economic foundation for a life of *flânerie*; newspapers and journals provided the location in which images of modernity could be sold. And indeed, the figure of the *flâneur* is one which is appropriate in an analysis of Loos's writing since many of Loos's texts are the documents of a stroll through Vienna (Cacciari 1993, p.156). Moreover, the importance of illustrations and images in Loos's textual *oeuvre* also serves to underline his proximity to the Benjaminian figure of the *flâneur* who, in creating a topographic index for his city, primarily makes use of the category of illustrative seeing (Frisby 1985, p.230). But what of the central characteristic of the *flâneur*, encapsulated in the idea of the 'man in the crowd' who is at once seen by all, and also completely hidden (Baudelaire 1964, p.9)? In order to explore this facet of Loos's position, it is necessary to explore the titles of his work which represent a further aspect of paratextuality.

Loos's Titles: The Dialectic of the Self and the Other

Leaving aside the titles of the individual articles, this section considers briefly the titles of the two collections of Loos's work published during his lifetime, *Ins leere gesprochen* and *Trotzdem*, before focusing in detail on *Das Andere*. *Ins leere gesprochen* has been rendered into English either as 'Spoken into the Void', 'Spoken into the Wind' or, most recently, 'Whistling in the Wind'. The latter options capture more of the sense of the original German, which functions primarily on a colloquial level. And the colloquial

⁴⁵Although Eckel (1995) has identified the importance of avant-garde journals in disseminating Loos's thought, she has neglected to explore the role which newspapers played.

nature of the title is of paramount importance since it is in this first collection of his writings that Loos first rejects the German system of capitalisation of all nouns which represents an attempt to bridge the gap between spoken and written German. However, it is the former that expresses most closely the sense of emptiness and resignation encapsulated in the title.

While *Ins leere gesprochen* evokes an elegiac mood, based on resignation,⁴⁶ the title of Loos's second collection, *Trotzdem*, articulates a mood of defiance. This title was suggested by Karl Kraus, as is made clear in a letter from Franz Glück to Ludwig von Ficker, dated 18 October 1930 (Ficker papers), and refers to a Nietzsche quotation: 'Das entscheidende geschieht trotzdem' which heads Loos's preface to *Trotzdem* and functions as a motto to the collection.⁴⁷ The mood of defiance evoked by the title represents the same attitude embodied by the figure of the Destructive Character (Benjamin 1972b, p.398) who refrains from committing suicide because '[sich] die Mühe nicht lohnt' ['it's not worth the bother'].⁴⁸ It also recalls Baudelaire's 'heroically defiant stance in relation to the world of the masses and the mass commodity' (Frisby 1985, p.259). However, despite the apparent polarity between the defiance of *Trotzdem*

⁴⁶Albert Ehrenstein ([1927] 1988, p.107) has argued that *Ins leere gesprochen* represents a tragic title illuminating the fact that Loos could find neither publisher, nor architectural clients, nor a chair in architecture in either Germany or Austria.

⁴⁷In *Ecce Homo*, in the section discussing the genesis of *Also Sprach Zarathustra*, Nietzsche (1988d, p.337) writes, 'Trotzdem und beinahe zum Beweis meines Satzes, daß alles Entscheidende "trotzdem" entsteht, war es in diesem Winter und diesen Verhältnissen, unter denen mein Zarathustra entstand' ['Nevertheless and almost as proof of my statement that the decisive happens "nevertheless", it was in this winter and under these conditions that my Zarathustra was created']. I am grateful to Paul Bishop for drawing my attention to this passage.

⁴⁸A recurring argument throughout Michael Müller's (1977; 1984; 1993) theory of architecture and ornament is to suggest that Loos can be identified with Benjamin's (1972b) 'destructive Charakter' and indeed, Benjamin's essay, 'Karl Kraus' (1977, p.336; p.366) and his early notes on Kraus (pp.111-2), which focus on the destructive nature of Loos's critique, provide evidence for such a move. Nevertheless, as documented in the editorial notes to 'Der destruktive Charakter' (Benjamin 1972b, pp.998-9), in a letter to Scholem, Benjamin identified the model for the Destructive Character as Gustav Glück (brother of Franz Glück).

and the resignation of *Ins leere gesprochen*, the two titles are also intimately linked in that both emphasise Loos's perceived position as an outsider, struggling to articulate his manifesto on the nature of modernity in the face of a hostile dominant discourse.

Moreover, the idea of the outsider provides a direct link from *Ins leere gesprochen* and *Trotzdem* back to *Das Andere*. Indeed, in *Das Andere*, Loos's choice of title is predicated on the binary opposition between the Self and the Other. Implicit in the title itself, this opposition is highlighted by a scrap of paper contained in the ALA, which shows that before settling on *Das Andere* as the title for his journal, Loos played with the idea of *Das Eigene*, as well as *Das Äussere* and others (see fig. 10). Loos's use of the binary opposition between the Self and the Other situates his thought in a particular socio-cultural location since in social theories of modernity, the concept of 'otherness' as a means to forge self-identity has become a common-place. Both Marx and Weber, as demonstrated by Said (1995), utilise an orientalist discourse, predicated on the dialectic of Self and Other, to ground their analyses of modernity.⁴⁹ However, it is in Hegel's *Phänomenologie des Geistes* ([1807] 1993) that the concept of 'otherness', which has become a marker of a strand of modern thought,⁵⁰ first gains credence in the modern sense. In his well-known passage on the Master/Slave dialectic, Hegel argues that in order to know the Self, i.e. to gain self-consciousness, one must first gain objectivity from the self (Hegel 1993, p.146). However, Hegel's analysis is grounded in his study of the phenomenology of the individual mind, and it therefore fell to later thinkers to extend and revise Hegel's insights in the context of social theory. The figure of the *Fremde* in Simmel's *Soziologie* (1992b, p.764), characterised as 'der Wandernde, der heute kommt und morgen bleibt' ['the wanderer who comes today and stays tomorrow'],

⁴⁹Indeed, Weber's position, according to Said, is characterised by the influence that he had on the shape of Orientalist studies, which was made possible because his work was seen as outside confirmation of Orientalist 'findings' (Said 1995, p.259).

⁵⁰Thus, later studies centring on the 'Other' constantly refer back to Hegel. For example, see Lacan 1977; Kristeva 1984.



Fig. 10. Manuscript Fragment Showing Draft Titles for Loos's Journal.

(Rukschcio and Schachel 1982)

signifies an insight which is close to that contained in Hegel's Master/Slave dialectic.⁵¹ In Simmel's analysis, the position of the stranger is predicated on a unity of closeness and difference, providing both subjectivity and objectivity, and therefore, granting the stranger a unique viewpoint.⁵²

The unity of closeness and distance signified by the Simmelian stranger is also of importance in Loos's textual *oeuvre*. Indeed, Loos defines culture as 'jene Ausgeglichenheit des inneren und äußeren Menschen, die allein ein vernünftiges Denken und Handeln verbürgt (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.91) ['that balance between man's interior and his exterior, which is the only guarantee of rational thought and action'].⁵³ However, notwithstanding his views on the interplay of the interior and the exterior, which can be mapped onto Simmel's ([1900] 1989) notions of 'subjective' and 'objective' culture, Loos's personal experience is not that of the Simmelian *Fremde*. Despite the arguments of critics who have made much of Loos's Moravian upbringing (Beller 1989, Maley 1990, Archer 1987),⁵⁴ it cannot be convincingly argued that Loos, a member of

⁵¹For a full summary of the development and role of the figure of the stranger in sociological theory, see Nassehi 1995.

⁵²The potential for cultural renewal contained within the idea of the Simmelian stranger has been seized upon and forms the backbone of contemporary theories of interculturality. For example, see Bhabha 1994.

⁵³This also suggests a correlation with Hegel's thought, since although making a formal distinction between the exterior and the interior, he essentially conceives them as two related aspects of the organic being (Kainz 1976). Moreover, this is not the only implicit reference to Hegel which appears in Loos's textual *oeuvre*. For example, in 1898, Loos argues that 'gegen den Zug der Zeit kann kein Mensch arbeiten.' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.122) ['no man can work against the sign of the times'] which is suggestive of a Hegelian teleological view of socio-cultural change. He then reiterates this view in 'Kulturentartung' (Loos [1908] 1982a, p.74).

⁵⁴Loos and others pose a problem for Beller's central thesis that it was the Jews who were primarily instrumental in creating the intense cultural activity in Vienna at the turn of the century which has been the focus of so many recent studies. His method of dealing with non-Jews such as Loos is to emphasise their level of immersion in a primarily Jewish milieu and to emphasise their position as 'ethical outsiders' in comparison to the 'baroque' culture of Vienna (Beller 1989, p.228). Assigning Loos to the status of an 'outsider' would appear to be unproblematic, since this represents his own view. However, arguing that

the politically dominant German-speaking minority in Moravia who was partly educated at the *Stiftsgymnasium* in Melk and who attended university in Vienna and Dresden (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982), was by birth or up-bringing, an outsider to the life of the Viennese *Bildungsbürgertum*.⁵⁵ Instead, Loos's position is encapsulated in the image conjured up by the title of Wolfgang Borchert's (1947) drama of a soldier returning from the war, *Draußen vor der Tür*. On returning to his own culture after the war, Borchert's protagonist finds that he has become estranged from it. Similarly, on returning from a three-year sojourn in America (1893-6), Loos sets himself up as a stranger to Viennese culture, maintaining in 'Der neue Stil und die Bronzeindustrie':

Viele meiner gedanken werden befremden erregen. Ich betrachte eben die ausstellung nicht vom wienerischen, sondern vom ausländischen standpunkte. Absichtlich. (Loos [1898] 1981, p.62) [27].

The title, *Das Andere*, seems to emphasise Loos's identification with the Other, represented in his texts by the concept of *abendländische Kultur*. However, a close analysis of Loos's journal reveals that Loos identifies not only with the Other but also with the Self. While claiming to have distanced himself from his own culture, Loos underlines the fact that he still belongs to the culture of Vienna through his repeated use

his outsider status is linked to a 'Moravian' background is not tenable. Archer (1987, p.73) claims that Loos, 'a Moravian' wrote in German only because it was the '*lingua franca* of Vienna', thus wrongly implying that German was not even Loos's native language. In fact, Loos's native language was German, and he could not speak Czech. In 1926, Bohumil Markalous attempted to organise a Chair for Loos at the *Akademie der bildenden Künste* in Prague. Loos reacted to this offer by suggesting that he would take it up if the department could be moved to Paris for a year to give him time to learn Czech (Slapeta 1983, p.127).

⁵⁵The political dominance of the German minority in Moravia was a well-documented phenomenon at the turn of the century. Writing in *Die Zeit*, Michael Konstantin (1897, p.49) argues that although the population in Moravia was 70% Slav and 30% German, the Germans, located in the linguistic enclaves of Brünn, Iglau and Zwittau, were dominant through their greater access to education and commerce, and through the geography of electoral rolls.

of the polemical 'we' throughout the journal.⁵⁶ Thus, Loos is aware that in gaining a new perspective on one's own culture, processes of both *Ent-eignung* and *An-eignung* are of importance.⁵⁷ To appropriate (*an-eignen*) new cultural forms and to re-appropriate existing cultural forms (*wieder-eignung*), a process of distancing oneself (*Ent-eignung*) from taken-for-granted cultural forms is imperative (Loos [1898] 1981, p.51). Hegel argues a similar point in his discussion of the Master/Slave dialectic, which suggests that Loos's position is closer to Hegel than to Simmel, since Loos's analysis is predicated on the idea of returning as a stranger to one's own culture rather than entering a new culture.⁵⁸

Moreover, in describing Loos's method of gaining a new perspective on his own culture through a process of distancing himself from it, we have returned to the question of the *flâneur* which was the point of departure for this excursion into the titles of Loos's textual collections. In her memoirs, Elsie Altmann-Loos (Loos's second wife) identifies travel as one of Loos's favourite occupations, remembering 'Kaum waren wir in Wien angekommen, begann Loos schon eine neue Reise zu denken' (Altmann 1968, p.116) ['We would scarcely have been back in Vienna before Loos began to plan a new journey']. His love of travel and his difficult relationship to 'home' situate Loos culturally, suggesting parallels to the figure of the *flâneur* in Baudelaire's writing who is distinguished by, among other things, a hate of home and a love of travel (Asendorf 1984, p.36).⁵⁹ Therefore, as a signifier of the standpoint which characterises Loos's

⁵⁶Thus, rubrics which appear in *Das Andere* include: 'Was wir sehen und hören', 'Was wir lesen', 'Was man uns verkauft' (Loos 1903a, 1903b) ['What we see and hear', 'What we read', 'What we are sold'].

⁵⁷This insight is very close to present-day theories of interculturality (Thum and Fink 1991; Bhabha 1994).

⁵⁸This is not to argue, however, that Loos's analysis represents a direct application of the Hegelian Master/Slave dialectic, despite a reference to the 'Weltgeist' in his lecture on 'Architektur' (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.102) and the correspondences between Loos's texts and Hegel's thought outlined above.

⁵⁹Loos's texts reveal, rather than a straightforward hate of 'home', a rather more ambiguous relationship to Vienna which involves moments of both identification and rejection. The reception of Loos in the contemporary Viennese press reflects this ambiguity. Thus, while Pater ([1918] 1985, p.58) can claim

Kulturkritik, 'das Andere' connotes a perspective which combines closeness and distance, subjectivity and objectivity. It is simultaneously the perspective of the insider and of the outsider.

THE STORYTELLER

The combination of outsider and insider perspectives which characterises Loos's critique of culture also sheds light on the method which Loos employs throughout his textual *oeuvre*. In setting up his credentials as a *Fremdgewordener*, the first article in *Das Andere* (1903a, p.1) draws extensively on autobiographical material, explaining how Loos's experience of America (1893-6) has enabled him to adopt a new perspective, that of the stranger, on his own culture. In other words, it is through the medium of storytelling that Loos communicates his message, and indeed, it is entirely appropriate that Loos should use this medium since Benjamin's (1977) analysis of the figure of the Storyteller contained in 'Der Erzähler. Betrachtungen zum Werk Nikolai Lesskows' emphasises the importance of a dialectic of belonging and not belonging. Benjamin (p.440) first identifies two archaic types of storyteller; on the one hand, 'der handelstreibende Seemann' ['the merchant seaman'], arriving from afar bearing new tales, and on the other, 'der seßhafte Ackerbauer' ['established farmer'] who belongs firmly in his own culture and has detailed knowledge of its traditions and tales. However, he then asserts that the figure of the Storyteller is only fully embodied when both types are present (p.440), thereby connoting a perspective which is simultaneously that of the Self and of the Other.

that Adolf Loos loved Austria, Liebstoekl ([1927] 1985, p.110), in the context of a report on Loos's (1927) lectures, 'Die Wiener Küche' and 'Das Wiener Weh', criticises Loos for being an outsider who only returns from Paris to insult Vienna and the Viennese.

An examination of Loos's textual *oeuvre* reveals that it is not only in *Das Andere* that Loos employs the method of storytelling; many of his other texts and lectures include reference to his own personal experience, and most are illustrated with anecdotal material of some kind. Moreover, according to a set of anonymous notes belonging to one of Loos's students in his *Bauschule*, in the course of his lectures on architecture, Loos told 'Märchen, wie es [ihm] in Amerika erging' ['fairytale about [his] experiences in America'] and furthermore, 'erzählte seine Reiseerlebnisse, alles durcheinander' (cited in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, pp.186-7) ['told tales in which his experiences of travel were all mixed up together']. In narrating Adolf Loos's life-story and interpreting Loos's architecture, most writers avail themselves extensively of Loos's texts. And yet, as Colomina (1994, p.46) has recognised, Loos's use of the technique of story-telling calls into question the status of these texts as sources of information, since, in 'Über einige Motive bei Baudelaire', Benjamin (1974, p.611) argues that the story

legt es nicht darauf an, das pure An-sich des Geschehenen zu übermitteln (wie die Information das tut). Sie [die Geschichte] senkt es dem Leben des Berichtenden ein, um es als Erfahrung den Hörern mitzugeben. [28]

Underlining this point, Benjamin describes the Storyteller as 'der Mann, der den Docht seines Lebens an der sanften Flamme seiner Erzählung sich vollkommen könnte verzehren lassen' (Benjamin 1977, pp.464-5) ['the man who could let the wick of his life be completely consumed by the gentle flame of his story' (Benjamin 1992, p.107)]. In other words, the story is not a form which concentrates on conveying bare facts. Instead, the point of the story is to translate *Erlebnis* into *Erfahrung*, where *Erlebnis* stands for lived-experience, while *Erfahrung* represents collectively secured experience (Frisby 1985, p.212).

In commenting on Loos's textual *oeuvre*, Ehrenstein ([1927] 1988, pp.106-7) implicitly discusses Loos's method of storytelling:

[Loos] leuchtet auf vor wenigen rasch begeisterten, rascher vergessenden Menschen, die den Gedanken nur kapieren können, wenn er ein ihnen verständlicher Witz scheint, die Weltgeschichte, wenn aus ihr ein Geschichtchen wird, die bittere Erkenntnis in der Bonbonform einer Anekdote. [29]

In criticising Loos's listeners for being able only to comprehend jokes and anecdotes, Ehrenstein attempts to undermine the importance of the story form. In so doing, he misses an essential point, recognised by Adorno (1974) and embodied in Loos's textual *oeuvre* (and also in the work of Simmel). Storytelling, 'eine der ältesten Formen der Mitteilung' (Benjamin 1974, p.611) ['one of the oldest forms of communication'], is the technique underlying both the modern essay and the modern lecture, and represents the continuation of oral culture in modernity. Otto Stoessl ([1933] 1988, p.167), drawing attention to the oral character of Loos's texts, argues:

Seine Aufsätze regen noch heute unvermindert an und regen auf wie damals, nicht ohne berechtigte Resignation 'ins Leere' und 'trotzdem' gesprochen. Für ihren sportlich und technisch exakten, bündigen, *mündlich ungezwungenen Stil* gilt das Lob, das Speidel für die Sprache Voltaires hat: köstlich geschmacklos wie kühles Quellwasser. (My emphasis) [30]

The continuing existence of oral culture in the space of the urban metropolis is one aspect of the paradoxical nature of modern life. Furthermore, these forms of oral communication, as Benjamin (1974, p.611) argues, represent the possibility of countering the atrophy of experience which is redolent of life in the metropolis.

However, the lecture form and the essay form, insofar as they consist of a nexus of a variety of themes and ideas, also reflect the structure of modern society. Thus, the lecture and the essay represent fragments inherent to modernity. Moreover, both forms assume a significant role in the sphere of circulation and exchange, both as commodities and as facilitator for the circulation of individuals and social groups since, according to Simmel's ([1900] 1989) illuminating analysis of modernity, the social identity of individuals and groups in modern society is characterised by a dynamic

intersection of social circles.⁶⁰ Thus, through his accumulation of cultural capital, Loos in his role as feuilletonist and lecturer, was able to participate in this circulation of individuals, as was aptly pointed out on a poster advertising lectures which Loos held in Prague in 1925, on which Loos was described as an 'Europäer mit ständigem Wohnsitz im Expreßzug London-Paris-Wien-Prag et retour' (Slapeta 1989, p.133) ['European with permanent residency in an express-train travelling between London-Paris-Vienna-Prague'] (see fig. 11).

Remaining with the theme of circulation, it has been argued that both Loos's individual articles and lectures, and his textual *oeuvre* as a whole are characterised by the interaction of a series of interlocking circles of themes and ideas which circulate throughout the texts. Drawing on the multitude of modes of signification which intersect and interact in order to make up the social and cultural world, Loos's texts and lectures provide a series of snapshots of life in Vienna in the period 1898-1933. Part Two of this study explores these modes of signification, tracing the manner in which they combine and differ within Loos's textual *oeuvre*. Throughout the second part of the study, a double perspective informs the analysis. On one level, the researcher has adopted the role of semiotician, exploring and explaining the processes of signification at work in Loos's texts. On another level, however, there is also an awareness of Loos's own role as semiotician as he employs strategies for reading the artefacts of his culture and reconstructing his own modes of signification. This investigation of Loos's textual *oeuvre* from the inside necessarily involves deconstructing the circularity of his texts and reconstructing his *oeuvre* by imposing on it a series of thematically grouped linear orders. Although it is illuminating to work in this fashion, it must be borne in mind that the interlocking circles characteristic of the structure of Loos's textual *oeuvre* and pivotal to Adorno's assessment of the essay form are representative of a complex

⁶⁰This being the case, further work is required on a more detailed investigation of the lecture as form in modernity grounded in the model of the language-game which permits analysis of the lecture as both commodity and facilitator.

**Von den Vorträgen über moderne Architektur
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Über die Aufgaben dieser Vorträge. Um die Jahre 1914 und 1915 haben sich in Wien die meisten namhaften Architekten, die sich damals im Ausland befanden, zu einer Zusammenkunft in der Stadt Wien versammelt. Diese Zusammenkunft hatte zum Zweck, die Aufgaben der Architekten in der Zukunft zu erörtern. Die Ergebnisse dieser Zusammenkunft sind in dem Buch „Die Aufgaben der Architekten“ von Adolf Loos veröffentlicht. Dieses Buch ist ein sehr interessantes Werk, das die Aufgaben der Architekten in der Zukunft darstellt. Es ist ein sehr wichtiges Werk für alle Architekten, die sich für die Zukunft ihrer Profession interessieren. Das Buch ist in drei Bänden erschienen. Der erste Band behandelt die Aufgaben der Architekten in der Zukunft, der zweite Band die Aufgaben der Architekten in der Gegenwart und der dritte Band die Aufgaben der Architekten in der Vergangenheit. Das Buch ist ein sehr wichtiges Werk für alle Architekten, die sich für die Zukunft ihrer Profession interessieren.

Fig. 11. Advertisement for a lecture given by Loos in Prague, which appeared in *Wohnungskultur*.
(Slapeta 1989)

intertextual entity which involves constant cross-referencing between the various modes of signification under consideration. Given the importance of 'das Andere' as a signifier of Loos's perspective, the following chapter investigates in detail the character and significance of the Other in Loos's textual *oeuvre*.

PART TWO

APPROACHING LOOS

FROM THE INSIDE

CHAPTER THREE

DAS ANDERE:

NATIONAL CULTURAL MYTHOLOGIES

To be modern is to live a life of paradox and contradiction. [...] It is to be both revolutionary and conservative: alive to new possibilities for experience and adventure, frightened by the nihilistic depths to which many modern adventures lead, longing to create and to hold on to something real even as everything melts.

(Berman 1983, p.14)

Oh would some power the giftie gie us. To see ourselves as
other see us.

(Robert Burns)

Hat man sich [...] draußen umgesehen, dann tritt ein Umschwung in der Wertschätzung des Heimischen ein. Götter werden gestürzt, Pygmäen erhoben.

(Loos [1898] 1981, p.51) [31]

In functioning as a signifier in Loos's cultural critique, 'das Andere' feeds into the first-order mythology through which social actors construct meaning and make sense of their world (Barthes 1993), since cultural stereotypes represent a widespread source of common-sense knowledge about the world. The extent to which national cultural myth was employed to make sense of the world in the second half of the nineteenth century is illustrated in Frederick Rose's *Novel Carte for 1870* (see fig. 12). It is also expressed in an article entitled 'Nationale Eigenart' which appeared in *Die Zeit*, 10 August 1901, prefaced by the above quotation from Burns. The function of myth is to provide answers to questions about why the world is the way it is and to satisfy people's desire for a meaning-filled world. In *Mythologies*, Barthes (1993, p.140) has investigated the way in which meaning is created from a historically shifting system of codes,

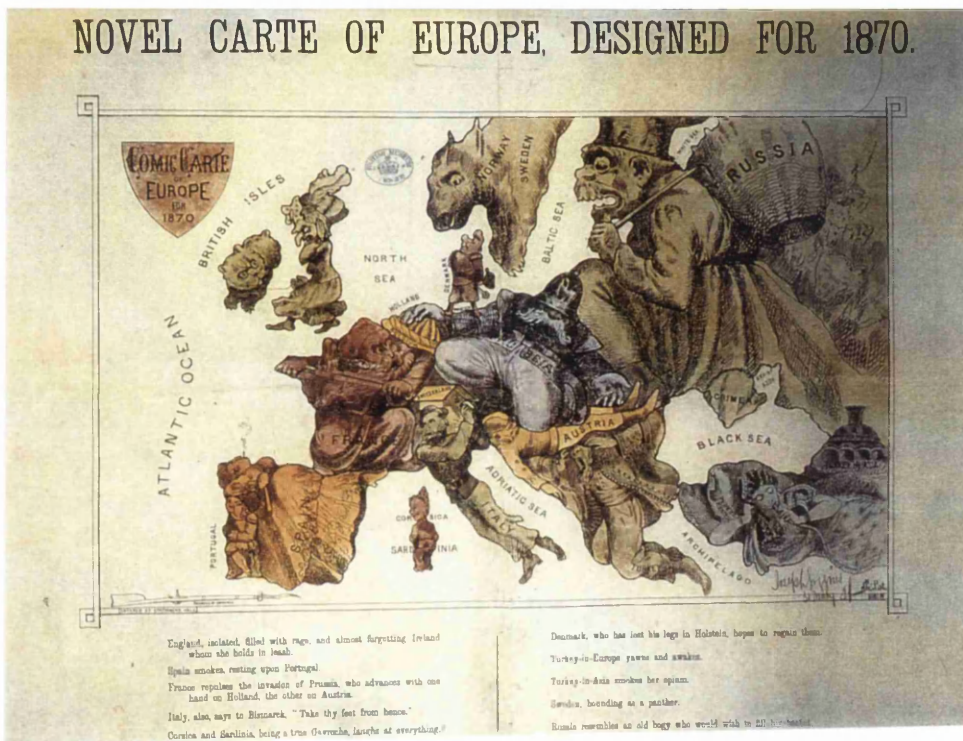


Fig. 12. Frederick Rose. 'Novel Carte of Europe designed for 1870'.
(Goss 1994)

conventions and signs, thereby transforming history into nature. In other words, as a semiological system, myth transforms the historically and socially specific into something which appears natural. This investigation of national cultural myth in Loos's textual *oeuvre* considers the way in which he utilises myth in order to ground his arguments about the nature of modernity.

Turning to examine the use of cultural myth in *Das Andere*, it initially appears to be clear that the Other signifies the concept of Western or occidental culture. This reading is confirmed by the sub-title of the journal: *Ein Blatt zur Einführung abendländischer Kultur in Österreich*. However on closer investigation, it becomes apparent that there is slippage between the signifier and the signified. Loos's 'Other' is neither unified nor homogenous, but rather differentiated and heterogeneous. In *Das Andere*, 'the other' signifies not only Western culture, but also, more specifically, American, English, German, Jewish and Turkish cultures. Investigating Loos's textual *oeuvre* as a whole extends this list to include Antiquity, Australia, China, India, Japan, Papua New Guinea, Scotland, and others. The cultural signifiers which appear in Loos's textual *oeuvre* can be analytically separated into three groups. First, there are those signifiers which connote Western, or *abendländische* culture: 'America', 'England' (and on one occasion, 'Scotland') and 'classical antiquity'. Second, there is a group of signifiers which connote the diametrical opposite to Western culture: 'the Balkans', 'China', 'Turkey', and 'Papua New Guinea'. Finally, there is a third category which consists of 'Germany' and 'Japan'. It is in his use of these particular cultural signifiers that Loos's critique becomes rather ambivalent, since the meaning attributed to 'Germany' and 'Japan' fluctuates throughout the texts and over time, such that these signifiers could be readily assigned to both, and neither of the above-mentioned categories. However, the ambiguity of these cultural signifiers in Loos's textual *oeuvre* has been hitherto largely ignored, since existing investigations into aspects of Loos's interculturality have preferred to focus either on American and English influences, or on Loos's analysis of the 'primitive', especially in

the context of 'Ornament und Verbrechen' (for example, Banham 1957; Müller 1987; Sekler 1989; Cacciari 1993; Roth 1995).

An investigation into the way in which these cultural signifiers function in Loos's textual *oeuvre* reveals that his view of the Other is predicated on paradox. On the one hand, in a manner similar to Sombart's (1928) analysis, the Other signifies a source of cultural renewal, while on the other, it represents a threat to the Self. In this double-edged view of the Other there is a striking echo of nineteenth-century analyses of modernity (Marx, Simmel and others) which underline both the potential for change and the threat of destruction contained in modernity (Berman 1983, p.14). In the context of Loos's thought, Western culture is associated with cultural renewal, and its opposite with the threat posed by the Other. Therefore, the complexity of Loos's use of 'Germany' and 'Japan' lies in the fact that they connote simultaneously the hope of renewal and the threat of destruction. Moreover, in the context of the argument that the perspective connoted by 'das Andere' is one of both closeness and distance, it is significant that Loos's ambivalent view of the Other is linked at once to the German, in spatial terms, the culture closest to Vienna and to the Japanese, the culture farthest from Vienna. This paradoxical view of the Other is ultimately closely bound up with the description of the heterogeneous nature of modernity in Vienna that is contained in Loos's textual *oeuvre*. Just as Said (1995) has demonstrated that an investigation into the cultural constructs signified by 'Orientalism' sheds light on the self-definitions of 'the West', so a detailed analysis of the multitude of signifiers of the Other that circulate throughout Loos's textual *oeuvre* paves the way for an analysis of cultural and social difference in Loos's Vienna.

AMERICA: 'Die Erleuchtung kam ihm in Amerika'

The first signifier to be dealt with is America, not least because it has played a central role in much of the existing secondary literature on Loos (Münz and Künstler 1964; Rukschcio and Schachel 1982; Gravagnuolo 1982; Tournikiotis 1994; Lustenberger 1994 and others). In the context of *Das Andere* and other early texts, Loos described his visit to the USA in terms of a 'rite de passage', emphasising the new perspective on his own culture which this granted him. A survey of early literature on Loos shows the extent to which he was successful in communicating this point. One of the earliest articles to appear on Loos, a review of the interior of the *Café Museum* by the Viennese art critic, Ludwig Hevesi (which appeared in 1899) emphasises the importance of Loos's visit to America (Hevesi [1906] 1984, p.175).¹ In 1902, Loos was included in the *Deutsch-Österreichisches Künstler- und Schriftstellerlexikon* (Kosel 1902, p.19).² This entry, which provided a point of reference for many later portrayals of Loos, mentions that Loos had spent three years in America, visiting Chicago, Philadelphia and New York, and working as an architect and furniture designer.³ In 'Heine und die Folgen', written in 1910, Karl Kraus (1989, p.188) described Loos as 'ein guter Amerikaner',⁴ while Robert Scheu (1909, p.26), in a pen portrait of Loos that appeared in *Die Fackel*, claimed that 'die Erleuchtung kam ihm [Loos] in Amerika' ['inspiration came to Loos in

¹In the same year, however, an anonymous article appeared in *Dekorative Kunst* (ss 1899, p.173) in which Loos's attitude was described as 'so wenig spezifisch englisch oder amerikanisch, als sie spezifisch wienerisch ist' ['just as little specifically English or American, as it is specifically Viennese'], showing that even as early as 1899, there was no consensus on the influence of America on Loos's work.

²This was essentially an exercise in self-representation as the entries in the encyclopaedia were provided by those included in the book themselves (preface to Kosel 1902).

³Due to a lack of further information (for example, the names of the companies that Loos worked for) it has not proved possible to substantiate these claims.

⁴Carr (1996, p.27) describes 'Heine und die Folgen' as the outcome of Kraus's analysis of the aesthetic theories of Loos, Stoessl and Lublinski. 'Heine und die Folgen' was one of the pieces included in Kraus's first public reading in Vienna, given on 3 May 1910 (p.27).

America']. Later writers, following in this tradition, have continued to emphasise the importance of Loos's experiences in America, and some, such as Viktor Loos ([1942] 1990) and Richard Neutra (1962) have added new details.⁵

In accepting that Loos found inspiration in America, recent studies of Loos are essentially basing their arguments in Loos's stories themselves, since they represent the source from which Hevesi, Scheu, Kraus, Viktor Loos, Neutra and others gathered their information on the role of America in Loos's development. However, as noted in the previous chapter, the Storyteller's concern does not lie in communicating detailed information, but in using anecdotal evidence to make a particular point. And indeed, problems arise for the researcher when attempting to verify Loos's American tales. Sekler (1989) has combined a desire to investigate the influence of Loos's stay in the USA on his architecture with an attempt to examine the traces of information contained in his writings and thus reconstruct his American experience. The results of Sekler's undertaking, which show that although some of the sparse autobiographical details in Loos's texts can be substantiated, others cannot,⁶ confirm the characterisation of Loos as

⁵Viktor Loos gives details on Loos's family in the States, while arguing that Loos's work is only comprehensible when one considers his 'künstlerische Herkunft von Amerika' (Viktor Loos [1942] 1990, p.188) ['artistic origins in America']. Neutra, meanwhile, maintains that it was the idea of the 'melting-pot' and the 'pioneer spirit' which inspired Loos. However, Neutra has also adapted Loos's tales of America; a story which Loos told in the *Schwarzwaldschule* about a friend being whisked out of his milieu at weekends to join high society on Long Island, became a tale starring Loos (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.27). It is also in the context of Neutra's tales that images of Loos working in a barber's shop, and doing a night shift as a dish washer, while living in the warehouse of a Jewish tailor near the Bowery are first mooted.

⁶Sekler has established that Frederick Loos (Loos's uncle) did indeed, as Loos claims in *Das Andere* (1903a, p.1), run a watchmaker's business in Chestnut Street, Philadelphia (Sekler, 1989, p.253). However, he has been unable to trace the newspapers for which, in 'Mein Auftreten mit der Melba', Loos ([1900] 1981, p.196) claims that he wrote. Likewise, my own research, contacting the New York Historical Society and the German Society in Philadelphia, has failed to turn up any trace of these publications.

Storyteller, whose method was to take a substratum of fact and then gild it with creative detail in order to create a story with a point (Sekler 1989, pp.252-3).

Much of the secondary literature on Loos and America has attempted to document the influence of Loos's travels in America on his architecture, addressing the lack of source material by juxtaposing those buildings which Loos must have encountered in his travels to New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis with his architectural projects (Kulka 1931; Münz and Künstler 1957; Gravagnuolo 1982; Rukschcio and Schachel 1982). However, it has proved more difficult to establish the intellectual influences on Loos from his time in America. Sekler (1989, p.261) has suggested that Thoreau was a possible influence, arguing that Loos's (1903a, pp.8-9) demand that the inhabitant of a dwelling should himself take responsibility for furnishing and decorating (*einrichten*) it has parallels in Thoreau's writings. In the same article, Sekler also draws attention to affinities between Loos's writings and Veblen's ([1899] 1925) *Theory of the Leisure Class*.⁷ There certainly are parallels between Loos's writings and contemporary American philosophy and yet his library, part of which is now in the possession of the *Historisches Museum* in Vienna, does not include works by Veblen or Thoreau.⁸ This emphasises a major gap in our knowledge of Loos concerning the time he spent in America. Although from the point of view of establishing architectural connections, this gap is easily bridgeable, it is not so simple, given the lack of documentary evidence, to reconstruct Loos's intellectual development between 1893 and 1896.

⁷Kramer (1981, p.1878) claims to have discussed Veblen's work with Loos and furthermore, maintains that Loos had been preoccupied with Veblen's thought during his visit to America. However, *Theory of the Leisure Class* was not published until 1899 and by that time, many of Loos's key ideas had already been published in his series of articles in the *Neue Freie Presse* (1898). It is also unlikely that on his visit to the USA, Loos would have come across Veblen who at that time, was an unknown academic in the economics department at the University of Chicago (Veblen papers).

⁸Another part of Loos's library is in private hands and is not accessible to the researcher at present. However, Koller (1989, p.299), who had access to both parts of Loos's library, confirms that Veblen's work is not to be found there.

Moreover, even if similarities can be established between Loos's work and nineteenth century American philosophy, it is by no means certain that he became acquainted with these works while in the USA. A survey of the Viennese weekly newspaper, *Die Zeit*, reveals the extent of the exposure to American thought available in Austria in the period when Loos returned to Vienna. The most cited American philosopher of the time, at least in the context of *Die Zeit*, was Emerson. Indeed, Max Messer, in an article entitled 'Die moderne Seele', identifies Emerson as 'Der Priester unseres Glaubens' ['the high priest of our beliefs'] and characterises him, together with Wagner, Nietzsche and Altenberg as 'wahrhaft modern' ['truly modern'] (Messer 1898, pp.43-4). A year later, Kurt Hamjun (1899, pp.150-2) provides an intellectual biography of Emerson, focusing on his public addresses. However, it is the report of an essay on 'Emersons Witz und Humor', reviewed in *Die Zeit*, 9 January 1897, which is most indicative of the way in which *Die Zeit* and other periodicals most likely functioned as a source for Loos's knowledge of American thought. The review contains the following lines: 'Das Bewußtsein, gut gekleidet zu sein - soll er einmal gesagt haben - gibt dem Menschen größere moralische Festigkeit als die Tröstungen der Religion' (p.31) ['The knowledge of being well-dressed – he is reported to have said – gives one greater moral certainty than the comforts of religion']. In 'Die Herrenmode', Loos echoes these sentiments, maintaining:

Ein amerikanischer philosoph sagt irgendwo: Ein junger mann ist reich, wenn er verstand im kopf und einen guten anzug im kasten hat. Der mann kennt sich aus. Der kennt seine leute. Was nützte aller verstand, wenn man ihn nicht durch gute kleider zur geltung bringen könnte.

(Loos [1898] 1981, p.55) [32]

The similarity between these passages is striking and suggests that at least part of Loos's knowledge of American thought was gleaned from contemporary Austrian and German newspapers and periodicals.

Emerson is, however, not the only American philosopher mentioned in *Die Zeit*. For example, the critic Karl Federn (1897) published an essay on Walt Whitman, emphasising the increasing interest in Whitman since the first translations of his poetry became available in the 1870s and 1880s (Bohan 1995, p.168).⁹ Both Emerson and Whitman were received enthusiastically in the German-speaking world and regarded as modern thinkers comparable to Nietzsche (Bohan 1995, p.168).¹⁰ Indeed, Loos's early texts contain a direct reference to Whitman. 'Die Schuhmacher' concludes with a quotation, in German, from Whitman's poem 'Pioneers! O Pioneers!' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.125). The title of this poem, which appears in the section of *Leaves of Grass* (Whitman [1891-2] 1965) entitled 'Birds of Passage', encapsulates the dominant image of the section, symbolising the receding Western frontier and the creation of a strong sense of national identity (Crawly 1970, p.133). Loos's project of introducing Western culture into Austria, echoes Whitman's encouragement of the pioneer spirit, reaching for the real and the symbolic West.

Die Zeit not only contained articles on American philosophers, but also included discussions on the relationship between Germany and America. Van Jostenode's (1898, pp.2-3) excursions into the relationship between America and Germany, and into the nature of 'Americanisation', function not only at the level of description, but also at the level of signification, in that they explore the meaning that 'America' has for the contemporary German audience. He focuses on the way in which America continued to represent a corresponding utopian picture of freedom in the wake of 1848. Indeed, 'America' functioned as a signifier in this manner, not only in the context of newspaper articles, but also in the context of much nineteenth-century German literature, and the representation of America in German literature has been a recurring topic of

⁹This essay eventually became the preface to Federn's translation of eighty poems from *Leaves of Grass*, which was published in 1904 (Bohan 1995, p.169).

¹⁰On the reception of Nietzsche in Vienna at the turn of the century see Venturelli 1984. For a more general view of Nietzsche reception in the German-speaking area at this time see Fleischer 1991. I am grateful to Paul Bishop for drawing these articles to my attention.

investigation (for example, Bauschinger et al 1975; Horstmann 1987), as has the representation of America in nineteenth-century philosophy (for example, Seidler 1975; Barck 1992). One important strand of nineteenth-century literature is represented by the figure of the *Rückkehrer* which can be seen in the work of Keller, Raabe and Fontane (Martini 1975) and which forms a possible role model for Loos's self-representation on his return from America. Indeed, one of the classic 'Heimkehrer' novels, Keller's *Martin Salander*, is contained in Loos's library.

Although much of the recent secondary literature on America as a signifier in German literature interprets the literary representation of America as signifying utopias of progress, Horstmann (1987) has shown that the reality is more complex; 'America' not only signifies the progress of civilisation and a utopian ideal, but also represents a critique of this idea. Notwithstanding this ambivalence in nineteenth-century literary representations of America, Hugo Münsterberg (1899, p.82) of Harvard University argued in *Die Zeit* that many of the images of America circulating in the German press in the 1890s were based on idealisation and were therefore too 'America-friendly' to grasp the ambiguities and complexities of the real America.¹¹ However, undermining Münsterberg's view, *Die Zeit* also contained articles on the perceived danger of the 'Americanisation' of Europe (for example, Kanner 1901; Rannig 1901; Oppenheimer 1902).¹² This negative view of America can be traced in part to the well-known

¹¹However, in a letter to Heinrich Rickert dated 3 November 1897, Simmel, recounting a meeting with Münsterberg in Berlin, expresses his doubts regarding Münsterberg's intellectual capabilities and judgement: 'Meine Hoffnung, daß wir von ihm noch einmal große und erlösende Worte hören werden, ist sehr herabgestimmt' (Simmel 1958, p.93) ['My hope that we might once more hear from him magnificent and redeeming words has been greatly reduced'].

¹²A review of *The Forum* draws attention to an article by Carl Mayo on the 'Americanisation of England', which argues that its extent had hitherto been underestimated. 'Americanisation' is identified in many areas: for example, the number of Americans living in England and owning businesses; the consumers' demand for American produce; the fact that, when a new university was set up in Birmingham, a committee was sent to America to study their teaching methods and organisation; the number of Americans from good families who are ready to cream off the best of the English women (*Die Zeit* 01.03.02: 143).

journalist W.T. Stead's thesis on *The Americanization of the World* (which was translated into German in 1902). Despite Münsterberg's allegations, it is a critique of processes of Americanisation and correspondingly, a negative view of America as a signifier of dystopia that characterises the dominant discourse at the turn of the century and in the early decades of the twentieth century.¹³

What, however, does the omnipresence of 'America' as a signifier in journalism, literature and philosophy in the German-speaking world imply for this study of Loos's cultural criticism? The specific examples gleaned from *Die Zeit* in the late 1890s (in which Loos was publishing in the same period)¹⁴ which are at times directly paralleled in Loos's early texts, taken together with evidence which indicates that Loos's command of English was not good,¹⁵ suggests that Loos's experiences in America may be of much lesser importance for an investigation into his use of 'America' as a signifier in his textual *oeuvre* than has hitherto been proposed. For example, the major difference between, for example, Loos's America and Kafka's America would seem, on the surface, to be the fact that Loos actually experienced America.¹⁶ And yet, since Loos's writings contain very little reference to his concrete experiences in America and attempts to reconstruct those he does mention reveal his tales to be 'gilded with creative detail', it can be argued that Loos's image of America is as idealised, in the sense of an imaginary picture, as Kafka's. Indeed, when one compares Loos's image of America with that of Kafka, it becomes clear that Loos's America is, if anything, more idealised than

¹³ It is, for example, this view of 'Americanisation of the times' that Simmel articulated in a lecture which he gave in Vienna in 1896, entitled 'Das Geld in der modernen Kultur' (Frisby 1990, p.517).

¹⁴Loos published four articles in *Die Zeit* in 1897, and one each in 1898 and 1899. See appendix 1 for details.

¹⁵Loos (1903a, p.1) describes having difficulties communicating with his American relatives because his English was poor. According to notes taken by a student at Loos's lectures, Loos's preparations for his journey to America included only 12 hours of English tuition at the Berlitz School in Berlin (cited in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.21)

¹⁶Mark Anderson (1992, pp.98-122) devotes a chapter of *Kafka's Clothes* to a discussion of Kafka's imaginary America.

Kafka's.¹⁷ While Kafka's novel fragment *Der Verschollene*¹⁸ presents a vision of America characterised by a sense of isolation and alienation, which represents a critique of narratives of progress (Horstmann 1987), the cultural construct signified by 'America' in Loos's textual *oeuvre* presents an entirely different view.

Throughout Loos's textual *oeuvre*, from the early texts to those written in the 1920s, 'America' connotes a sense of utopian possibility, and 'America' and 'the American' signify the foremost position on a linear scale of cultural progression. Thus, his view of America is not only differentiated from that expressed in Kafka's *Der Verschollene*, but also represents a marked opposition to the twentieth-century European critique of the threat of 'Americanisation'. Grounding this argument with reference to material culture, in 'Die Plumber', Loos ([1898] 1981, pp.101-7) demonstrates the cultural attainments of America through a polemical comparative critique of plumbing and aspects of personal hygiene. In comparison to the levels of cleanliness reached by America, Austria (the culture with which Loos himself identifies), is argued to have lagged behind in the process of cultural progress. In the same article, we find a perfect illustration of the tripartite schema, based on the paradox between the Other as a source of cultural renewal and the Other as a threat, which Loos often uses to delineate the position which he feels Austria occupies on the scale of progression:

Als ich vor einiger Zeit eine amerikanische Dame fragte, welches ihr der bemerkenswerteste Unterschied zwischen Österreich und Amerika dünkte,

¹⁷Despite Loos's interest in America, the fact that Mark Twain spent a year and a half in Vienna from September 1897 (Dolmetsch 1992) seems to have either escaped or not interested him. Given the vast amount of exposure that Twain received in the Austrian press, especially in the wake of a lecture he gave on 31st of October 1897 to Vienna's press club, Concordia, it would be unlikely that Loos could have overlooked Twain's presence in Vienna, and yet Twain does not feature in any of Loos's writings of the time. One explanation for this curious omission from Loos's writings is contained in the suggestion that Loos's America is not synonymous with the 'real' America. In this case, a representative of the real America may have been more a hindrance than an aid to Loos's case.

¹⁸*Der Verschollene* was first published in 1927 by Max Brod under the title *Amerika* (Caputo-Mayr and Herz 1982, p.16). The manuscript has, however, been dated to 1912/13 (Schillemeit 1983, p.53).

antwortete sie mir: *The plumbing!* [...] In dieser Beziehung verhält sich Amerika zu Österreich wie Österreich zu China.
(Loos [1898] 1981, p.104) [33]

Loos uses the common-place opposition between Austria and China, where China functions by signifying the primitive, to set up the idea of cultural lag and then extends his argument by stating that as modern as Austria may indeed appear in relation to China, in relation to America it is culturally backward. Austria, then, is located between the threat of cultural backwardness signified by the mandarin culture of China, and the promise of cultural renewal signified by the practical culture of America.

As signified by this treatise on plumbing, Loos's texts identify a direct link between modernisation, in the sense of processes of technical progress, and higher levels of cultural attainment. The arguments rehearsed in his essay on plumbing are reiterated in 'Von der Sparsamkeit' in which Loos suggests that the major difference between the American and the European soldier is that cleanliness is important to the American soldier (Loos [1924] 1983, p.209). These ideas form part of Loos's central thesis which holds that 'cultural forms' are more developed and more efficient in America than elsewhere. In the lecture 'Vom Gehen, Stehen, Essen und Trinken', first delivered in Vienna (1911) and subsequently expanded into a series of six lectures given in Vienna in 1918 and 1919 under the title, 'Äußere Kultur im 20. Jahrhundert', Loos uses a collection of anecdotes to illustrate his central idea that American, or Western, 'cultural forms' are more developed than those in Austria and thus represent the goal towards which Austrians should strive.

In demonstrating progressive character of American culture, Loos focuses on the increased tempo of life in America. In 'Die Fußbekleidung', he specifically links a higher level of cultural attainment with an increase in the speed of life, maintaining that 'völker mit höher entwickelter Kultur gehen rascher als solche, die noch zurückgeblieben sind, die Amerikaner schneller als die Italiener' (Loos [1898] 1981,

p.116) [‘people of more advanced civilisations walk more quickly than those who are behind the times, the Americans walk more quickly than the Italians’ (Loos 1998, p.95)]. In focusing on the increased tempo of modern life, Loos’s cultural critique demonstrates affinities with Siegfried Kracauer’s analysis of modernity, contained in ‘Die Reise und der Tanz’ (first published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in 1925), which identifies speed records as the most extreme manifestation of technology which was originally aimed at rationalising processes of circulation becoming an end in itself (Kracauer 1990a, p.293).¹⁹ The difference between Kracauer’s position and that of Loos is that while Kracauer is critical of the outcome of rationalisation processes, Loos appears to equate the increased tempo of modern life with cultural progress, regarding it as a positive phenomenon. However, there is a sense in which Loos’s writings recognise the disorienting effect of the increased tempo of modern life; in ‘Die Fußbekleidung’, Loos argues that a European arriving in New York ‘hat [...] immer das Gefühl, als ob es irgendwo ein Unglück gegeben hat’ (Loos [1898] 1981, p.116) [‘always has the feeling that there must have been an accident somewhere’ (Loos 1998, p.95)].²⁰

Loos expresses this early hint of ambivalence towards technical progress with much greater clarity in 1927, when, in response to a discussion on the merits of new technology, he argues that ‘die Eisenbahn hat die Menschen auseinandergebracht’ (cited in p.m. [1927] 1988, p.105) [‘the railways have driven people apart’]. Illustrating once more the importance of storytelling to Loos, a tale centring on personal family knowledge is used to underline his analysis of travel in modernity. Just as Simmel’s (1995a) analysis of circulation in the city, contained in ‘Die Großstädte und Geistesleben’ (first published in 1903), demonstrates that social contact is reduced to the level of the fleeting glance and individuals remain alienated (*entfremdet*) from each

¹⁹This essay has been translated into English as ‘Travel and Dance’ (Kracauer 1995). The translations used here are taken from this edition.

²⁰In Loos’s use of the image of an accident to articulate the experience of life in the metropolis, a correspondence is suggested between his view of the city and that contained in Kafka’s ([1953] 1988b) early text, *Beschreibung eines Kampfes* (Anderson 1992).

other, so Loos argues that rail travel has accentuated alienation. This situation is contrasted to a time gone by when, according to Loos, craftsmen wandered through Europe, learning as they travelled. Travel in the modern age no longer holds this possibility. As Kracauer (1990a, p.289) has argued, travel no longer allows people to savour the sensation of foreign places because one hotel is just like the next. This conclusion reflects the circularity of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, and also highlights the nature of Loos's America as a cultural construct, an ideal picture which has little to do with a geographical entity. Since modern travel, located in 'homogenous space', no longer provides the possibility of meeting the Other (Kracauer, p.289), any description of the Other focusing on difference rather than similarity, must necessarily be an ideal construct.

Loos's idealisation of 'America' is most apparent in his central argument that America is characterised by the sublation of difference between city-dwellers and country-dwellers.²¹ This point is first made in *Das Andere* in which Loos argues America's modernity lies in the possibility of social mobility between the country and the city that is lacking in Austro-Hungary where, an hour's train journey from Vienna,

so trifft man Menschen, die uns fremder sind wie Leute, die Tausende von Meilen über dem Meere wohnen. Keine Zusammenhänge haben wir mit ihnen. Wir wollen ihnen etwas Angenehmes sagen. Sie halten es für eine Frozzelei. Wir sagen etwas Derbes und werden mit einem dankbaren Lächeln belohnt. Sie ziehen sich anders an, essen Speisen, die auf uns den Eindruck machen, als stammten sie aus dem chinesischen Restaurant einer Weltausstellung und feiern ihre Feste in einer Weise, die unsere Neugierde in derselben Art befriedigt wie ein Umzug der Singhalesen. (Loos 1903a, p.1) [34]

²¹Raymond Williams (1973) provides us with a comprehensive description and analysis of city and country as signifiers over time. Although his study is mainly concerned with England, he states that his interests in the opposition between the city and the country are wider (p.2). He demonstrates that despite changes over time, the city/country divide is predicated on oppositions which retain great force (p.289).

This being the case, argues Loos, millions of people in Austria are effectively excluded from 'die Segnungen der Kultur' (p.1). The theme of Loos's America representing a land in which the city/country divide no longer exists continues throughout Loos's textual *oeuvre*. In 'Ornament und Verbrechen', Loos ([1910] 1982a, p.82) berates Austria for its backwardness, arguing that although some of its citizens are 'modern', others lag considerably behind, thus preventing Austria from reaching the happy position of a modern America which has no such 'latecomers' (*Nachzügler*) and 'marauders' (*Marodeure*). Later, in 'Stadt und Land', Loos ([1919] 1983, p.139) describes America as a country in which 'eine gemeinsame Kultur verbindet Stadt und Land' ['a common culture links the city and the country'], while in an article outlining his ideas for the *Siedlungsbewegung*, he states:

In Amerika ist der Städter und der Bauer nicht so scharf getrennt wie bei uns. Jeder Bauer ist ein halber Städter, jeder Städter ein halber Bauer. Der amerikanische Stadtmensch hat sich von der Natur nicht so weit entfernt wie sein europäischer Kollege, oder besser gesagt, wie sein kontinentaler Kollege. Denn auch der Engländer ist ein rechter Bauer.
(Loos [1921] 1982a, p.165) [35]

In Loos's textual *oeuvre*, then, America stands for a homogenous culture in which social difference has been overcome. That this view of America is distorted becomes clear with reference to any social histories of America at the turn of the century which focus on the vast differences between the rich and the poor in the cities, between Americans of different cultural origin and between the city and the country (for example, see Carnes and Garraty 1996). However, the distortion in Loos's America is most transparent in its ethnic composition. Although like Austro-Hungary (Bauer 1907; Koralka 1986), the USA at the turn of the century was characterised by severe divisions and distinctions along racial lines (Steinberg 1981, pp.3-42; Dinnerstein, Nichols and Reimers 1996), there are no racial tensions in Loos's America. His use of America as a signifier neglects both the tension between the blacks and the white ruling class in the South in

the aftermath of the Civil War (Weinstein and Wilson 1974, pp.404-31), and in the consequences of the Indian wars in the West (Carnes and Garraty 1996, pp.132-3).²²

The ideal of America as a unified culture also means that Loos can unproblematically idealise the modern rational work methods of the American worker as a positive development, without taking into account the troubled reality of the working classes in America (Weinstein and Wilson 1974, pp.472-87; Landauer 1981, pp.102-25 and 135-8). It is the efficiency of the American worker, signified in 'Ornament und Verbrechen' (Loos [1910] 1982a, pp.78-88) by the reduced labour-time he requires due to the lack of ornamentation of his products, which prompts Loos to conclude in 'Kultur' that 'der amerikanische Arbeiter hat die Welt erobert. Der Mann im Overall' (Loos [1908] 1982a, p.70) ['the American worker has conquered the world. The man in overalls']. This is a sentiment which he then reiterates in 1919 in the context of a description of overalls:

Der amerikanische arbeiter, praktisch, wie er ist, sieht nicht ein, warum man diesen überzug über den anzug aus zwei stücken machen müsse. [...] Der overall wird auch die kleidung des europäischen arbeiters werden. [...] In dreißig jahren habe wir ihn auch in Österreich. Dann wird der politiker, wie seit dreißig jahren sein amerikanischer kollege, emphatisch vom 'mann im overall' sprechen.

(Loos [1919] 1982a, p.149) [36]

Continuing with this romantic picture of work and industry in America, Loos also employs the figure of the American entrepreneur to underline the modernity of America as compared to Austria. Whereas in Austria, Loos argues, producing and increasing the wealth of the nation on the stock exchange is an activity not respected, there are other

²²In 'Amerikanische Weltpolitik', published in *Die Zeit*, Willard (1899, pp. 177-9) criticises America's expansionist policies and the lack of criticism on the part of the American people, both of these policies and of the inequalities that characterise life in America. In his discussion of these inequalities, he focuses closely on the position of the 'Negerbevölkerung' in the South. Loos's ideal vision of America eradicates such differences and divisions.

nations in which the merchant is valued and the most refined members of society attend the stock exchange and enjoy the 'society of kings and emperors' (Loos 1903a, p.2).²³ Although at this stage, the 'other nations' are not defined more closely (apart from their geographical location 'a great distance from the Balkans'), the article continues with a comparison between working customs in Austria and America, stating polemically that had Thomas Edison been brought up in Vienna, his mother would have been sentenced for putting him to work at a young age (p.2).²⁴

Extending his analysis of the American from the world of work to a more abstract discussion of *Weltanschauungen*, Loos argues that the American is the epitome of modernity, the 'Mensch mit den modernen Nerven' (Loos [1921] 1982a, p.165) ['man with the modern nerves']. What does he mean by this? The phrase *moderne Nerven* crops up in many of Loos's texts, but his terminology is rather ambiguous. While in 'Wohnen Lernen!', he states that only coming generations in Austria will be able to acquire *moderne Nerven* (p.165), he later suggests that *moderne Nerven* are innate features of humanity, arguing that 'jeder mensch verlässt mit modernen nerven den mutterleib. Diese modernen nerven in unmoderne zu verwandeln, nennt man erziehung' (Loos [1929] 1982a, p.212) ['everyone leaves the womb with modern nerves. The process of transforming them into 'unmodern' nerves is called education']. However, this apparent ambiguity can be resolved to some extent if we recognise that Loos is using the same term to refer to two different instances; in the first example, he is referring to objective culture, and in the second, to subjective culture. According to Loos, to be modern involves a balance between objective and subjective culture,

²³A reply to this article, mentioned in *Das Andere* (Loos 1903b, p.3) without further comment, enquires of Loos whether he is unaware of the fact that this activity is not respected in Austria since the stock exchange is the preserve of the Jews.

²⁴While the figure of the refined Entrepreneur may play an important role in Loos's idealised America, American literature of the period paints a rather different picture of the status of the stock exchange. In *The Age of Innocence* (1920), for example, Edith Wharton presents, through the character of Beaufort, a vivid view of the way in which the best of New York society regarded with suspicion and distaste both the stock exchange itself and the activities of speculators (Wharton 1996 [1920], p.220).

between the interior and the exterior (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.91). Thus, the *Mensch mit den modernen Nerven* implies a person equipped with the capability to experience the modern in a positive manner, with reference to both subjective and objective culture. The category of *moderne Nerven* is therefore conceived both psychologically and sociologically, both as an *apriori* state of mind and as the outcome of social processes.

Loos's description of the American as the 'Mensch mit den modernen Nerven' situates his critique firmly in its own socio-cultural location. At the turn of the century, influenced by Ernst Mach's work on sensations, there was much interest in nerves and the destabilisation of perception, and *Nervenkunst* was a familiar literary topos (Asendorf 1984, pp.121-6; 1989, pp.79-84; Worbs 1988). Thus, Le Rider (1993) has shown how Viennese modernists used the vague term 'nervous complaints' to describe their inner state and their retreat into subjectivity, while Asendorf (1984, p.122) points to the role that Nietzsche played in defining an interest in nerves and the relationship between nerve trouble and decadence. This is an argument which is reiterated in *Entartung*, Max Nordau's (1892) critique of decadence.²⁵ Seen against this background, Loos's use of the phrase, *moderne Nerven*, can and should be read as an example of his ability to subvert cultural meaning, for he uses the term to connote a positive and social state of being, diametrically opposed to the retreat into subjectivity of the modernists. Therefore, the American, the archetypal *Mensch mit den modernen Nerven* in Loos's texts, represents the transcendence of decadence, and the overwhelming subjectivity now often argued to be typical of Viennese modernism (for example, see Le Rider 1993). Indeed, this represents Loos's utopian vision of modernity, in which subjective

²⁵Loos's knowledge of Nordau's cultural criticism is documented in an undated visiting card that Loos sent to Karl Kraus, which reads, 'In der Abendausgabe 20 April, Vossische nennt Max Nordau die Russen das Land der Richter und Henker. Gruss Loos.' (Correspondence Loos-Kraus) [In the evening edition 20 April, Vossische [a Berlin-based newspaper] Max Nordau describes the Russians as the country of judges and executioners'].

and objective culture are reconciled and exist in a symbiotic relationship with one another.²⁶

In Loos's textual *oeuvre*, then, America signifies the hope of cultural renewal located in the Other. His utopian view of a progressive society which has overcome the difference between the city and the country, and in which subjective and objective culture are in balance forms the model of modernity to which he hopes Austria will rise. Thus, the key difference that he identifies between America and Austria is represented by the continuance of social difference in Austria, which he has eradicated from his ideal construct of America.

ENGLAND: 'Die Freude an der Zerstörung'

As with America, in the context of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, England also signifies the attainments of Western culture, and so many aspects of Loos's America are reiterated in his England. In 'Die englischen Schulen im österreichischen Museum', he argues that English culture has moved rapidly forwards, while Austrian culture has remained static (Loos [1899] 1981, p.46). This direct comparison between England and Austria echoes the arguments of 'Winterausstellung des österreichischen Museums' in which Loos suggests that from a position of relative cultural equality, English culture has surged ahead, leaving Austrian culture trailing in its wake (Loos [1898] 1981, p.170). And it is not only in these early articles that Loos associates the modernity of English culture with an increase in tempo. In 'Kultur', the Englishman is presented climbing mountains, signifying cultural progress, through the idea of movement which proceeds at once in a

²⁶The hope of a balance between objective and subjective culture suggests a parallel with Simmel's work. However, in 'Der Begriff und die Tragödie der Kultur', first published in 1911, Simmel's (1996) pessimistic analysis argues that far from there being a reconciliation between subjective and objective culture, modernity is characterised by an ever-increasing chasm between the two.

forwards and an upwards direction, and riding a bicycle, signifying individualised freedom of movement and the role of technology (Loos [1908] 1982a, p.69). In the case of the latter, Loos's text appeals to popular culture, as the bicycle had become an important aspect of Austrian culture at the turn of the century, and both proletarian and bourgeois struggles for emancipation idealised and mystified the bicycle (Sandgruber 1986, p.299).²⁷ The bicycle came to signify individual mobility, playing its role in maintaining the circulation of individuals that, as Simmel ([1900] 1989) has shown, characterises modernity. Yet the mobility that was signified by the bicycle was illusory, since the Viennese worker, leaving Ottakring, or Simmering, or Floridsdorf, was able only temporarily to transcend social boundaries, before returning to his own area of the city, thereby illustrating Simmel's definition of boundaries and borders as the geographical signifiers of sociological facts:

Jede Grenze ist ein seelisches, näher: ein soziologisches Geschehen; aber durch dessen Investierung in einer Linie im Raum gewinnt das Gegenseitigkeitsverhältnis nach seinen positiven und negativen Seiten eine Klarheit und Sicherheit.

(Simmel [1908] 1992b, p.699) [37]

The bicycle allows the individual to cross boundaries as geographical signifiers, but does not affect the sociological fact of a socially differentiated city. Rather, in providing the means for travel, it functions to provide a temporary escape from the rationalisation of the modern city, in exactly the manner that, according to Simmel's 'Alpenreisen' (first published in *Die Zeit*, 13.07.1895), mountain-climbing does:

Je ruheloser, ungewisser, gegensatzreicher das moderne Dasein wird, desto leidenschaftlicher verlangt uns nach Höhen, die jenseits unseres Guten und

²⁷Loos's interest in the bicycle is documented by the fact that his library includes a second-hand copy of *Handbuch des Bicycle Sport* (Silberer and Ernst 1883). Moreover, he is not alone at the turn of the century in expressing a literary interest in the bicycle; in his afterword to Schnitzler's diaries of 1893-1902, Welzig (1989, pp.489-502) has demonstrated the importance of cycling and the bicycle in Schnitzler's writing.

Bösen stehen, zu denen wir aufsehen, die wir sonst das Emporblicken verlernt haben.

(Simmel 1992a, p.94) [38]

The leisure pursuits of the Englishman, mountain-climbing and cycling, at once signify the increasing tempo and nervousness of modern life, and also provide a means of temporary escape from it.

As well as the increased tempo of modern life, there are other links between the American and the English in the context of Loos's writings. One such similarity is the conviction that the sublation of social difference is a fundamental feature of a modern society. Thus, in 'Wohnen Lernen!', Loos maintains that a sign of the modernity of England and America is that both have eradicated the barriers between the city-dweller and the country-dweller. Just as America signifies a unified culture in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, so he highlights the way in which overcoming cultural difference has allowed England to reach the ideal of a unified culture, which is signified by the lack of a prescriptive and hierarchical dress code (*Kleiderordnung*) (Loos [1898] 1981, p.55) and the adoption of uniformity in clothing (Loos [1908] 1983, p.117). This emphasis on unity suggests that Loos's England may be as much of an ideal construct as his America has been demonstrated to be.

Loos extends and modifies his ideal construct of the Other through his use of England as a signifier of a culture in which a specific class, the bourgeoisie, is politically, socially and culturally ascendant (Loos [1897] 1981, p.30). In this image, however, the idealised nature of his 'England' reveals itself, since, as Mayer (1981, p.12) has shown, in the period up to the First World War, in England, just as in Austro-Hungary, the ruling class was still the aristocracy. In the context of an investigation into architecture and design in England, Lubbock (1995) explores Loos's idealised image, suggesting that Loos's source for his 'England' was literary, and gleaned from Addison and the *Spectator*. Moreover, he suggests that Loos's essays were modelled on *Tatler* and the *Spectator*,

and that this locates Loos in his own socio-cultural milieu, since 'the progressive classes of turn of the century Austria were thoroughly Anglophile' (Lubbock 1995, p.305).²⁸

The general admiration for England in Vienna at the turn of the century is confirmed by Sekler (1983, p.4), who has used this as the background against which to document Loos's interest in English culture, through an exploration of the books which formed Loos's library. Sekler draws attention to the examples of English literature contained in Loos's library: including Byron, Dickens, Thackeray, Lewis Carroll and G B Shaw (p.2). He also notes that there is one reference to William Morris: Bruce Glasier's (1921) *William Morris in the Early Days of the Socialist Movement*. Furthermore, there is a copy of Ruskin's (1865) *Sesame and Lilies* and Geoffrey Scott's (1914) *The Architecture of Humanism*. Finally, Sekler identifies two books which show that Loos had connections to cultural life in England in the 1920s: Osbert Sitwell's (1923) *Out of the Flame* and Sacheverell Sitwell's (1924) *Southern Baroque Art*, both containing dedications to Loos from the author. In addition to the books mentioned by Sekler, Loos's library contains several other volumes which could have formed the basis for his idealised view of England. Although *Tatler* and *The Spectator* do not figure in his library, there are copies of *The Century Illustrated Magazine* and books such as *Ein englischer Landsquire* by Franz v. Holtzendorff (1877) and *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* by Joseph Strutt (1876). Finally, in praising Hermann Muthesius for his series of 'instructive books' on English life and living (Loos [1908] 1982a, p.74), Loos reveals that the model for his England was not only literary, but also steeped in an awareness of contemporary architectural discourse on English style.²⁹ In other words,

²⁸In order to underline his argument however, Lubbock (1995) states erroneously that there is no positive evidence that Loos visited London. In fact, Loos's attendance as a delegate at the Garden City conference in London, 1922 is documented by Rukschcio and Schachel, (1982, p.269) with reference to an article by Max Ermers (1934) on Loos's work for the *Siedlungsbewegung*.

²⁹In his analysis of the influence of English industrialism on architectural discourse in Germany and Austria around the turn of the century, Schwarzer (1995, pp.138-46) has demonstrated the existence of an extended debate on the reception of English ideas and style.

no less than was the case with his America, Loos's England was an ideal construct, bearing little resemblance to the actual socio-cultural complexity of the country.

Despite the Anglophilia that has been identified as an important cultural current in turn-of-the-century Vienna, there was also an anti-English movement in the German-speaking countries, struggling against the perceived hegemony of English style (von Gerlach 1901).³⁰ As signifiers in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, England and America are intended to represent a model and source for cultural renewal in Austro-Hungary. However, Loos was aware of a certain animosity towards Anglo-Saxon culture, and therefore, he set out to counter this hostility. Thus, his early texts contain a proto-sociological analysis of the creation of a nationalist discourse. This analysis is based on Loos's rejection of the 'false patriotism', which he attributed to the Arts and Crafts Movement in Vienna, and his affirmation of the alternative intercultural discourse being constructed by Hofrat von Scala in his position as director of the *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie*.³¹ In the various articles in which he describes the 'Fall Scala', he underlines the importance of the everyday world of architecture, interior

³⁰On 30 July 1898, *Die Zeit* carried a review of *Die Gegenwart* in which the results of a survey it had carried out into German-English relations were discussed. The review cites Friedrich Ratzel's critique of the intellectual relationship between Germany and England which, he argues, was characterised by a one-sided flow of thought from England to Germany during a series of periods of 'Anglomanie' and furthermore, an over-estimation of Darwin and Spencer. He concludes by lamenting the widespread availability of English newspapers and periodicals in Germany which serve to dilute German culture.

This article, which should be read in the context of contemporary theories on the 'Americanisation of the world', is not an isolated critique of the relationship between Germany and England at the turn of the century. For example, see also Kaufmann 1900.

³¹Arthur von Scala (1845-1909) had spent several years in England before returning to Vienna and being appointed Director of the *Museum für Kunst und Industrie*. After his appointment to the museum, he undertook controversial initiatives to reform its programme. Loos and Josef Hoffmann both intervened in the ensuing debate (see Sekler 1983, p.3).

Following the model of the South Kensington museum, the *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie* was established in 1863, housing the first collection of applied arts on the continent (Baedeker 1913, p.84).

decoration and craft for the political and the social.³² In 'Der Fall Scala', he justifies his interest in the struggles over the Museum of Art and Industry as follows: 'Der Fall Scala erscheint mir für unsere Zeit von dem nöthigen culturgeschichtlichen Interesse, das eine Aufzählung seiner Phasen rechtfertigt' (Loos [1898] 1983, p.41) ['The Scala case appears to me to be of sufficient cultural and historical significance for our time, that a detailed description of its phases is justified'].

These articles which describe the construction of a nationalist discourse represent the starting-point for Loos's sustained criticism of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Vienna.³³ He demonstrates how this discourse, which is intimately linked to questions of power and to social boundaries, was created by conceiving England as a negative instance of the Other, posing a threat to the culture of Austria. This is, of course, in direct opposition to his view of England as one representative of the Other signifying the hope and possibility of cultural renewal. Loos ([1898] 1981, p.38) argues that in constructing such a discourse, the proponents of the Viennese Arts and Crafts Movement ignored the important role that intercultural influence has often played in the

³²The relevant articles, all originally published in Viennese newspapers (1897-9), are: 'Weihnachtsausstellung im österreichischen Museum' (Loos 1981, pp.27-34), 'Die englischen Schulen im österreichischen Museum' (pp.45-50), 'Die Winterausstellung im österreichischen Museum' (pp.169-75), 'Wanderungen im österreichischen Museum' (pp.176-80), 'Das Scala-Theater in Wien' (pp.181-91), and 'Der Fall Scala' (Loos 1983, pp.29-42).

³³In equating the Viennese Arts and Crafts Movement, the *Wiener Werkstätte*, with an anti-English discourse, Loos is polemically simplifying matters. In fact, the *Wiener Werkstätte* looked to developments in the English Arts and Crafts Movement for inspiration, and for example, Charles Rennie MacIntosh and Margaret MacDonald were invited to contribute to the eighth exhibition of the Secession in 1900 (Eadie 1990; Vergo 1981). Indeed, the decisive initiative which led to the establishment of the *Wiener Werkstätte* was a study trip to England and to Glasgow, undertaken by Felician Myrbach and Josef Hoffmann in 1902 (Schweiger 1982, p.22). Moreover, as Sekler (1983) has shown, England (and especially *The Studio*) also represented an important source of inspiration for Hoffmann. However, it is in Hoffmann's admiration for *The Studio* that his view of England differs significantly from Loos's, since Loos frequently makes fun of *The Studio* (for example, Loos 1903b, p.1). This suggests that Loos's idealisation of England does not include the modernism of the twentieth century, but remains located within the nineteenth century.

creation of new styles, as illustrated in the influence of the Persian on the Renaissance, or that of the Chinese on Rococo. Recognition of this fact, maintains Loos, subverts the credibility of contemporary fears about the negative effects of English influence on the Austrian national style. Turning his attention to the history of art, Loos locates these fears in a lack of differentiation and precision which resulted in the basic failure to distinguish between national style and the style of a particular age. So, for example, Loos demonstrates the false premise upon which the ornamentation typical of the German Renaissance was deemed to be specifically German in character. Loos's argument against this position is clear, maintaining 'da haben wir wieder die Fälschung, daß Volksunterschiede an die Stelle von Zeitunterschieden gesetzt werden' (Loos [1898] 1983, p38) ['here once more we have the falsification that replaces temporal differences with national-cultural differences']. Instead of recognising that a style is characteristic of a particular age, it becomes reified as the signifier of national cultural difference, and through the use of such signifiers, an Austrian national discourse is created, negatively defined in opposition to England and the English style.

Loos ([1898] 1981, p.169) traces the creation of an anti-English discourse back to the World Exhibition held in London in 1862, stating that the Austrians who visited the exhibition were suddenly confronted with concrete evidence of Austria's cultural and technological backwardness in comparison to England. He suggests that there were two possible responses to this painful insight: either Austria could attempt to follow England's lead, or it could turn its back on England (p.169). Choosing the latter course of action, the first barriers towards England and towards modernisation were erected in the aftermath of the London exhibition when slogans became popular which referred to the introduction of English ideas as 'die englische Krankheit' ['the English sickness'], thereby suggesting the pathological nature of the English invasion of style (Loos [1898] 1981, p.170). In other words, the pattern of ignoring English style in favour of a national German style was established in 1863 (p.176). Loos's texts question this attitude, showing its absurdity through insistent rhetorical questioning:

Warum um alles in der welt bekommen wir nervenanfälle, wenn es sich um englische räume handelt? Was ist's mit den Engländern? Warum machen wir bei ihnen eine ausnahme? (Loos [1898] 1981, p.160) [39]

Reiterating the absurdity of a strong anti-English stance, Loos turns his attention to the bicycle. Since this represents an English invention, he suggests sarcastically that it really should be consigned to the scrap heap in favour of a genuine Austrian bicycle:

Gebt das verwerfliche kopieren englischer fabrikate auf und nehmt euch das echt österreichische holzrad des braven obersteirischen knechtes Peter Zapfel – oder hat der brave anders geheißten? – zum muster. Dieses rad paßt besser zur alpenlandschaft als die häßlichen englischen räder.
(Loos [1898] 1981, p.86) [40]

In Loos's view, just as it would be ridiculous to ignore the English bicycle in favour of an Austrian model, so it is also ridiculous to ignore other features of English culture which would represent an improvement to the situation in Austria.

The rejection of intercultural influence is completely alien to Loos. Indeed, he warns energetically of the consequences of such a view which, seen from his evolutionary perspective on culture, can only represent a backwards move. He argues that in an age of new communication technology and increasing globalisation, it is foolhardy to attempt to erect barriers to outside influence:

Und nun finden sich sonderbare heilige, die im zeitalter der expreßzüge und der telegraphen künstlich eine chinesische mauer um uns errichten wollen. Doch das ist unmöglich. (Loos [1898] 1981, p.87).³⁴ [41]

³⁴The 'Chinese Wall' is a familiar trope in German literature at the turn of the century. For example, Kraus published a satire under the title 'Die chinesische Mauer' in 1910 (Kraus 1987b), while Kafka's ([1953] 1988b) 'Beim Bau der Chinesischen Mauer' appeared in *Der Morgen* in 1930 (Caputo-Mayr and Herz 1983, p.46). In 'Franz Kafka', Benjamin (1977, p.421) likens the impenetrability of Kafka's Chinese Wall to the impenetrability of the rationalised bureaucracy which characterises *Der Prozess* and *Der Schloß*. In other words, the wall represents an inevitable consequence of the processes of rationalisation

According to Loos's argument, being receptive to intercultural influence and accepting the modernity of the English is a precondition for the evolution of a modern culture. Attempting to convince his fellow Austrians of this, in 'Das Sitzmöbel', he maintains that the modern Austrian actually has more in common with English culture than with the customs of the Upper Austrian peasant who, although geographically closer, is separated through temporal differentiation (Loos [1898] 1981, p.87).³⁵ Thus, the unified culture that is signified by England represents Loos's cultural ideal and is contrasted to the construction of a false national culture which, Loos suggests, is the result of an overestimation of the importance of one's own culture and a refusal to be receptive to the ideal of intercultural interaction. The key to the assumption of modern national culture does not lie in the construction of new symbols and styles, but in the reproduction of an already existing modern style, which, at the turn of the century, is synonymous with the English style.³⁶

However, on closer examination, the unified culture represented by England differs in certain respects from that represented by America. While the signifier of unified culture in America was that of the worker, the 'man in overalls', in the context of Loos's remarks

which, according to Max Weber's (1963, pp.1-16) analysis in the introduction to the *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, characterises modern Western rational capitalism.

³⁵At this point Loos's critique exemplifies Kracauer's (1990a, p.289) argument that the decrease in distance brought about through new technology and new means of travel will cause the exotic to be relativised: 'statt wie jetzt vielleicht noch an den Pyramiden und dem Goldenen Horn zu haften, bezeichnet er [der Begriff des Exotischen] dann jeden beliebigen Weltpunkt, insofern er von einem anderen beliebigen Weltpunkt aus also ungewöhnlich erscheint' ['though at present the exotic may still cling to the pyramids and the Golden Horn, someday it will designate any spot in the world whatsoever, to the extent that the spot appears unusual from the perspective of any other point in the world'].

³⁶An article entitled 'Entwicklung' by the cultural critic Bertha Zuckerkanndl (1898) that appeared in *Die Zeit* (12.03.1898), in which Zuckerkanndl argues that Austria has much to catch up on culturally and should imitate England and France in order to achieve this, demonstrates a striking affinity with Loos's texts of the same period. This is all the more remarkable when one considers that in 1927, Zuckerkanndl championed the *Wiener Werkstätte* against Loos's bitter criticisms (Zuckerkanndl [1927] 1985, p.108).

on England, it is the figure of the English Gentleman that signifies unified culture.³⁷ The difference between these signifiers is temporal. The time of the 'man in overalls' is still to come, shown by Loos's use of the future tense in 'Kultur': 'Dann aber *wird* Lotten ein mann *entgegenreten*, der eine weite hose bis unter die achselhöhle trägt, durch achselspannungen festgehalten. [...] Der mann im overall' (Loos [1908] 1982a, p.70 - my emphasis) ['But by then Charlotte *will see* her Werther approach in wide trousers that reach up to his armpits and are buckled over his shoulders. [...] The man in *overalls*' (Loos 1998, p.162)]. In comparison, the English, as Loos argues in 'Glas und Ton', are 'die Menschen *des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* in ihrer Vollendung' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.90 - my emphasis) ['the perfect *nineteenth century* people']. In other words, the American worker represents a vision of the future, while the English Gentleman is the epitome of present culture. And while the American worker connotes an acceptance of modern rational work practises, the English Gentleman represents a rather more ambivalent position.

Although in 'Glas und Ton', Loos argues that the Englishman's realm is industry and engineering (p.90), his ideal of the Englishman also spurns machinery and technological progress as far as possible.³⁸ Thus, in 'Das Luxusfuhrwerk' (1898), the English Gentleman accepts technology in the world of business, but creates barriers between the public and the private spheres by rejecting it in the private sphere. However, the English Gentleman's rejection of technology does not merely remain in the private sphere, but also extends into the public sphere. Thus, in 'Der Fall Scala', Loos ([1898] 1983, p.38) equates England with the 'Negierung der Maschine', citing as sources for this view the representatives of the English Arts and Crafts Movement, Ruskin, Morris

³⁷Underlining the specifically English character of the English Gentleman, Loos uses the word *gentleman* in English in 'Die moderne Siedlung' (Loos [1926] 1982a, p.184).

³⁸In a strikingly similar fashion, the Englishmen, who play a central role in Doderer's *Die Wasserfälle von Slunj* (1970) at once embrace and reject technology.

and Crane.³⁹ In other words, the English Gentleman embodies one of the paradoxes upon which Loos's textual *oeuvre* is based: the affirmation and rejection of technology, and implicitly, of modernisation. However, Loos is not alone in articulating this particular paradox which, according to Marx, lies at the very heart of modernity (Berman 1983, p.14).

Close analysis of Loos's texts reveals a further aspect of the paradoxical nature of the English Gentleman which signifies both destructive and reconstructive potential. In his lecture on 'Die moderne Siedlung', Loos describes the destructive character of the Englishman:

Der Engländer sitzt gerne beim Feuer; es ist wieder die Freude an der Zerstörung, die den Engländer dazu lockt, sich zum Kamin zu setzen und zuzusehen, wie ein Stück Holz nach dem anderen verbrennt.

(Loos [1926] 1982a, p.194) [42]

However, this passage is in contradiction to the constructive role that the Englishman assumes in Loos's earlier texts, signified by his affinity with the practical and with craft work as, for example, in 'Glas und Ton' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.91). As with the simultaneous affirmation and rejection of modernisation, the dialectic of destruction and reconstruction embodied by Loos's Englishman, represents a fundamental feature of modernity, linking Loos's critique to that of Benjamin whose description of modernity in terms of a dialectic of destruction and reconstruction was discussed in the first chapter (see also Frisby 1985, pp.216-20). Moreover, in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, the dialectic of destruction and reconstruction is intimately linked to processes of

³⁹It was Thomas Cobben-Sanderson that first coined the term 'Arts and Crafts' in 1888 (Stansky 1985, p.12). However, the movement itself started at the beginning of the 1880s under the influence of William Morris (p.12), and its prehistory can be traced back to John Ruskin and A.N.W. Pugin, and also Thomas Carlyle (p.30). By the turn of the century, the political directions subsumed under the label 'Arts and Crafts' were by no means unified (p.37), and Loos's undifferentiated citation of the socialists, Morris and Crane, and the bourgeois theorist, Ruskin, as representatives of the movement suggests that his view of the English Arts and Crafts movement was as much an idealisation as his view of England as a whole.

modernisation. In other words, although Loos's England is intended as a signifier of cultural renewal, it subverts its own meaning in the course of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, connoting a more ambivalent position. And as we have seen there is a corresponding slippage in the meaning of 'America' in Loos's texts which, at times, reveals an (unintentionally) ambiguous position.

CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY: 'Denn wir sind Classiker im Denken und Fühlen'

The final signifier of the Other as a source of cultural renewal which appears in Loos's textual *oeuvre* alongside the American and the English is classical antiquity. This represents a qualitatively different identity from the rational work practices signified by the American Worker, from the money economy signified by the American Entrepreneur and from the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, signified by the English Gentleman. Classical antiquity, in the context of Viennese society at the turn of the century, was the territory of the *Bildungsbürgertum*. Since the expansion of education in the wake of the Enlightenment, knowledge of this period had formed an essential part of a humanist education, and therefore of *Bildungswissen* (Lepsius 1992, p.14). In other words, while America and England signify the new, Loos invokes the culture of the Greeks and the Romans in order to underline the continuity of modernity. Thus, Loos's conception of modernity is not predicated on a radical break with all that has gone before, but rather defines it as a phenomenon which has a prehistory. In 'Die alte und die neue Richtung in der Baukunst', Loos argues that this prehistory is the legacy of classical antiquity:

Ein Gefühl können wir wohl nicht mehr aus unserem Gedächtnis ausstreichen: die Erkenntnis von der geistigen Überlegenheit des classischen Altherthums [...] denn wir sind Classiker im Denken und Fühlen.
(Loos [1898] 1983, p.65) [43]

In this essay, whilst not ruling out a radical break which would render this legacy insignificant, Loos argues for its hegemony at present and for the foreseeable future.⁴⁰ And it is not merely in the early texts that Loos examines the importance of the inheritance of classical antiquity for modernity. In both 'Architektur' ([1910] 1982a, p.65) and 'Meine Bauschule' ([1913] 1982a, p.103), Loos reiterates the fact that knowledge of classical antiquity represents the foundation upon which modern culture is constructed.

Loos is not alone in his use of antiquity as a signifier of modernity; canonical modernist writers such as Nietzsche (Maldoner 1989, pp.271-2) looked to classical antiquity for inspiration and material, a knowledge of antiquity was a prerequisite for the Jung Wien writers (Schmidt-Dengler 1982), and one of Benjamin's key insights is that modernity comprises a dialectic of antiquity and modernity (Frisby 1985, p.208). And indeed, Loos provides us with one of the most ironic illustrations of the dialectic of antiquity and modernity in the shape of his design for the Chicago Tribune Column which was entered in an architecture competition in 1923 to design a new building for the *Chicago Tribune* (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, pp.273-5) (see fig. 13). In a description of his project, Loos, in a manner reminiscent of the Benjaminian (1972b, pp.396-8) Destructive Character, states defiantly:

Die große, griechische dorische Säule wird gebaut werden. Wenn nicht in Chicago, so in einer anderen Stadt. Wenn nicht für die Chicago Tribune, für jemand anderen. Wenn nicht von mir, so von einem anderen Architekten.
(Loos [1923] 1983, p.196)⁴¹ [44]

⁴⁰In his emphasis on the importance of classical antiquity, Loos aligns himself with a section of the historicist tradition in architecture, revealing the difference between his position and the modernity of Otto Wagner ([1896] 1988), who comprehensively rejected classical antiquity. Therefore, it is not possible to describe Loos as an opponent of historicism, since his actual position towards historicism was rather ambivalent.

⁴¹On the architectural importance of Loos's design for the Chicago Tribune Column see Vidler 1982.

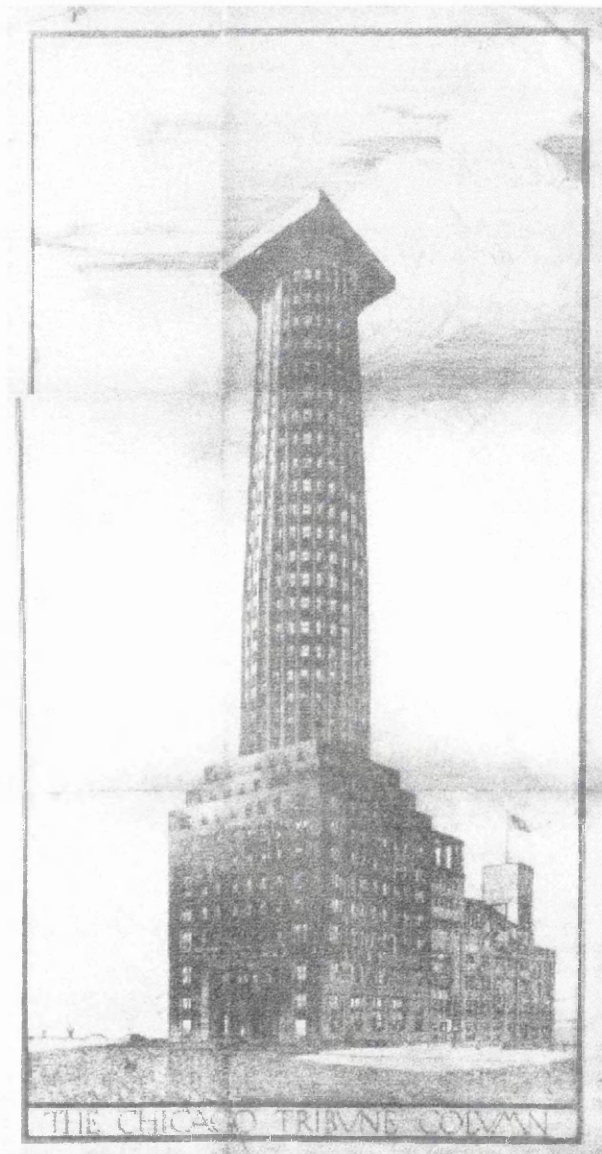


Fig.13. The Chicago Tribune Column (1922).
(Rukschcio and Schachel 1982).

His assertion that this design will be realised means that it is, in Loos's eyes, concomitant with the style of the times; in other words, it is modern. This monumental building, juxtaposing the architecture of ancient Greece with the mass media of the American metropolis, embodies the Benjaminian dialectic of antiquity and modernity. In its monumentality, it is the signifier of Benjamin's argument that 'modernity's constant assertion of the ever-new cannot prevent its collapse into the ever-same' (Frisby 1985, p.235) and, moreover, that 'die moderne hat die Antike wie einen Alb, der im Schlaf über sie gekommen ist' (Benjamin 1982, p.470) ['modernity possesses antiquity like a nightmare that creeps over it in slumber' (Frisby 1985, p.235)].

However, Classical antiquity does not function as a homogenous signifier in Loos's textual *oeuvre*; in both 'Meine Bauschule' and 'Architektur', he differentiates between Greek and Roman culture, arguing that while the culture of the Romans signifies socialness and collectivity, Greek culture signifies individuality. Making a clear value judgement, Loos argues that modern culture has adopted its technique of thinking and feeling from the Romans (Loos [1913] 1982a, p.65).⁴² However, it is not the case that Loos consistently privileges Roman culture above Greek culture. In 'Glas und Ton', he ([1898] 1981) praises the Greeks for working practically and seeing beauty in use-objects. In the same essay, he describes the English as those who are continuing in the tradition of the ancient Greek way of seeing, arguing that, 'die Engländer, die ingenieure sind unsere Hellenen' (p.90). Taken together, the individuality signified by Greek culture and the collectivity signified by Roman culture represent two opposing tendencies characteristic of modernity. In a similar manner, Simmel's (1992a) analysis of fashion contained in 'Zur Psychologie der Mode'⁴³ demonstrates that processes of

⁴²Maldoner (1989, pp.271-2), in a first attempt at exploring the connections between Loos and Nietzsche, points out that Loos's emphasis on the socialness of Roman culture means that his use of classical antiquity differs distinctly from Nietzsche's, whose point of departure is Greek culture.

⁴³In 1905, Simmel published an extended article entitled *Philosophie der Mode* (Simmel [1905] 1995b). However on 12 October 1895, he had already published an article on fashion in *Die Zeit*, entitled 'Zur Psychologie der Mode' (Simmel 1992a), which contains many of the ideas expressed in his more

increasing generalisation and individualisation characterise modernity, while in *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*, Freud ([1930] 1953) points to analytical similarities between individual and cultural development.

'Architektur' and 'Meine Bauschule' are striking illustrations of the repetition and contradiction that is characteristic of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, due to the interaction between the lecture and the written form. Both articles argue that modern culture is built upon the recognition of the greatness of classical antiquity and moreover, use precisely the same phrase to illustrate that there is a single thought which connects the great builders through the ages: 'So wie ich baue, hätten die alten Römer diese Aufgabe auch gelöst' (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.65; [1913] 1982a, p.103) ['the way I build is the same solution that the Romans would have found']. However, Loos's reactions to this thought are strikingly different; in 'Meine Bauschule', he affirms this principle, stating that it will be inculcated into his students, whereas in 'Architektur', he contradicts it, arguing that 'wir wissen, daß sie unrecht haben. Zeit, Ort, Zweck und Klima machen ihnen einen Strich durch diese Rechnung' (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.103) ['we know that this is incorrect. Time, place, purpose and climate have upset this claim']. This example of the paradoxes that characterise Loos's textual *oeuvre* reveals the complexity of Loos's thought on antiquity and modernity. Although antiquity represents an important source for modern culture, modernity is not identical to antiquity and cultural forms must change if they are to be redeemed. This argument is underlined in 'Lob der Gegenwart' ([1908] 1982a), where Loos explains that there is a fundamental difference in the nerves of a modern person and those of a Roman, caused by the differences in tempo between modern and Roman culture. Thus, the modern person could not be comfortable in the clothes of the Roman, since the form of the Toga is unsuited to modern life (p.116).

substantial later text . Since 'Zur Psychologie der Mode' is the text that Loos may well have read (as it appeared in the Viennese press), it is the one most often cited in this study. However, reference is also made to *Philosophie der Mode* and to a further essay on fashion first published in 1908, *Die Frau und die Mode* (Simmel 1993).

Loos's arguments about the prehistory of modernity are summarised in 'Ornament und Erziehung' (1924), in which he contrasts the architect who has a knowledge of the past (*Erfahrung*, in the Benjaminian sense) to the modern architect who has only the experience of the present (*Erlebnis*) to rely on. He does this with reference to language, arguing that 'ein architekt ist ein maurer, der latein gelernt hat. Die modernen architekten scheinen aber mehr esperantisten zu sein' (Loos [1924] 1982a, p.177) ['an architect is a builder who has learnt latin. However, the modern architects appear to be more at home with Esperanto']. It is significant that in making this point, Loos uses linguistic metaphors, for elsewhere he draws attention to the importance of the 'language of form' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.140). Indeed, just as Eco (1997a, p.194) has described architecture as 'a system of rules for giving society what it expects in the way of architecture', so Loos argues that architecture's task is to awaken dispositions, which can only be achieved 'wenn er [der Architekt] bei jenen gebäuden anknüpft, die bisher im menschen diese stimmung erzeugt haben' ([1910] 1982a, p.103) ['when the architect establishes correspondences with those buildings which have previously produced such dispositions']. Remaining with this linguistic metaphor of the 'language of form', the architect is forced to work with a pre-existing grammar of architecture. Thus, 'latin' signifies the prehistory of Western culture which, Loos argues, must be invoked in the construction of new cultural forms if they are to be relevant to collective understanding. Within the framework of this linguistic metaphor, by rejecting Esperanto in favour of Latin, Loos is privileging a return to cultural origins over new solutions. In a similar fashion, he praises the founders of the English Arts and Crafts Movement, while denouncing the attempts of the Austrian and German versions of the Arts and Crafts Movement, the *Wiener Werkstätte*, and the *Deutscher Werkbund*, to render their ideas workable in the twentieth-century. In other words, the essentially conservative thrust of Loos's cultural criticism is revealed in a yearning for lost origins.⁴⁴

⁴⁴A search for origins links Loos's cultural criticism with the work of his close acquaintance, Karl Kraus (see Janik and Toulmin 1973, pp.75-7; Timms 1986, pp.231-4). Loos's search for origins also appears to suggest a correspondence with Benjamin's search for the prehistory of modernity (Frisby 1985). However, there is an essential difference between Benjamin's archaeological search for the origins of

As a source for cultural renewal, the Other appears in Loos's texts in the guise of American, English and classical culture. These three cultural signifiers, which represent the future, the present and the past respectively, exist in a relationship characterised by constant interaction. In combination, they represent an idealisation of Western culture and therefore, of modern culture. The function Loos assigns to this group of signifiers is to provide an ideal image of modernity towards which Austria can strive. And yet, within the bounds of his texts, the utopian image of Western culture begins to deconstruct itself. Thus, there is a hint of danger in Loos's America, where one has the feeling that somewhere an accident has just happened, while the English Gentleman embodies a dialectic of destruction and reconstruction. Loos's Western culture cannot be equated with the realities of the West, but nor can it be merely equated with stereotypical images of the West (Cacciari 1993, p.160). Indeed, his image of Western culture contains an implicit critique of stereotypical images which is achieved through the paradoxes upon which Loos's cultural criticism is constructed. This sense of paradox is articulated clearly in Loos's use of 'Germany' as a signifier.

GERMANY: 'Die Kultur des Schweines'

'Germany' and 'the German' circulate throughout Loos's textual *oeuvre*, representing a heterogenous signifier which, on the one hand, represents Western culture, but on the other, also connotes the threat of cultural backwardness. The complexity of the signifier is compounded by the cultural proximity of Germany and Austria in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, expressed in Loos's identification with German culture which is signified by his use of the third person 'wir' ['we'] in statements such as, 'und wenn wir Deutsche uns so

modernity, which involves careful documentation of the layers of reality broken through during this process, and Loos's insistence on a return to origins, disregarding these other layers.

sehr dagegen sträuben' ([1898] 1981, p.102) ['even if we Germans are so reluctant to do so']. However, one does not find an exact mapping of German culture with Austrian culture in Loos's texts, which also include many examples of cultural differences between the German and the Austrian, such as in a discussion of food as a mode of signification that appears in *Das Andere*, in which Loos maintains that while the Austrian would rather pay to eat well, the German will only pay to eat more (Loos 1903a, p.3).

In 'Kunstgewerbliche Rundschau I' ([1898] 1981, p.36), Loos argues provocatively that the Germans, in comparison to all the other *Kulturvölker*, are those least imbued with the spirit of the ancient Greeks. In other words, subverting the common-place German distinction between *Kultur* and *Zivilisation*, which compares the *Kultur* of the German nation with the *Zivilisation* of other Western nations (and notably with France),⁴⁵ Loos argues that other nations, implicitly America and England, possess more *Kultur* than the Germans.⁴⁶ He continues his critique of the Germans in 'Die Herrenmode' ([1898]

⁴⁵The distinction between *Kultur* and *Zivilisation* played an important role in the development of sociology in Germany. In his attempt to ground a 'Kultursoziologie', Alfred Weber distinguishes between culture and civilisation, arguing that this distinction allows the basis for a social determination of culture (cited in Frisby 1983, p.83). Moreover, in his review of Alfred Weber's sociology of culture, Georg Lukács (1914/15) accepts this basic distinction between culture and civilisation, arguing that 'just as culture is the inner domination of human beings over their environment, so civilisation means its external domination of their environment' (cited in Frisby 1983, p.84). In German thought at the turn of the century, *Kultur* represented a Romantic concept concerned mainly with the realm of Ideas and the Intellect (*Geist*), while *Zivilisation* is perhaps best expressed in Max Weber's (1972, p.13) description of *Zweckrationalität*. A further analysis of the German distinction between *Kultur* and *Zivilisation* is contained in Elias 1991. Hein (1992, pp.15-22) demonstrates that in the wake of the First World War, Germany's ambivalent relationship to France was expressed in terms of this *Kultur/Zivilisation* dichotomy.

⁴⁶It should be noted that Loos's polemical use of *Kultur* in this particular context is not typical of his use of the concept throughout his textual *oeuvre*, where it does not connote German Idealism, but rather stands for a materially grounded view of culture. In its overarching nature, Loos's concept of 'Kultur' is close to that of Simmel (1968, p.148) who has defined culture as 'soziale Verfassungen und die Kunstwerke, die Religionen und die wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisse, die Technik und die bürgerlichen

1981), in which he argues that although the Germans who circulate in high society can be considered to be on a par with the English, the level of cultural attainment in Germany as a whole is hampered by the number of Germans who, lacking in the strength of inner individuality, rely on outward signifiers to establish a sense of difference. The implications of this critique are spelled out in 'Lob der Gegenwart' ([1908] 1983, p.117-8), in which Loos defines the essential difference between the Germans and the English; English culture may appear to be homogenous but it masks a nation of individuals, while the apparent heterogeneity of German culture hides their lack of individuality. In comparison to English culture, German culture is defined as inferior. This conclusion is reiterated in 'Kultur' ([1908] 1982a, p.68), where Loos asserts:

Es mag für den Deutschen nicht sehr angenehm sein, zu hören, er solle seine eigene kultur aufgeben und die englische annehmen. Aber das hört der Bulgare auch nicht gern und der Chinese noch weniger. Mit sentimentalitäten ist dieser frage nicht beizukommen. Der ruf nach einem nationaldeutschen stil mag in unklaren köpfen bei der kleidung noch einige verwirrungen anrichte, auch bei betten und nachttöpfen. Aber bei kanonen herrschen die englischen formen. [45]

This passage implies that while in areas such as clothing there can, perhaps understandably, still be some doubt as to the superiority of the English, in matters of war and technology, English style is already hegemonic.

However, at the same time as Loos criticises the Germans (*die Deutschen*), he affirms the positive nature of Germanic culture (*germanische Kultur*). 'Kultur' ([1908] 1982a, pp.68-9) contains a description of *germanische Kultur*, which is defined in terms of its opposite, *romanische Kultur*. While the pig symbolises Germanic culture, it is the cat that symbolises Romance culture. Playing with signifiers and expectations, Loos

Gesetze und unzählige andere'. It is also close to Nietzsche's (1988a, p.163) view of culture as 'Einheit des künstlerischen Stiles in allen Lebensäußerungen eines Volkes' (my emphasis).

privileges the pig above the cat, arguing that the pig signifies a willingness to get dirty and a corresponding desire to keep itself clean, while the cat only remains clean by avoiding dirt. Translated into Loos's critique at the level of culture, Germanic culture, the culture of the pig, is characterised by a desire to act and strive for higher levels of cultural attainment, while Romance culture, the culture of the cat, is hesitant to act and therefore, content to remain in its present form. Here, paradoxically, Loos's critique is working within the framework of the *Kultur/Zivilisation* dichotomy, since the thrust of his argument is to value Germanic culture above Romance culture (see Hein 1992, pp.15-22). Indeed, just as in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, Thomas Mann (1919) criticises the Francophile literature of his brother, Heinrich as 'Zivilisationsliteratur', so Loos ([1898] 1981, p.102), two decades earlier, praises Lessing's struggles to inculcate the Germans with 'die große germanischer denkungsart' ['the great German way of thinking'], in the face of Gottsched's emphasis on French culture.

Underlying these ostensibly trivial caricatures of Germanic and Romance culture is the hope which Loos locates in Germanic culture. Closely connected to this hope is his argument that Austrian culture has lost its claim to Germanic culture. Loos articulates this view in *Das Andere*, where he maintains that Austrian culture lost its way in the process of cultural development during the Metternich period (1815-48). It was in 1815, argues Loos (1903b, p.2), that a variety of factors combined to bring Austrian culture down to the cultural level of the Balkans. However, this process of cultural demotion did not eradicate Germanic culture, but merely hid it from sight. Thus, in 'Das Prinzip der Bekleidung' ([1898] 1981, p.143), Loos writes, 'aber auch in unserem Volke schlummert, allerdings verscharrt und vergraben, das wahre Gefühl für Vornehmheit' ['however, even in our nation the true sense of distinction lies dormant, but deep and buried']. The concept of *Vornehmheit* (a sense of refined distinction) represents Loos's ideal of cultural attainment; it is his utopia. And his utopia is concrete in the sense that it already exists, but has, like the origins of the pre-history of modernity (Benjamin 1982, p.1010), been buried under the rubble of history.

In Loos's image of *Vornehmheit* slumbering, there is an echo of Benjamin's more sustained analysis of modernity consisting in a collective dream (of commodity phantasmagoria) from which the masses must be awakened ('disenchanted') in order to effect societal change (Frisby 1985, p.209-10). In 'Wäsche' ([1898] 1981), Loos argues that it is impossible to force new cultural forms onto people who are not yet ready to accept them. Elsewhere, he suggests that the only way to make people receptive to new cultural forms is to shock them out of their *Bequemlichkeit*:

so ist es [...] zu bedenken, daß bei unseren verstumpften Verhältnissen nur dann eine Erweckung der Geister gelingen konnte, wenn man recht laut und grell in das Horn stieß. (Loos [1898] 1983, p.54) [46]

Like Benjamin (Buck-Morss 1989, p.272), Loos argues that the necessary process of awakening the masses from their collective dream can only be achieved through shock. However, the difference between Benjamin and Loos lies in their conception of the state of being awake. The goal represented by 'true Germanic culture', which as we will see, is equated with England and America (signifying modern rational capitalism), firmly locates Loos's state of being awake within Benjamin's dream world of commodity phantasmagoria. Loos's utopia, closely bound up with his sense of bourgeois pride, merely exchanges one dream for another. Thus, there is an implicit correspondence between Loos's thought and *Jugendstil*, which Benjamin (1982, p.216) has described as 'the dream that one is awake'.

In 'Die Plumber', Loos argues that present-day English culture is the guardian of Germanic culture (Loos [1898] 1981, p.101). The logic of this argument allows him, in 'Kultur', to posit the fact that the Scots have proved themselves to be culturally the strongest nation, because their cultural perspective is most akin to the ideal of Germanic culture (Loos [1908] 1982a, pp.69-70). And so he arrives at the rather curious conclusion that rather than two cultures existing side-by-side in Britain, as had previously been the case, now the English have become Scots (p.69). Loos does not

only locate Germanic culture in English and Scottish culture; his article on 'Die Schuhmacher' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.125) contains the apparently curious lines:

Mit prophetischem blick hat **Walt Whitman, der Amerikaner, der größte dichter, den die Germanen seit Goethe hervorgebracht haben**, dieses jahrhundert gesehen. [...] Nein, wir stehen nicht still, alter Walt Whitman. Noch fließt in uns das alte marschbereite Germanenblut. Auch wir werden das unsrige dazu beitragen, die stehende und sitzende Welt umzuwandeln in eine Welt der Arbeit und des Marsches. (My emphasis.)

This passage, identifying the American poet, Walt Whitman, as a representative of Germanic culture, underlines the intercultural nature of Loos's definition of Germanic culture.

However, Loos's ideal of Germanic culture was severely called into question by the advent of the First World War. Although Loos did not embrace the same ethical anti-war stance as Kraus,⁴⁷ his library contains the books which document his struggle to understand what went wrong in the portrayal of Germanic culture as culmination of processes of cultural evolution.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the analytical distinction which Loos

⁴⁷In a letter to Sidonie Nadherny von Borutin, dated 27/28 November 1915, Kraus describes an incident which he claims illustrates the difference between himself and Loos, in terms of his negativity and Loos's positive attitude towards the war: 'L. studiert (positiv) das Armeeverordnungsblatt - ich frage ihn etwas, er hört nicht, außerdem, weil er ganz versunken ist. "Was suchen Sie denn da?" "Ich suche den K.[okoschka]." "Warum?" "Ob er schon drin steht - ich muß es in die Zeitung geben." "Ja, aber warum wollen Sie denn das? "Das muß man." "Ja, aber wozu denn? Hat denn das einen Werth?" "Gewiß. Wenn *das* keinen Werth hat, so hat die Tapferkeitsmedaille (die man den Zeitungen mittheilen muß) auch keinen Werth!" Ich: "Ja hat sie denn einen Werth?"' (Kraus 1974, p.244) [L. was studying (positively) the army decrees. I asked him something but he didn't hear me, on top of his deafness, he was completely lost in his reading. 'What are you looking for?' 'I'm looking for K.[okoschka].' 'Why?' 'To see if he's appeared in the lists yet - I'll have to put it in the papers.' 'But why would you want to do that?' 'You have to.' 'Yes, but why? Is there any point?' 'Of course, if that is pointless, then the bravery medal (which one has to report to the newspapers) is not worth anything!' I answered, 'Yes, and is it worth anything?'].

⁴⁸These include: *The Barbarism of Berlin* (Chesterton 1914); *Berlin und Bagdad* (von Winterstetten 1915); *Weshalb die deutschen im Ausland unbeliebt sind* (Jannasch 1915); *Die Sicherheiten der*

makes between the Germans and Germanic culture affords him a basis from which to continue his admiration for Germanic culture, while rejecting the reality of Weimar Germany. In 1927, Loos returned from Paris and gave a series of lectures in Vienna: 'Die Geburt der Form' on 15 February, 'Die Wiener Küche' on 19 February, and 'Das Wiener Weh (Eine Abrechnung) bzw. (Eine Erledigung)' on 20 April.⁴⁹ All three lectures were widely reported in the press and generated much discussion in Vienna (Opel 1985, pp. 89-112; Opel 1988, pp.107-120). The greatest uproar, however, was caused by the third lecture, 'Das Wiener Weh', in which Loos renewed his attack on the *Wiener Werkstätte* (see also Schweiger 1982, pp.119-21). In the course of his lecture, according to a report by Karl Lahm, Loos cited an article he had written ten years earlier on a propaganda exhibition organised by the German government in Bern in 1917. This article, which was never published (and may never have existed),⁵⁰ was said to contain the lines:

Auf dem Giebel dieses Hauses könnten die Worte stehen, die so fürchterliches Weh über die Menschheit gebracht haben: an deutschem Wesen soll die Welt genesen - sie *soll*, aber sie *will* nicht! Was hier gezeigt wird, bedeutet einen Rückfall um Jahrtausende! (Loos, cited by Lahm [1927] 1988, p.110)⁵¹ [48]

deutschen Zukunft (von Vietinghoff 1915); *Die Ursachen des Deutschenhasses* (Scheler 1917); and *Unser Krieg in seinen sittlichen Werten* (Swoboda 1914).

⁴⁹'Die Geburt der Form' was given in the *Festsaal des Niederösterreichischen Gewerbevereins* and 'Das Wiener Weh (Eine Abrechnung) bzw. (Eine Erledigung)', in the *Großer Musikvereinssaal*. It is not known where 'Die Wiener Küche' was delivered. Further details are contained in appendix 2.

⁵⁰Lahm ([1927] 1988, p.110) comments 'Da dieser Bericht niemals bis nach Wien gelangt ist, wird sich nicht erweisen lassen, ob er historisch ist. Auch heißt es nicht, daß an deutschem Wesen die Welt genesen *soll*; und darum hinkt das witzige Wortspiel. Aber es kommt Herrn Loos nicht so genau darauf an'. ['Since this report never reached Vienna, it is not possible to provide historical evidence of its existence. Moreover, the original does not state that the world *should* find its cure in German culture, and therefore the clever play on words is inappropriate. But that doesn't really matter to Herr Loos'].

⁵¹This was not the only instance in which Loos's 'patriotism' may have been called into question. In an article on Loos first published in 1930 in the *Prager Presse*, Jan Pecirka (reprinted in Claire Loos 1985, pp.22*-24*, here p.23*) recalls Loos's wartime lectures: 'Man schrieb 1917 oder Anfang 1918. Der Krieg wollte noch nicht enden, man war mittendrin in der größten Hinterlandsmisere. Und dieser noble

In the political climate of 1927, this remark led to a complaint by the *Wiener Werkstätte* that Loos, in the course of his lecture, had vituperated against Germany (*Neues Wiener Journal* [1927] 1988, p.119). This complaint was refuted in the press by the artist Julius Klinger, an acquaintance of Loos, as a bare-faced lie, whereupon the *Wiener Werkstätte* took Klinger to court for slander (p.119). Loos also distanced himself from accusations of anti-German sentiments and in 1929, in a footnote to his article on 'Josef Veillich' published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, attempted once more to explain his analytical distinction between Germany and Germanic culture:⁵²

In Frankfurt am Main meinte der dortige Vorstand der Ortsgruppe des deutschen Werkbundes, ich wäre nicht genügend deutsch-national. Das ist wohl wahr in seinem Sinne. In diesen Kreisen wird mein Ausspruch 'warum haben die Papua eine Kultur und die Deutschen keine?' als anti-deutsch oder als böser Witz gewertet. Daß dieser Ausspruch der Ausfluß einer blutenden deutschen Seele ist, wird man solchen Deutschen nicht beibringen können.
(Loos [1929] 1982a, p.215)⁵³ [49]

Mann auf dem Podium predigte – damals! – still aber überzeugend von dem Frühstück eines Engländers. [...] die patriotische Stimmung schlug in Wien immer noch hoch. Und dieser Herr Loos sprach immerfort von England.' [It was 1917 or early 1918. The war would just not come to an end and one found oneself in the greatest hinterland plight. And this noble man on his lecture platform preached - back then! - calmly but convincingly of the Englishman's breakfast. [...] Feelings of patriotism were still running high in Vienna, and this Herr Loos continued to talk about England.]

⁵²This passage provides an illustration of the circular form of Loos's textual *oeuvre*. The rhetorical question 'warum haben die Papua eine Kultur und die Deutschen keine?' ['why do the Papuans have a culture, while the Germans do not?'] dates back to the lecture, 'Architektur', first given in 1910 (Loos 1982a, p.91).

⁵³Investigating the relationship of the *Deutscher Werkbund* to German Nationalism, Müller (1984 p.108) has suggested that an important ideological aspect of the *Werkbund* was to help in the struggle to establish *Deutschtum* as a world power.

Loos's reference to the *Werkbund* is to the fact that he was not permitted to build in the *Weissenhofsiedlung* in Stuttgart in 1926, although he was keen to exhibit his idea of *Raumplan* (Loos [1929] 1982a, p.215).

Loos's desire to emphasise the value of Germanic culture while criticising Germany is typical of the ambivalent relationship between Austria and Germany which has characterised the situation in Austria, at least since the Austrian Enlightenment (Bodi 1995, p.69). While one of the main tenets of the Austrian Enlightenment was to increase the hegemony of German culture, illustrated by the introduction of German as the official language of the Empire, brochures published at the time, by authors such as Johann Pezzl (1756-1822), reveal friction in the relationship between Berlin and Vienna. Nevertheless in 1848, the three great cities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Vienna, Prague and Budapest, were all German cities, in the sense that the majority of the population was German-speaking and moreover, the Germans were politically, culturally and socially dominant (Janik and Toulmin 1973, p.49). And indeed, this situation was mirrored in many of the other towns in the Empire; for example, in Loos's birthplace, Brünn (now Brno), the German-speaking minority was in a hegemonic position. However, by the turn of the century, German culture was losing its hold on Prague and Budapest, and even in Vienna, situated geographically in a German-speaking area, the great influx of Czechs was changing the ethnic composition of the city (Brousek 1980; John and Lichtblau 1990).⁵⁴ At the same time, throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the rise of modern nation-states was challenging the ideal of a homogenous centrally-administered multi-cultural state (Koralka, 1986), to the extent that an article on the University of Vienna that appeared in *Die Zeit* on 20 February 1897 could claim that 'von einem gesamt-österreichischen Bewußtsein ist auch nicht die Spur zu entdecken' ['there is no sign whatsoever of a pan-Austrian consciousness'].

⁵⁴As a result of the Czech influx, Vienna expanded rapidly; between 1860 and 1880, the city's population rose by 35.5%, and between 1880 and 1900 by 130.8% (Brousek 1980, p.15). At the turn of the century, 85% of those employed in industry and trade in Vienna were members of the Czech population (p.22).

In an article by the critic von Gerlach (1899) entitled 'Wie man in Deutschland über Österreich denkt', the question of the relationship between the two countries at the turn of the century is examined. Von Gerlach's conclusion, as far as it was not blacked out by the Austrian censor, is that Austria is far more interested in Germany than Germany is in Austria; a fact that he attributes to the influence of Nietzsche's argument that the vocation of the German people is to rule. For the German-speaking population in Austria, argues von Gerlach, Germany represents the hope of protection from the perceived threat of pan-Slavism. However, despite their location in the context of the intense struggles over nationalism and language which characterised the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the last decades of its existence,⁵⁵ Loos's texts do not advocate German-speaking Austria becoming part of Germany. In presenting Germanic culture as a model for the future, Loos's analytical distinction between the reality of present-day German culture and the ideal of Germanic culture, which allows him to attribute Germanic culture to the English, the Scots and the Americans, demonstrates correspondences with Nietzsche.⁵⁶ And indeed, like Nietzsche, if opposed to much

⁵⁵Newspaper reports from the turn of the century, such as the series of articles by Thomas Masaryk on 'Deutsche Einflüsse und die Wiedergeburt des böhmischen Volkes' which appeared in *Die Zeit* in May 1897, or the article by *Reichsrathsabgeordnete*, Emil Pfersche (1854-1916), which also appeared in *Die Zeit* in January of the next year, entitled 'Der Sprachenkampf um Wien', bear witness to the power struggles which were intimately linked to the rise of the ideology of nationalism and the rejection of the hegemony of the German-speaking minority in Bohemia and Moravia (Koralka 1986). At this time, there were riots over the issues of nationalities in Vienna, Prague and Graz in 1897, described by Mark Twain (1923) as the worst seen since 1848. The nationalities question affected all political movements; for example, Otto Bauer's well-known work, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (1907) represents an attempt to come to terms with these issues on the part of the social democrats (Mommsen 1993).

⁵⁶In their analysis of the concept of 'Kultur', Brunner et al (1978) argue that Nietzsche's work is predicated on a difference between present-day German culture and an original German culture. A key connection between Loos and Nietzsche lies, therefore, in their search for origins (Maldoner 1989, p.271). Moreover, like Loos, Nietzsche, in his search for the original German culture, had also turned his interest away from Germany and towards other nations such as England, America and Russia (Seidler 1975). However, unlike Loos, Nietzsche's hopes of an Anglo-Saxon ruling culture are slight (as

contemporary reception of Nietzsche,⁵⁷ in distinguishing between Germany and Germanic culture, and conceiving Germanic culture as a feature of global culture, Loos's textual *oeuvre* distances itself from the tenets of a 'Blut und Boden' German nationalist mythology which characterised much German-language Austrian *Provinzkunst* (and its German counterpart, *Heimatkunst*)⁵⁸ at the turn of the century (Rossbacher 1982).⁵⁹ Thus, Loos stresses the international context for his concept of Germanic culture, arguing, in 'Kultur' ([1908] 1982a, p.68), that this ultimately provides the model for a future global unified culture:

Es ist die germanische kultur, die im inselreich wie ein mammut in den tundren unversehrt in eis gehalten wurde und nun frisch und lebendig alle übrigen kulturen niederstampft. Im zwanzigsten jahrhundert wird nur eine kultur den erdball beherrschen. [50]

Loos's use of 'Germany' as a signifier has, so far, been considered in light of the ambivalent relationship between Germany and Austria. However, there is another contextual layer to be documented when considering 'Germany' as a signifier, since, closely connected with the relationship between Germany and Austria, the relationship between German-speaking Austria and Vienna must also be taken into account. Indeed, this aspect has already been invoked in the reference to *Provinzkunst*, the central focus

documented in *Die Unschuld des Werdens* (Nietzsche 1931)), and instead, he turns his gaze towards Russia (Seidler 1975).

⁵⁷Rossbacher (1982, p.30) describes how the *Provinzkunst* movement appropriated writers such as Nietzsche, and also Stifter, Raabe and Lessing as the forerunners of their arguments thereby claiming legitimacy for their nationalist views.

⁵⁸In an article published in *Die Zeit* as a response to Hermann Bahr's preoccupation with *Provinzkunst*, Ettmayer (1901, p.156) argues that *Provinzkunst* wants to be regarded as a 'Seitenschößling der reichsdeutschen *Heimatkunst*' ['side-shoot of German *Heimatkunst*'] and despite Bahr's efforts, to deny any links to the *Wiener Moderne*.

⁵⁹Loos's early writings, such as *Die Wäsche* ([1898] 1981), contain an implicit critique of *Provinzkunst*. However, it is not until 1912 that Loos explicitly deals with the issues of *Heimatkunst* in a lecture of the same title given in Vienna on 20 November.

of which lay in the perspective on Vienna articulated in the rest of German-speaking Austria (Rossbacher 1982).⁶⁰ The often aggressive and slanderous critique directed towards Vienna contained in much *Provinzkunst* can be partly explained with reference to the relationship of the periphery to the centre. However, it cannot be fully understood without consideration of Vienna's spatial location on the threshold between East and West.⁶¹ Although to those entering Vienna from the East, the city represented the goal of the West (Beller 1989, p.166), from the perspective of the provinces of German-speaking Austria, Vienna was seen as the gateway to the East (Rossbacher 1982). Much of the aggressive criticism of Vienna found in journals such as *Der Scherer* (the journal of the *Jung-Tirol* group), centred on Vienna as the location of the Other, housing many strangers from the East (pp.25-7).⁶² In identifying the culture of Vienna with the East, these writers from German-speaking Austria present the city as a source of cultural threat to German culture. Loos's texts also criticise the culture of Vienna, but do not align themselves with the arguments of *Provinzkunst*; instead they point to the importance of internationalism and intercultural influence.⁶³

⁶⁰As leading representatives of *Provinzkunst*, Rossbacher (1982) names Peter Rosegger (Graz), Hugo Greinz (Linz) who edited *Der Kyffhäuser*, and the *Jung-Tirol* group, centred on the journal, *Der Scherer*.

⁶¹Pfabigan (1991, p.66) poses the question which was pertinent in Vienna at the turn of the century and which, after the events of 1989, became highly relevant once more: 'Sind wir das östliche Land des Westens, das westliche Land des Ostens oder ein identitätsloser Zwitter?' ['Are we the easterly land of the west, the westerly land of the east or a hermaphrodite without an identity?']

⁶²A vivid illustration of this view is contained in Rossbacher's (1982, pp.26-7) description of a full-page caricature which appeared in an issue of *Der Scherer* dedicated to Vienna: Against a background of the Ringstraße and the *Stefansdom* a giant-sized German Michel is working hard to sweep clean the streets of Vienna of workers, Asian faces, Jews in traditional clothes and with moneybags. And, illustrating the extreme nature of these views, Karl Lueger (the Christian Socialist mayor of Vienna the turn of the century (see Boyer 1981)) is also being swept away.

⁶³Similarly, Pfabigan (1991, pp.66-7) argues that Loos's emphasis on the advanced culture of England and America offers an implicit opposition towards German nationalism.

However, Loos's view of a heterogeneous Other, signifying both cultural renewal and cultural threat, is based in the same contemporary cultural mythology which grounds *Provinzkunst*. Thus, while the signifiers of the Other as cultural renewal are linked to Western culture, those which signify the Other as cultural threat are connected to the East. It is with reference to this model that Loos's critique of present-day German culture, implicitly assigning it to the East, rather than to the West, can be understood. The evolutionary aspect of this East/West cultural divide is revealed in Loos's use of the term 'occidental culture' (*abendländischer Kultur*). If the West is the *Abendland*, connoting an advanced position on a linear scale of cultural evolution, then the East is the *Morgenland*, connoting an early position. Yet, the subtitle to *Das Andere* reads 'Ein Blatt zur Einführung abendländischer Kultur in Österreich'. By provocatively assigning Austrian (by which he means German-speaking Austria), and not merely Viennese, culture to the East rather than to the West, Loos plays on the perceived cultural threat posed by the East described above.

TURKEY AND THE BALKANS: The Threat from the East

In the course of a tale entitled 'Etikettefragen', which appeared in the first issue of *Das Andere*, Loos provokes his readership by likening the (lack of) cultural competence of the Turk eating with his hands to that of the Austrian using his knife to help himself to salt and to eat sauce:

Der Türke nun kann in seiner Heimat das Reisleich mit der Hand, der Österreicher die Sauce mit dem Messer zum Munde führen. Begeben sich aber Türke und Österreicher ins Abendland, dann müssen sie sich der Gabel bedienen. Man umgürte sich auch mit dem ganzen Stolze Österreichs oder der Türkei, es verachten uns doch die englischen Jünglings.

(Loos 1903a, pp.7-8) [51]

In this passage, the Turk and the Austrian are situated together on one level, and are looked down upon from the heights of English culture. In likening the cultural position of the Austrian to that of the Turk, Loos is subverting an existing cultural myth which holds that Turkish culture is naturally inferior to Austrian culture.⁶⁴ However, the close and often strained historical connections between Turkish and Austrian culture, serve to reinforce the sense of danger to the Self contained in Loos's pairing of the two cultures. In Vienna, Turkish culture did not only signify a culture situated lower on an evolutionary scale, but also connoted a sense of menace. Since the eleventh century, the expansionary politics of the Turkish Empire had represented a threat to Austria and Hungary, as well as to the Christian *Abendland* (Sturminger 1968, p.11). And indeed in 1529 and 1683, the Turks placed Vienna under siege. In 1683, they were only driven out of Vienna after the Battle on the Kahlenberg on 12 September (pp.409-12).⁶⁵ Not only the Kahlenberg itself, but also the Türkenschanzpark in the 19th District, not to

⁶⁴By the end of the century, Turkey was considered to be the 'sick man of Europe', criticised and looked down on by the rest of the world (Barthes 1898, p.155). Barthes' defence of Turkey and the character of the Turk includes an analysis of the *Türkenhetze* which, he argues, characterised the European attitude towards Turkey in the late nineteenth century.

Articles by A. Handar Midhat, the son of the Turkish statesman, Midhar Pascha, which appeared in *Die Zeit* at the turn of the century, contain analyses of the 'anarchic' situation in Turkey as a background to descriptions of attempts at social and economic reform in the country (Midhat 1901; 1902).

⁶⁵As the following quotation from 1683 demonstrates, the end of the Siege of Vienna was celebrated not only in Vienna, but throughout Europe: 'Wien ist befreit! Ein ungeheurer Jubel erfüllt die Christenheit [...]. Volksfeste werden nicht nur in den deutschen Landen, sondern auch in Italien, insbesondere in Rom, gefeiert. Dankgottesdienste werden selbst in den kleineren Städten Italiens, so in Siena und Lucca, abgehalten. In Danzig [...] veranstaltet der Artilleriehauptmann der Stadt, Ernst Braun, noch am 11. Januar 1684 ein Feuerwerk' (cited in Sturminger, 1968, p.395) ['Vienna has been liberated! A great joy fills Christendom. Popular festivals are being celebrated not only in the German countries, but also in Italy and especially in Rome. Even in the smallest Italian towns such as Sienna and Lucca, services of thanks are being held. In Danzig, the Artillery Captain of the city, Ernst Braun has organised fireworks for 11 January 1684'].

mention Turkish coffee (Segel 1993, pp.6-8),⁶⁶ remain visible symbols of the siege and therefore, of the cultural threat once posed by the Turkish Empire.

Functioning in much the same way as Turkey in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, the Balkans also represent a culture that, according to contemporary myth, German-speaking Austrians felt themselves to be above (Okey 1994).⁶⁷ However, Loos ([1898] 1981, p.55) argues that the **similarities** between the culture of the Balkans and that of Austria outweigh any differences, maintaining that in both countries, only the top ten thousand of the population can claim to be well-dressed and therefore, modern. Moreover, this is in comparison to his ideal images of England and America, where the eradication of traditional dress codes means that all have the right to be well-dressed (p.55). Thus, his use of the Balkans as a cultural signifier serves to subvert contemporary myth, once more underlining his provocative method of comparing the culture of Austria to that of the East in an attempt to jolt the masses from their collective dream.

In using Turkey and the Balkans as signifiers with which to compare Austria's culture, Loos has chosen cultural signifiers with special significance for Vienna, given the history of Austria and the Habsburg Monarchy. However, although both Turkey and, to a lesser extent, the Balkans (when under Turkish rule) once posed a very real risk to the culture of Austria, by the turn of the century, this risk had all but diminished and indeed,

⁶⁶According to legend, the institution of the Viennese coffee-house originates from the immediate aftermath of the Turkish siege of 1683. A certain Georg Franz Koltschitzky had been able to slip through Turkish lines and deliver messages from Vienna to armies waiting to come to the city's rescue. After the siege he asked that, as his reward, he be given the coffee beans that the Turkish army had left behind. He was given both the beans and a house in the Domgasse where he set up the first Viennese coffee-house (Segel 1993, p.7).

⁶⁷Moreover, as Good (1993) has demonstrated, in economic terms there were vast differences between the relatively wealthy Western parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (including today's Austria and also Czechoslovakia) and the underdeveloped areas signified by the 'Balkans' in Loos's textual *oeuvre*. Good's analysis of income places these areas just above Russia on a scale of development, on the same level as most of the Mediterranean countries and significantly below the Western parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (pp.725-6).

the groups which bore the brunt of the attack from the representatives of *Provinzkunst* were not the Turks and the people from the Balkans, but the Jews and the Czechs which were the two largest minorities in Vienna at the turn of the century. According to the *Provinzkunst* movement, these groups represented a tangible cultural threat to the German-speaking population (Rossbacher 1982, p.29). Given this socio-cultural situation, it is perhaps surprising to find that Loos makes little reference to the figure of the Jew in his textual *oeuvre* and pays even less attention to the Czech (or to the Bohemian or Moravian). Instead, Loos ostensibly turns his attention away from the immediate context of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and looks to Japan and Papua New Guinea as representatives of the Other.

JAPAN: 'Gepreßte Blumen, gepreßte Menschen'.

The most distant example of *morgenländische Kultur* in Loos's textual *oeuvre* is represented by Japan. In his review of the sixth exhibition of the Secession (20 January - 25 February 1900) which was devoted to Japan (see fig. 14) (Vergo 1981; Eadie 1990), Hevesi ([1906] 1984) emphasises the difference between Japan and Europe, between 'morgenländische' and 'abendländische' culture (p.225), between the 'culture of the rice-eaters' and the 'culture of the meat-eaters' (p.224) . And yet, the cultural threat which Japan signifies in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, perhaps precisely because of its perceived distance from Europe and from Vienna, is relatively slight. The danger, according to Loos, lies in Japan overtaking Austria in the process of cultural development. Thus in 'Die Plumber', Loos ([1898] 1981, p.107) warns that if Austria does not take appropriate action, it is entirely possible that Japan could reach the heights of Western culture before Austria. Extrapolating from this line of argument, it becomes apparent that much of Loos's textual *oeuvre* is informed by an attitude of bourgeois national pride.



SECESSION
VEREINIGUNG
BILDENDER
KÜNSTLER
ÖSTERREICHES
VI. KUNST-
AUSSTELLUNG

Fig. 14. Poster for 6th exhibition of the Secession (20.01-15.02.1900).

(Nebehay 1986)

However, it is Japan's function as a source of cultural renewal that plays a more important role in Loos's early texts, in which he maintains that:

Der Osten bildet das große Reservoir, aus dem immer neuer Samen in das Abendland strömte. Fast scheint es, als hätte uns Asien gegenwärtig den letzten Rest seiner ureigenen Kraft gegeben. Denn schon mußten wir in den entferntesten Osten zurückgreifen, nach Japan und Polynesien und nun sind wir zu Ende.

(Loos [1898] 1981, p.37) [52]

Despite Loos's prediction that the Orient as a source of cultural renewal will soon be exhausted, Japan played a significant role as a creative source of the Other in the field of cultural production in Vienna at the end of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth century. Japan was a central feature of the 1873 World Exhibition in Vienna, which included an open-air exhibition that was intended to give the illusion of undertaking a journey to the Far East (Noever 1990).⁶⁸ In 1900, the sixth exhibition of the Secession was devoted to Japanese art, exhibiting Adolf Fischer's collection of ancient Japanese art in rooms designed specially by Koloman Moser (Hevesi [1906] 1984, p.222-3). Vergo (1981) has noted that according to discussion in *Ver Sacrum*, this attempt to bring the unknown to the attention of the Viennese public met with a lack of sympathy, but argues that the exhibition was nevertheless important since it represented one of the first attempts to draw attention to the influence of the Orient on modern European art.

However, two years before the exhibition in the Secession, Loos was already discussing the Japanese influence on modern art in Vienna:

⁶⁸Although Japan played a central role in this exhibition, it was by no means the only representative of the Orient present. Indeed, Julius Lessing (1900, p.22) maintains that it was the Orient (defined in a very wide sense) as a whole that lent the 1873 exhibition in Vienna its individual character: 'Vor allem aber war es der Orient, der eine sehr kräftige und wichtige Note hergab. Die slavischen Länder, die Türkei, Aegypten, Griechenland, brachten ihre Hausindustrie in einer bis dahin niemals gesehenen Vollständigkeit zur Geltung.' ['Above all, however, it was the Orient which lent the exhibition its powerful and important character. The Slav countries, Turkey, Egypt and Greece presented their itinerant industries to an extent never seen before'].

Was ist nun das japanische unserer kunstanschauung? [...] Japanisch ist [...] in erster linie das aufgeben der symmetrie. In zweiter linie kommt die entkörperlichung der darzustellenden gegenstände hinzu. Die japaner stellen blumen dar, aber es sind gepreßte blumen. Sie stellen menschen dar, aber es sind gepreßte menschen. (Loos [1898] 1981, p.38) [53]

While pointing to the influence of Japanese art on Europe, Loos ([1898] 1981, p.37) argues that as a source for cultural renewal, the East has all but run dry, as the boundaries between West and East, between known and unknown, are pushed back ever further. He illustrates this point by stating that while in the Middle Ages, Spain represented the East, today, Japan is the signifier of the East (p.37). Although Loos does not explicitly draw any further conclusions from his arguments, this logically means that searching further for the East, one will find oneself in the West. Thus, Loos's texts highlight the instability of the binary opposition between East and West which lies at the heart of Said's (1995, p.331) study of *Orientalism*. Furthermore, in subverting the boundary between East and West, Japan as a signifier is linked to Vienna which, as we have seen, is located on the boundary between East and West. In other words, in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, closeness, signified by the culture of Vienna and distance, signified by the culture of Japan, are intimately related.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA: 'Der Indianer in uns muß überwunden werden'

The most consistent signifiers of the Other as the threat of cultural backwardness circulating in Loos's textual *oeuvre* are the 'Indian' and the 'Papua New Guinean'. And the unmistakable manifestation of their cultural backwardness, according to Loos, is contained in their ornamentation of their bodies. He argues this point most famously in 'Ornament und Verbrechen' ([1910] 1982a, pp.78-88), but the same argument can be

found in his earlier essays, 'Das Luxusfuhrwerk' ([1898] 1981, pp.94-100) and 'Damenmode' ([1902] 1981, pp.126-32). As with Loos's use of other cultural signifiers, his 'Papua New Guinea' must be considered an ideal construct, invoked to play a specific role in his argument. Unlike America or England, there is no question that Loos ever experienced Papua New Guinea, nor indeed Japan or Turkey. His knowledge of these cultures is drawn from contemporary sources: exhibitions, newspaper articles and books. A number of attempts have been made to identify sources for Loos's view of the tattooed people of Papua New Guinea (Lubbock 1983; Amanshauser 1985; Müller 1987; Roth 1995). Lubbock concludes that the Papuans were not actually noted for tattooing, and suggests that Loos's use of this group to signify the most primitive human beings came from Ernst Häckel's popularisation of polygenism (p.49), although he does then note that Loos's use of the Papua as a signifier was not to promote polygenism, but rather to illustrate theories of social evolution. However, Müller (1987) has argued that there was a plethora of anthropological studies of exotic cultures in circulation at the turn of the century which could have influenced Loos's thought, citing Owen Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856) as one example.⁶⁹

Just as America, England and classical antiquity function as signifiers of the advanced Western culture which Loos hopes to bring to Austria, so the 'Eastern' signifiers function to connote the primitive on a scale of cultural evolution. This is highlighted 'Ornament und Verbrechen' ([1910] 1982a, pp.78-88) and reiterated in 'Ornament und Erziehung' ([1924] 1982a, p.173) where the Papua is placed on the same position on the cultural developmental scale as a six-year old on the individual scale. In other words, 'die ontogenetische Entwicklung des Menschen durchdringt seine phylogenetische' (Müller 1987, p.117) ['man's ontogenetic development is entwined with his phylogenetic development']. Roth (1995, p.76) sees the existence of an individual process of

⁶⁹For an overview of anthropological studies of 'exotic' cultures in the second half of the nineteenth century, Müller (1987) refers to Kramer 1981. Kaessmayer (1989) has examined Loos's writings in the context of the development of *Volkskunde*.

education which runs parallel to that of collective education as a marker for the social evolutionary stance of Loos's arguments. And indeed, this investigation into Loos's use of cultural myth illuminates his desire to prove the naturalness of ideas of Social Darwinism and cultural evolution, and to underline his Hegelian belief in cultural progress.⁷⁰ This is a view which is concomitant with his affirmation of the modern, since the modern marks the highest peak of evolution reached so far: 'Die gotik? Wir stehen höher als die menschen der gotik. Die renaissance?! Wir stehn höher. Wir sind feiner und edler geworden' (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.92) ['The Gothic age? Our position is higher than that of the people of the Gothic age. The renaissance?! Our position is higher. We have become finer and more noble']. He emphasises that processes of cultural evolution are natural, arguing that it is immoral ([1898] 1981, p.147) and ultimately futile, to attempt to halt the march of progress ([1908] 1982a, p.74). This argument demonstrates that although Loos's use of cultural myth suggests an affinity with Benjamin's work since myth, as Buck-Morss (1989) has argued, occupies a central role in his analysis, Loos's focus on cultural myth differs substantially from Benjamin's. While Loos's use of myth functions to uphold the ideology of Social Darwinism and so anchors the aristocracy as the ruling class, Benjamin seeks to debunk cultural myth and to drive out the overriding ideology of cultural progress (Buck-Morss 1989, p.79). In comparison, although Loos's work, as we have seen, involves not only the reiteration, but also the subversion of certain aspects of cultural myth, it works only through playing

⁷⁰Lubbock (1995, p.43) has identified one of the areas of influence on Loos's thought as the sociology of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) which was based on Social Darwinism. More generally, Mayer (1981, p.290) has pointed out that Social Darwinism played an important role in shaping the world-view of the upper classes in the period 1898-1914. Loos's texts from 1898 are based on ideas of Social Darwinism as is made clear in 'Wanderungen durch die Winterausstellung des österreichischen Museums', in which he argues that, 'dem Aristokraten wird eine höhere Position eingeräumt, und es entspricht dem Darwin'schen Gesetze von der Vervollkommnung des Menschengeschlechtes, daß das Volk bestrebt ist, diese höhere Position einzunehmen' (Loos [1898] 1983, p.79) ['the Aristocrat is granted a higher position and it is in line with Darwin's laws of the perfection of the human race, that the masses attempt to reach this higher position'].

on and extending existing cultural myths, and not by debunking the principles upon which these myths are predicated nor yet the ideologies which they uphold.

However, there is a further dimension to Loos's use of cultural myth. In 'Das Luxusfuhrwerk', the focus of Loos's analysis turns sharply back to turn-of-the-century Vienna when he argues that 'der Indianer *in uns* muß überwunden werden.' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.97 – my emphasis) ['the Indian *within* must be overcome']. And indeed, Amanshauser (1985, p.29), and Müller (1987, pp.119-20), citing Oettermann's (1979) history of tattooing in Europe, have argued that Loos's critique of tattooing must be located within his own culture in which it had become fashionable to decorate one's body. Tattooing, as a form of fashion, involves the display of difference. However, Loos's cultural ideal is founded on the disguise of difference (see Loos [1908] 1983, p.117-8) which is achieved through overcoming the Other within. In other words, like Freud's ([1930] 1953) *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*, Loos focuses on the Other within his own culture.⁷¹ Moreover, this axis of Loos's critique is one which is prevalent throughout the cultural production of the *Wiener Moderne*. Much of the fascination with the Other in the context of Viennese modernism deals with sexuality. For example, Hofmansthal's *Reitergeschichte* ([1899] 1975) explores violence as the Other within sexual love. The idea of the 'otherness' of female sexuality is emphasised in the *Moderne's* ambivalent attitude to women, most famously popularised by Otto Weininger in *Geschlecht und Charakter* (1903). Similarly, Klimt points to the dangers of the woman as evil temptress, focusing on the characters of Judith and Salome (Dijkstra 1986, p.388), while Schiele explores lesbianism which represents, according to Altenberg (1984, p.76), a fascination with the Self in the Other. Meanwhile, Andrian's *Der Garten der Erkenntnis* can be read as a recognition of (male) homosexuality as

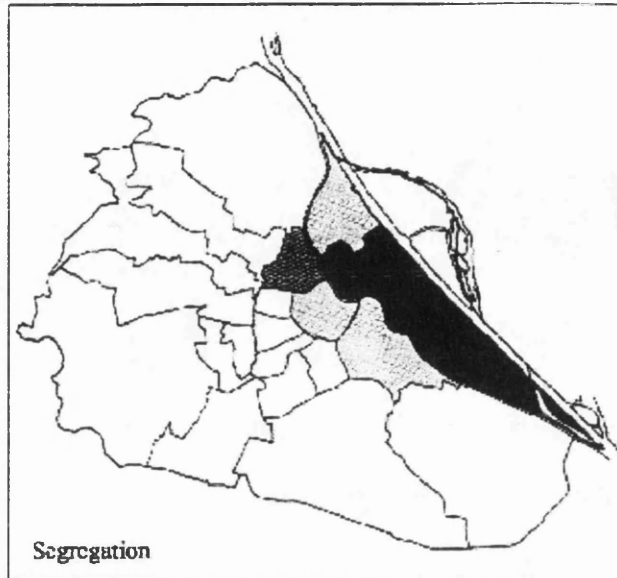
⁷¹There have been various attempts to show correspondences between Loos and Freud, most of which focus on Loos's argument, contained in 'Ornament und Verbrechen', which states that all ornament is erotic and that therefore, a lack of ornament represents a higher step on the scale of cultural evolution (for example Haiko and Reissenberger 1985; Müller 1987). Rather than psychologising Loos's analysis, this study aims to demonstrate the parallels at a cultural level: 'das Unbehagen in der *Kultur*' (my emphasis).

'Other' (Rieckmann 1996). However, the role of the 'Other' in the *Wiener Moderne* was not only tied up with sexuality; the anti-Semitism rife in Vienna at the turn of the century (Schnitzler 1981; Rossbacher 1982; Beller 1989) meant that the figure of the Jew could also signify the threat of the 'Other' within. Yet since many of the leading authors of the time were Jewish (Beller 1989), the figure of the Jew is complex, connoting different cultural meanings, depending on context. Thus, Weininger's Jewish self-hatred (Beller 1989, p.221) can be juxtaposed with the complex critique of the clash between the self-conviction of a Jewish physician and the hegemony of the Catholic Church contained in Schnitzler's *Professor Bernhardt* ([1912] 1962).

Thus, as well as grounding Loos's belief in social evolutionism, on a more specific level, Loos's use of national cultural mythologies highlights the cultural difference which characterises his Vienna. His texts offer an insight into the socio-cultural realities of Vienna at the turn of the century, suggesting the image of a city in which ethnic difference was highly visible. And indeed, Vienna was a city spatially stratified along ethnic lines. As John and Lichtblau (1990) have documented in a spatial analysis of the two largest minorities in Vienna at the turn of the century, the Jews were located mainly in the first, second and ninth districts (p.145), while large numbers of Czechs inhabited the second and tenth districts (p.143) (see fig. 15).⁷² While Loos's cultural ideal is the global homogenous culture signified by America and England, the reality of turn-of-the-century Vienna was rather different. Moreover, it is not only along ethnic lines that the sense of division characteristic of Vienna reveals itself. The horizontal divisions representing ethnic stratification are paralleled by the vertical divisions of social difference. Therefore, the following chapter turns its attention to an exploration of social stratification in Loos's textual *oeuvre*.

⁷²By 1900, however, the spatial location of the Czech population in Vienna was becoming more differentiated and was dependent on the location of workplaces. Thus, large numbers of Czechs lived in the industrial proletarian districts such as Ottakring, Favoriten and Brigittenau, while many others, mainly women who were in service, were registered in the inner suburbs (John and Lichtblau 1990, p.144).

1. Die jüdische Bevölkerung (1900)



2. Die tschechischsprachige Bevölkerung nach der Umgangssprachenerhebung (1900)

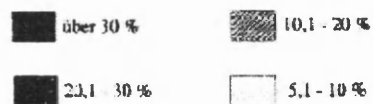
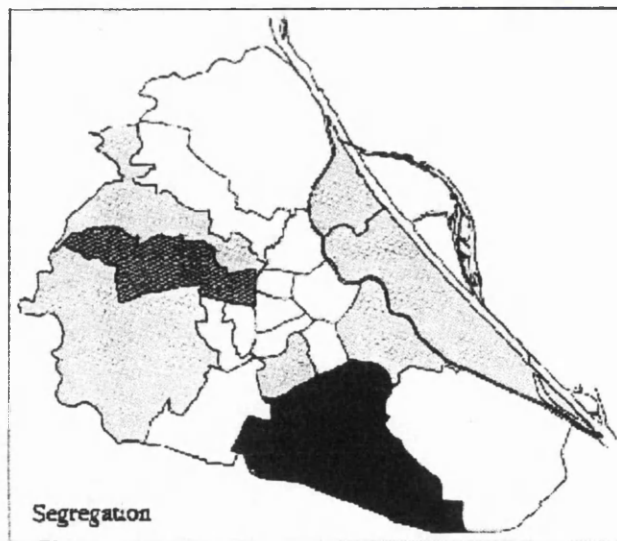


Fig. 15. The spatial representation of ethnic divisions in Vienna (1900).

(John and Lichtblau 1990)

CHAPTER FOUR

DAS EIGENE:

SOCIAL DIFFERENCE IN LOOS'S VIENNA

European modernism in the first years of this century thus flowered in the space between a still usable classical past, a still indeterminate technical present, and a still unpredictable political future. Or, put another way, it arose at the intersection between a semi-aristocratic ruling order, a semi-industrialised capitalist economy and a semi-emergent, or semi-insurgent, labour movement.

(Perry Anderson 1988, p.326)

Der vornehme Mensch ist der ganz persönliche, der seine Persönlichkeit doch ganz reserviert.

(Simmel 1989, p.535) [54]

Ich bin Kommunist. Der Unterschied zwischen mir und einem Bolschewiken ist nur der, daß ich alle Menschen zu Aristokraten, er alle Menschen zu Proleten machen will.

(Loos, cited in Claire Loos 1985, p.59) [55]

At the turn of the century, Vienna was not only a city stratified along ethnic lines, but was also divided socially. A move from the inner city, the first *Bezirk*, to the inner suburbs (*Vorstadt*), and then from the *Vorstadt* to the outer suburbs (*Vororte*) marked a decline in social prestige. Accordingly, the inner city was the preserve of the aristocracy, while the upper middle classes resided on the Ringstraße, the *Vorstadt* housed the petty-bourgeoisie and the artisans, and the industrial proletariat occupied the *Vororte*.¹ Hence, Otto Wagner's (1911) model of the metropolis, based on a series of

¹These divisions were, however, not completely exclusive, and neither were the three main areas identified – inner city, inner suburbs and outer suburbs – completely homogenous in character. Indeed, by the turn of the century, the separate suburbs had taken on different and distinct social characteristics such that, for example, the area around Schönbrunn was rather noble, the Josefstadt was bourgeois, while the suburbs to the south and southeast were working-class (Olsen 1986, pp.151-3).

concentric circles, is not an abstract model of the ideal city, but a concrete description of the socially stratified form of Vienna which has been remarkably constant throughout the city's history (Olsen 1986, p.151). Reference to a map of Vienna (see fig. 16) underlines these differences showing how the boundaries between the different social circles were clearly mapped; while the Ringstraße formed the boundary between the inner city and the *Vorstadt*, representing a 'vast public salon in which the different layers of high society met without mixing' (Mayer 1981, p.112), the *Gürtel* formed the boundary between the *Vorstadt* and the *Vororte*.²

Loos's early writings reiterate the inherent social divisions in Vienna at the turn of the century and, as demanded by his Social Darwinist perspective, present this hierarchical system of stratification as natural. In 'Weihnachtsausstellung im österreichischen Museum', Loos ([1897] 1981, pp.27-34) suggests that a defining characteristic of the modern intellect (*Geist*) is its need for individuality. However, illustrating his views on social difference with reference to the interior, he argues that this need for individuality essentially means

daß sich im allgemeinen der könig wie der könig, der bürger wie der bürger und der bauer wie der bauer einzurichten habe und daß im besonderen wieder jeder könig, jeder bürger und jeder bauer seine charaktäreigenschaften in seiner wohnungseinrichtung zum ausdruck bringen soll. (p.34) [56]

The implication of this passage is that the possibility of articulating individuality is restricted by pre-determined social boundaries, thus suggesting that Loos's view of society is predicated on pre-capitalist structures where social divisions are not class-based, but dependent on estates (*Stände*). In order to justify this conclusion, it is necessary to consider Max Weber's (1972, pp.177-80) distinction between a pre-capitalist society, in which stratification is based on estates, and a capitalist society,

²Bodzenta (1986, p.197) has argued that the use of the term *Vorstadt* changed after the city limits were extended in 1890. Increasingly, *Vorstadt* came to refer to those districts lying outwith the *Gürtel*.



Fig. 16. Map of Vienna from the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.

where social position is defined in terms of market position. In the latter, social mobility is facilitated through the circularity of the market while in the former, social mobility is hindered by barriers such as birth ties and indicators of a particular life-style, such as formal education. In maintaining that the king should furnish his abode in the style of a king, while the peasant should furnish his residence in the style of a peasant, Loos is clearly suggesting that life-style indicators can and should define social divisions, thereby locating his thought in pre-capitalist social structures.

However, in 'Die alte und die neue Richtung in der Baukunst', Loos ([1898] 1983, p.68) argues that 'gegenwärtig herrscht noch die kapitalistische Weltanschauung' ['at present, the capitalist world-view still dominates'], and moreover, 'nur für diese gelten meine Ausführungen' [and it is only in these bounds that my arguments are valid']. Yet it is a strange view of capitalism that is articulated in this essay on architectural production in Vienna, in which Loos maintains that the present is characterised by a revaluation of craft work, a recognition of the intellectual superiority of classical antiquity, and a division of labour in the field of architectural production. Searching elsewhere in Loos's textual *oeuvre* for clues to his definition of capitalism, we find further references to a division of labour (for example, Loos [1910] 1982a, p.90) and to processes of social mobility (for example, Loos [1897] 1981, p.30). Marx ([1867] 1962, pp.356-90) devotes chapter twelve of *Das Kapital* to an analysis of the division of labour and its relationship to commodity production, discussing the alienation brought about by a division of labour in manufacture which 'einen Menschen als bloßes Fragment seines Körpers darstellt' ['makes man a mere fragment of his own body'], and moreover, which 'drückt [...] dem Manufakturarbeiter einen Stempel auf, der ihn zum Eigentum des Kapitals brandmarkt' ['brands the manufacturing workman as the property of capital'] (1962, pp.381-2).³ In comparison, Loos's positive view of the division of labour is

³The translations from *Das Kapital* are taken from Marx 1977.

rooted in the pre-capitalist form of artisan production.⁴ This is illustrated most clearly in his discussion of architectural production in 'Die alte und die neue Richtung in der Baukunst' in which he argues that the work of the architect should be divided between craft workers such as the stonemason, the builder and the carpenter (Loos [1898] 1983, p.67). Whereas Marx ([1867] 1962, p.355-6) traces a clear developmental line from the division of labour in artisan production to the alienation characteristic of manufacture, Loos does not address any such connections.

Turning to the question of social mobility, we find that Loos articulates his image of modern society in terms of fashion. While the rigid dress regulations of feudal society signify the static nature of social structures, Loos argues that modern capitalist society has abolished rigid dress codes and therefore, symbolically paved the way for unrestricted social mobility. In focusing on the new freedoms offered by capitalist society, Loos echoes both Marx and Simmel. In the *Kommunistisches Manifest* (first published in 1848), Marx (1964) offers an analysis of the bourgeoisie's revolutionary role in history, focusing on the new possibilities for movement and circulation facilitated by the bourgeoisie (Berman 1983, pp.92-4). In a similar manner, Simmel (1989), in chapter four of his *Philosophie des Geldes*, describes the new freedoms accorded to the individual in the mature money economy. Yet both Marx and Simmel focus on the dialectical nature of modernity which, while opening up new possibilities for the individual, also simultaneously enforces new threats and restrictions.⁵ In his explicit admiration of the modern, expressed, for example, in 'Lob der Gegenwart', it would appear that Loos fails to recognise this ambivalence of modernity. However, the

⁴In *Theorien über den Mehrwert* (written 1861-63), Marx (1967, pp.405-7) demonstrates that artisan production of commodities, belonging neither to the category of productive nor unproductive labour, is not a part of the capitalist mode of production.

⁵In Marx's (1964, p.465) analysis, the possibilities and threat of modernity is encapsulated in his poignant description of bourgeois life contained in the *Kommunistisches Manifest*: 'Alles ständische und stehende verdampft' ['All that is solid melts into air'], which Berman (1983) uses as the title for his investigation into the nature of modernity.

excavation of Loos's texts carried out thus far has revealed their paradoxical structure, suggesting that they articulate a structure of feeling more complex than Loos intended.⁶

Nevertheless, despite Loos's claim that the context in which his texts are located is represented by the 'capitalist world view', his references to a division of labour and to increased possibilities for social mobility provide at best a limited image of capitalism. Moreover, in terms of his analysis of social difference in Vienna, there is little evidence in his texts of a sustained understanding of class in capitalist society along the lines of Marx's ([1867] 1962) focus on the relations of production or Weber's (1972) analysis of market position. Instead, as we have seen, his view of social stratification appears to refer to a pre-capitalist society where social divisions are related to rank order. Thus, Loos's textual *oeuvre*, reiterating its basis in paradox, contains two contradictory images of the social structure in which it is located. And although Loos claims that his arguments refer to capitalist society, this represents the weaker of the two models in his texts. Therefore, the context in which his textual *oeuvre* implicitly locates itself is characterised by the co-existence, in an unequal relationship, of capitalist and pre-capitalist structures. In order to investigate the implications of this insight, it is necessary to develop an analysis of the nature of social difference articulated in Loos's Vienna, examining to what extent his texts consider, articulate or attempt to overcome the inherent contradictions in a society at once pre-capitalist and capitalist in structure. The method employed in this chapter involves isolating and investigating in detail the social types which circulate through Loos's textual *oeuvre*. This method suggests a further correspondence between Loos's textual *oeuvre* and Benjamin's analysis of

⁶The term 'structure of feeling' is taken from Raymond Williams (1977, pp.128-35) and is used to describe the articulation of presence. It is concerned first, with cultural meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt, and second, with the relationship of these values and meanings to the formal and systematic beliefs of a given period. The concept of the 'structure of feeling' is especially relevant in the context of a study of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, given the similarities between Williams and Loos in their views on cultural change. Just as Loos ([1908] 1983, p.74) posits a model based on continual cultural change, so Williams uses the idea of a 'long revolution' to illustrate his argument that cultural change occurs, and is experienced constantly (Williams 1961).

modernity, which also employs a physiognomy of the city (Frisby 1985). As a result of this method, which focuses on the complex web of correspondences from which Loos's textual *oeuvre* is constructed, temporal differences are suppressed in this chapter.

THE SPHERE OF CONSUMPTION

The Bourgeoisie

The figurative location of the *Bürger* in Loos's ([1897] 1981, p.34) early texts, squeezed between the aristocracy and the peasantry, symbolises the relative weakness of the bourgeoisie in Vienna at the turn of the century.⁷ Nevertheless, a set of arguments in Loos's textual *oeuvre* are based on a position of 'Bürgerstolz' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.31). Paradoxically however, his texts simultaneously criticise the Viennese bourgeoisie ([1898] 1983, p.97). This paradox is neatly illustrated with reference to the location of Loos's publications in 1898; at the same time as he was criticising bourgeois values in 'Die Potemkin'sche Stadt', which was published in *Ver Sacrum* and forms part of the Secessionist critique of the *haute bourgeois* Academy, Loos was also writing a series of articles for the liberal bourgeois newspaper, the *Neue Freie Presse*. In other words, just as Loos's position vis-à-vis the culture of Austria was characterised by a dialectic of belonging and not belonging (as demonstrated in the second chapter) so his relationship to the bourgeoisie is also marked by a sense of both closeness and distance. Therefore, it is necessary to develop Loos's position towards the bourgeoisie, examining the manner in which he at once identifies with, and renounces this class.

⁷According to Schorske's well-known definition, the Viennese intellectuals at the turn of the century were alienated not from their class, but with it (Schorske 1981, p.xxvii). Adshead (1985, p.31) makes a similar point, arguing that since the bourgeoisie had little responsibility for government and little opportunity in business, the intellectuals of the Viennese *Bildungsbürgertum* had little left to do but think.

In 'Möbel' (1898), Loos presents his positive view of the bourgeoisie, stating that finally in Austro-Hungary 'der Bürgerstolz ist erwacht' ['bourgeois pride has awakened'] (Loos [1898] 1981, p.31). His own feelings of *Bürgerstolz* are then articulated in the rationale which he gives for his series of articles written for the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1898. The main aim underlying these articles is, he argues, to encourage Austrian trade and industry to reach a sufficiently high level of cultural attainment before the Paris World Exhibition in 1900, so that 'wir auch im Wettstreite mit fremden Nationen einen ehrenvollen Platz einnehmen werden' (Loos [1898] 1983, p.49) ['we will assume a fitting place in the competition with foreign nations']. This statement is highly revealing of the bourgeois nature of Loos's thought, since the nation-state, and its symbols and successes in the realm of commodity production – such as the world trade exhibitions – are products of the rise of a bourgeois consciousness in the context of industrial capitalism.⁸ Indeed, in his review of the first 50 years of world exhibitions, Julius Lessing (1900) argues that the development of the world exhibitions gradually led to greater emphasis on their representative function, rather than on their role in promoting free trade:

Jetzt befinden wir uns seit Jahrzehnten in einem immer weiteren Vorschreiten des Schutzzolles; der einzelne hat wenig zu hoffen, die Beschickung der Ausstellung wird mehr eine Art Repräsentation, man will im Ganzen zeigen, was ein Land in künstlerischer und technischer Beziehung zu leisten vermag. (p.30) [57]

Because of a recognition of the importance of their representative function, by the late nineteenth century, the organisers of trade exhibitions had begun to limit the number of exhibitors and to control the produce on display (p.30). In his discussion of the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition, Loos ([1898] 1983, p.49) reveals that his aim is to have the Austrian entry for the Paris exhibition of 1900 strictly regulated, apparently ignoring the fact that a system of regulation was already in place for the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition itself,

⁸Indeed, the purpose of these expositions was, as Williams (1982, p.58) has argued, to teach a 'lesson of things', focusing on 'the social benefit of this unprecedented material and intellectual progress.'

where exhibitors were selected by a jury (Bürger 1898, p.158). Echoing Loos's view of the purpose of world exhibitions, Lessing comments that even if the grand ideas of world peace with which the first exhibition was associated have now been forgotten, the world exhibitions remain the ideal locations for peaceful competition between nations (p.30). Thus at this point, Loos's analysis demonstrates affinities with the world-view of the capitalist bourgeoisie, which can be contrasted to the radical critique contained in Benjamin's sustained description of the capitalist world as a re-enchanted dream world of mass culture (Buck-Morss 1989, p.253-4). In Benjamin's view, the collective architecture of the nineteenth century, from exhibition sites to the bourgeois interior 'stellt das Haus des träumenden Kollektivs dar' (Benjamin 1982, p.1012) ['represents housing for the dreaming collective']. Loos's urge to see Austria take its rightful place in the international arena of world exhibitions marks him as a member of this 'dreaming collective'.

However, Loos's sense of *Bürgerstolz* does not serve to identify him completely with the Austrian bourgeoisie at the turn of the century. Rather, it signifies a position from which he can criticise the undeveloped character of the Viennese bourgeoisie that did not want its own revolution, had existed in a state of crisis since the 1870s and instead of developing its own everyday culture, had limited itself to imitating the ruling classes of the past (Pfabigan 1991, p.65). In Loos's textual *oeuvre*, the figure of the Parvenu is the manifestation of his critique of the bourgeoisie, expressed most forcefully in 'Die Potemkin'sche Stadt' ([1898] 1983, pp.55-8). His critique of the Parvenu bears a striking resemblance to Veblen's critique of conspicuous consumption contained in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (first published in 1899) and is, in essence, a critique of the consumption of images rather than products. Indeed, the object of criticism in Loos's essay is the Viennese Ringstraße, which has come to be recognised as the dominant image of the buoyant *Gründerzeit* period in Vienna in the 1860s (Springer 1969; Schorske 1981, pp.24-46). However, it is not the representative function of the monumental buildings of the Ringstraße which Loos criticises in 'Die Potemkin'sche

Stadt'.⁹ Instead, he turns his attention to the residential buildings of the Ringstraße which occupied most of the building space (Schorske 1981, p.46) and were inhabited largely by the upper bourgeoisie (Olsen 1986, p.154). Loos's criticism centres on his view of the false facades of the residential buildings of the Ringstraße, which function as empty signifiers, creating the illusion of a city inhabited only by the aristocracy instead of celebrating its modern bourgeoisie character.

Loos's critique of the Parvenu is predicated on the binary opposition between 'shame' and 'courage'; he argues that the Parvenu, the consumer of images which are merely empty signifiers, is ultimately ashamed of his modernity. In 'Die Baumaterialien', Loos ([1898] 1981, p.136) suggests that the Parvenu's attempts at imitating expensive materials and ornament are motivated by a sense of shame at his true social position:

Der parvenü findet es beschämend, sich nicht mit diamanten schmücken zu können, kein pelzwerk tragen zu können, nicht im steinpalast zu wohnen, seitdem er in erfahrung gebracht hat, daß diamanten, pelzwerk und steinfassaden viel geld kosten. [58]

Loos, however, argues that one does not need to be ashamed of not having the riches of the old aristocracy, as the style of the modern times accepts, and indeed depends on this cultural transformation. This point is emphasised in 'Die Potemkin'sche Stadt' where he argues that 'Armut ist keine Schande,' and then appeals to the bourgeoisie, with which he identifies (note the use of 'wir'), to reject the feeling of shame signified by the Parvenu:

Schämen wir uns doch nicht der Thatsache, in einem Haus mit vielen anderen uns social gleichstehenden Menschen zur Miete zu wohnen.

⁹This is a common misunderstanding in commentaries on Loos which have read this text as a critique of the historicism of the *Ringstraßenstil* per se (see, for example, Schorske 1981, p.339; Schorske 1986, pp.24-5; Beller 1989, pp.172-3). However, Loos's actual position is more ambivalent; although he criticises the use of historicism in residential buildings, he affirms its use in the representational buildings of the Ringstraße (see Loos [1911] 1985; [1912] 1982a, p.123).

Schämen wir uns doch nicht der Thatsache, daß es Stoffe gibt, die uns als Baumaterial zu theuer wären. Schämen wir uns doch nicht der Thatsache, Menschen aus dem 19. Jahrhundert zu sein, und nicht solche, die in einem Hause wohnen wollen, das seiner Bauart nach einer früheren Zeit angehört. Ihr würdet dann sehen, wie schnell wir den unserer Zeit ureigenen Baustil erhalten würden.

(Loos [1898] 1983, pp.57-8) [59]

Having the courage to be 'people of the nineteenth century' would, Loos argues, automatically effect a change in architectural style; the historicism characteristic of the residential buildings of the Ringstraße would be rejected in favour of the style of the present, which would reflect the socio-cultural location of the bourgeoisie (p.58).¹⁰

In 'Weihnachtsausstellung im österreichischen Museum', Loos ([1897] 1981, p.30) compares the situation in Vienna to that in England where, he argues, the bourgeoisie have already overcome the tendencies of the Parvenu:

Drüben, jenseits des Ärmelkanals, wohnt ein Volk von freien Bürgern, das der alten Schranken schon lange entwohnt ist, so daß Parvenüwandlungen hier keinen Boden mehr finden. Sie verzichten auf Fürstenprunk und Fürstenpracht in ihren Wohnungen. Kleiderordnungen kannten sie schon lange nicht mehr und sie fanden daher auch keine sonderliche Befriedigung darin, die großen nachzuahmen.¹¹ [60]

The English bourgeois as social type is characterised by simplicity and lack of ostentation, symbolised in his rejection of 'princely splendour and magnificence.' Indeed, this figure signifies Loos's ideal of a unified culture in which difference is not expressed in the exterior. In the context of Loos's *oeuvre*, the *Bürger* is, first and

¹⁰In *Moderne Architektur*, first published two years before 'Die Potemkin'sche Stadt', Otto Wagner ([1896] 1988, p.78) makes a similar point, arguing 'all modern creations must correspond to [...] the demands of the present if they are to suit modern man.'

¹¹However, in the light of Mayer's (1981, p.12) thesis that England, as the rest of Europe, was characterised by the 'persistence of the old regime' up until the First World War, this passage suggests once more that Loos's England represents an ideal image of the Other.

foremost, a signifier of the structure of feeling of modernity. In other words, this figure represents the modern person who has the courage to reject the past and its emphasis on historicism and, as Loos ([1898] 1981, pp.55-6) himself claims to do, to live and to affirm the present.¹² Thus, Loos appears to draw a clear distinction between the *Parvenu*, who merely attempts to imitate the lifestyle of the old aristocracy, and the *Bürger*, who rejects the ostentatious lifestyle of the aristocracy in favour of the creation of a new, simple bourgeois lifestyle. Furthermore, this analytic division of the bourgeoisie allows him to simultaneously identify with and reject the Viennese bourgeoisie. However, Loos's ambivalence towards the relationship of the bourgeoisie to the aristocracy subverts this neat distinction, revealing the complexity of the social structure articulated in his writings.

The Relationship of the Bourgeoisie to the Aristocracy

The ambivalence of Loos's view of the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy is illustrated in the continuation of the quotation from 'Weihnachtsausstellung im österreichischen Museum' cited above. Having argued that the bourgeoisie in England, a group of free citizens, sees no need to imitate the great historical aristocracy in a parvenu-like fashion, Loos ([1897] 1983, p.30) then argues that under the influence of the bourgeoisie, 'sogar der adel in diesem lande [machte] einen wandel durch. Er wurde einfach und schlicht' ['even the nobility in this country underwent a slow transformation. Plainness and simplicity became its watchwords' (Loos 1998, p.20)]. This statement, while containing an implicit critique of the lifestyle of the old aristocracy, does not suggest that the rise of the bourgeoisie is

¹²Indeed, Loos's affirmation of the present is a theme which can be traced throughout his textual *oeuvre*, and is not merely a feature of his early texts. Thus, a report of one of his latest lectures, given in Graz in 1927, highlights Loos's love of the present: 'Das Erfreulichste aber an diesem Vortrag [...] war, daß man durch ihn einen Geist kennen lernte, der lebendig seine Zeit bejaht und liebt' (K.N. [1927] 1985, p.116) ['The most pleasing aspect of this lecture was that we became acquainted with a man who, in a lively fashion, expressed his love of his time and his positive attitude towards it'].

accompanied by the fall of the aristocracy. Indeed, in contradiction to Max Weber's analysis of the feudal aristocracy, that condemns it to extinction because of its inability to adapt to the demands of formal rationality (Mitzman 1985, p.232), Loos's text echoes Mayer's (1981, p.13) arguments on the powers of appropriation of the old regime who 'excelled at selectively ingesting, adapting, and assimilating new ideas and practices without seriously endangering their traditional status, temperament and outlook.' Strategies for survival in the face of the rise of capitalism employed by the Austro-Hungarian aristocracy included on the one hand, the widespread process of ennoblement (*Veredelungsprozeß*), as exemplified in the case of Georg von Lukács, whose father was a banker in Budapest, and on the other, marriage into the industrial bourgeoisie, as satirised in Hofmannsthal's ([1911] 1986) ^{Der} *Rosenkavalier* (Csáky 1986, p.147). Furthermore, it was not only the aristocracy itself that propagated the continuation of status society. The *Bildungsbürgertum* was the manifestation of a form of status society based on processes of *ständische Vergesellschaftung* and a sense of social prestige symbolised by *Bildungswissen* (Lepsius 1992). Similarly, bourgeois academics and military officers used their positions to gain access to aristocratic circles (Elias 1992, p.150),¹³ thereby changing, but not dismantling existing social structures.

Moreover, Loos's description of the life-style of the *Bürger*, despite his critique of the Parvenu outlined above, does not include an absolute rejection of imitation. In 'Weihnachtsausstellung im österreichischen Museum', it appears that Loos is rejecting imitation definitively, holding the Parvenu's consumption of images responsible for the backward position of Austrian trade and industry:

Da aber der allgemeinen dieser reichthum nicht zu gebote steht, so kopiert sie die formen auf kosten des materials und der ausführung, wodurch die halbheit, die hohlheit und jenes schreckliche ungeheuer, das unserem

¹³Loos's early biography, characterised by his service as a Lieutenant in the reserve army and his membership of a *Burschenschaft* in Dresden, is typical of the methods employed by the bourgeoisie to gain entry to aristocratic society. These methods are analysed by Elias (1992, pp.150-1).

gewerbe das ganze mark aus den knochen zu saugen droht, die Imitation, ihren Einzug hält.

(Loos [1897] 1981, p.29) [61]

Furthermore, in the same article, Loos praises the English who, he states, were among the first to take up the fight against imitation (p.31).¹⁴ However, in 'Kunstgewerbliche Rundschau II', published just a year later, a different view of imitation is to be found. Employing the motto 'entweder *genau kopieren* oder etwas neues schaffen', Loos ([1898] 1981, p.44 - my emphasis) affirms the value of exact imitation, while criticising the trend of appropriating old forms and adapting them so that they appear to be 'modern'.¹⁵ Introducing a political dimension in 'Möbel', he argues that the significance of the French Revolution lies in its creation of the social conditions in which the bourgeoisie has gained the right and indeed, the duty to copy forms which were previously the exclusive property of the aristocracy:

Die französische Revolution hat den bürger frei gemacht. Nichts konnte ihn davon abhalten, geld zu erwerben und von dem gelde beliebigen gebrauch zu machen. [...] Es gibt leute, die noch nach dem *ancien régime* gravitieren. Allerdings, sagen sie, habe ich jetzt das recht, mich wie der Prinz von Wales anzuziehen. Aber ich bin kein königssohn. Ich bin nur ein einfacher bürgermann. *Nein, lieber bürgermann, du hast nicht nur das recht, sondern du hast auch die pflicht, dich wie der Prinz von Wales anzuziehen.* Gedenke, daß du ein enkel bist. Dein urgroßvater und dein

¹⁴In an overview of the development of schools of design in England, Stansky (1985, pp.28-9) argues that while the early schools of design were obsessed with reproducing ornament and showed little concern for the actual object being designed, the more flexible approach of later schools, under the influence of William Morris and Walter Crane, represented a move away from the imitation of ornament towards free design.

¹⁵At this point, Loos's critique appears to stand in direct contradiction to Otto Wagner's theory of modern architecture. In his chapter on 'Style', Wagner ([1896] 1988, p.75) criticises artists who make exact copies of the old, even imitating the changes produced by wear and tear. Instead, he argues, the architect may use the full palette of traditional forms at his disposal, but rather than copying a selected form, 'he must adapt it to us and to the purpose by reshaping the form' (p.80). However, in his critique of the plans to renovate the *Stephansdom* in Vienna published in *Die Zeit*, Wagner (1902, p.42) expresses a view exactly in line with Loos's position.

vater haben gekämpft, vielleicht ihr blut vergossen. Ein könig und eine kaiserintochter mußten ihr haupt für diese idee auf das schafott legen. Nun ist es an dir, von dem erkämpften gebrauch zu machen.
(Loos [1898] 1981, pp.155-6 – my emphasis.) [62]

This injunction for the bourgeoisie to copy and appropriate for themselves cultural forms that were once the exclusive property of the aristocracy heralds a view of social change, intimately related to the sphere of consumption, which illustrates Loos's ambivalent position on the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy.

Throughout his textual *oeuvre*, Loos emphasises the fact that cultural change is inevitable and continuous. Thus, in 'Kulturentartung' ([1908] 1982a, p.74), he argues that 'von Stunde zu Stunde ändern wir uns, unsere Anschauungen, unsere Gewohnheiten. Und dadurch ändert sich unsere Kultur' ['we change, our views change and our habits change from hour to hour. That is how our culture changes']. Furthermore, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, Loos's arguments are based on the belief that change occurs according to an independent inner logic of history based on the laws of Social Darwinism. In line with this view, he maintains that modern style cannot be consciously and artificially created by intellectuals, but rather must be reproduced, in accordance with the structure of feeling of modernity, through the cycle of consumption and production.¹⁶ Loos maintains that in a given period, modernity is represented by the socially dominant class, but constant change in the modern is brought about through agitation from below, through the strivings of those in the lower classes to reach the position held by those in the higher classes. As he describes in 'Wanderungen durch die Winterausstellung des österreichischen Museums', in the interest of maintaining differentiation, the higher classes are then obliged to continually

¹⁶Here, Loos's argument reveals direct parallels to Otto Wagner's theory of modern architecture. Just as Loos argues that modern style cannot be created artificially, so Wagner ([1896] 1988, pp.78-9) argues that 'all modern creations must correspond to the new materials and demands of the present if they are to suit modern man. [...] If we take the right course, the recognition of man's innate ideal of beauty will be expressed honestly, quite of its own accord.'

bring forth changes and improvements, which are then echoed throughout the social strata:

Wir sehen demnach, daß wir es nicht mit zwei verschiedenen Geschmacksrichtungen zu thun haben, sondern daß der Bürger das für geschmackvoll findet, was dem Adel kurz vorher für geschmackvoll gegolten hat. Ist diesem das Bürgerthum gefolgt, so hört es für ihn auf, geschmackvoll zu sein. Es ist für ihn entwerthet. *Auf diese Weise entsteht, von den unteren Classen gedrängt und geschoben, ein ewiger Wechsel.*
(Loos [1898] 1983, p.80 – my emphasis) [63]

In this case, Loos's model, which corresponds strikingly to Simmel's (1992a) analysis of fashion outlined in 'Zur Psychologie der Mode', identifies the aristocracy as the dominant social group and the bourgeoisie as the group providing the motor for change.¹⁷ In Loos's view, the important consequence of the French Revolution is not that it has replaced the aristocracy with a strong bourgeoisie, but rather that it has destroyed the barriers to social mobility which had previously prevented the lower social groups from striving to attain the cultural levels of the higher groups.¹⁸ Therefore, Loos's image of modernity is one in which a system of social stratification, although natural, is no longer rigid. He differentiates between a pre-modern caste system, in which impenetrable barriers to social mobility are symbolised by the existence of an enforced dress code, and a modern class system which, in abolishing the dress code, has symbolically eradicated limits on upward mobility (Loos [1898] 1981, pp.155-6). However, in his refusal to countenance the decline of the aristocracy, the

¹⁷This model for social change is also strikingly close to the thesis that Bourdieu (1984) offers in *Distinction*, as the result of an empirical study into consumption and the creation of 'taste' in present-day France. This similarity between Loos's analysis and those of Simmel and Bourdieu underlines the proto-sociological nature of parts of Loos's textual *oeuvre*.

¹⁸Affirming this view, Inzenberg (1979, p.234) argues that nineteenth century Europe was characterised by the continuation of an aristocratic ideal and that even in *la France bourgeois*, the bourgeoisie appropriated many of the ideals that had been associated with the aristocracy such as a private income, owning a house in the countryside and dividing their time between city and country.

relationship of the bourgeoisie to the aristocracy essentially remains one of subordinate to dominant social group.

Despite Loos's description of modern society as a class-based society which provides the conditions for social mobility, the pinnacle of his hierarchical model of stratification is represented by the aristocracy – a status group historically based on feudal property classes, rather than the commercial classes of modern capitalism (Weber 1972, pp.179-80). However, the introduction of social mobility into the equation means that the status of the aristocracy can no longer be based solely on blood-ties, but must also be maintained through other life-style indicators. In Loos's textual *oeuvre*, the figure of the English Gentleman, which represents a fusion of aristocratic and bourgeois elements, is an important signifier of this 'modern aristocracy'. To the extent that he signifies an open-based society rather than a caste society (Tocqueville [1856] 1971, p.109), the figure of the Gentleman demonstrates affinities with the bourgeoisie. And yet tracing the term *gentleman* back to its sixteenth century English usage reveals that it was essentially used to denote a man with property who did not have to work for his living (Gilmour 1981, p.6). In this sense, the figure of the English Gentleman is far removed from the ideal type of the industrial bourgeoisie.¹⁹ Indeed, in connoting the possibilities for social mobility embodied by the landed gentry, the English Gentleman reveals his correspondences with the figure of the Dandy who 'can be seen as a reworking of traditional aristocratic values and ideas to meet the challenge of changing circumstances'

¹⁹Gilmour (1981, p.6) quotes William Harrison's definition of the gentleman from 1577 as evidence: 'Whosoever studieth the laws of the realm, whoso abideth in the university (giving his mind to the book), or professeth physic or liberal sciences, or beside has service in the room of a captain in the wars, or good counsel given at home, whereby the commonwealth is benefited, can live without manual labour, and thereto is able and will bear the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman, he shall for money have a coat and arms bestowed upon him by the heralds, and thereunto, being made so cheap, be called master, which is the title that men give to esquires and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman ever after.'

(Campbell 1987, p.170).²⁰ Thus, the figure of the English Gentleman is a representative of a romantic anti-capitalist stance, which is revealed in Loos's likening of the attitude of the English Gentleman to the heroic stance of the Tramp who ('trotzdem') is able to lead a life of distinction without having to work (Loos [1908] 1983, p.118).

Loos's textual *oeuvre*, then, does not focus on the difference between the bourgeoisie and the 'new' aristocracy, but rather sees them existing in tandem and indeed, interacting with each other. This reflects the actual position in Austro-Hungary, and also in other European countries, before the First World War. Indeed, the fusion of the aristocracy with the bourgeoisie, to a greater or lesser extent, was a fundamental marker of the European ruling classes at the turn of the century (Inzenberg 1979, p.233). In Vienna at this time, patterns of sociability included crossover between the bourgeoisie and a section of the aristocracy, who mixed in the salons, and also in the coffee-houses of the city.²¹ An examination of Loos's lifestyle illustrates this crossover between the bourgeoisie and sections of the aristocracy. Thus Steinert (1993, p.219), in an overview of sociability in the cultural scene in Vienna, argues that Loos was a central figure who moved in almost all contexts, while biographical evidence contained in Rukschcio and Schachel (1982) affirms that Loos moved both in Bohemian circles associated with the Viennese coffee-houses and in the more refined salons of the upper bourgeoisie. He was, for example, a regular guest and close friend of Eugenia Schwarzwald, who ran

²⁰Since the figure of the English Gentleman essentially represents a modernisation of the aristocracy, it contradicts Loos's ([1898] 1981, p.44) views on imitation, in which he maintains that old forms should either be copied exactly or new forms should be created, but that old forms should never be adapted.

²¹First, there was the court society, whose salon culture tended to exclude the intellectual elite and new wealth, but second, there was a more heterogeneous aristocratic society open to new elites which, although looked down upon by Austria's 'first society', was still counted upon to uphold the old order (Mayer 1981, pp.109-10). Documentary evidence suggests that this 'second tier' of aristocratic society was open to Loos, who was, for example, acquainted with the Max Graf Thun-Hohenstein (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.204).

one of Vienna's most well-known salons (Schifferer 1985).²² Moreover, Loos's second wife, Elsie Altmann-Loos (1968, p.76) reports that Loos was acquainted with 'all the aristocrats', and that 'Fürst Lobkowitz, die Hohenlohes und Prinz Alexander Dietrichstein' visited Loos in his apartment in the Giselastraße. Thus, the form of social life in Vienna at the turn of the century provided the context for Loos's ideal type of the English Gentleman whose *Vornehmheit* allows him to transcend class barriers. The social standing of the figure of the English Gentleman, both in Loos's textual *oeuvre* and in the social self-understanding of the nineteenth century, is not predicated on membership of a Weberian 'commercial class'. Instead, it is defined in terms of a 'status group', dependent on education, taste, and a sense of *Vornehmheit* – a sense of judgement, refinement, and distinction (Inzenberg 1979, p.235). Loos's ambivalence towards the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy is founded on his belief in the ideal of *Vornehmheit* and therefore, it is to a closer examination of this ideal that we now turn.

The Ideal of *Vornehmheit*

In 'Ornament und Verbrechen', Loos ([1910] 1982a, p.86) states that he is preaching the gospel of the aristocracy: 'ich predige den Aristokraten.'²³ This formulation can be traced back to a letter to his first wife, Lina, dated 16 July 1903, in which Loos relates an incident concerning Peter Altenberg and the actress Kete Parsenow. Altenberg had kissed the woman's hand in taking leave from her and his gesture was duly admired by

²²Schifferer (1985) provides an overview of the Viennese salons run by Schwarzwald and also Bertha Zuckerkandl, Alma Mahler and Lina Loos, tracing Loos's connections with them. See also Ackerl 1993.

²³Although Pfabigan is right to argue that the latent political content of Loos's writings represents a critique of the failed bourgeois revolution in Austria (p.65), he fails to recognise the central role that the aristocracy, rather than the bourgeoisie, plays in Loos's textual *oeuvre* and thus, attempts to make a distinction between Loos and Kraus (p.72) which does not exist. Both thinkers, and not only Kraus, are indebted to the notion of an intellectual or spiritual aristocracy (*Geistesaristokratie*), if not to a hereditary aristocracy (*Blutadel*).

the members of the *Löwenbräu Stammtisch* in Vienna.²⁴ Loos's reaction to such admiration was brusque:

Ich aber sagte: Ich predige euch seit Jahren den Aristokraten. Ich verlange, daß jeder Mensch seine vornehmsten und erhabensten Gefühle in seiner Brust verschließe.

(Correspondence Adolf Loos/Lina Loos. I.N. 126.901) [64]

The letter continues with a comparison between Lina and Parsenow, in which Lina is identified as an 'Aristokratin', able to keep her feelings in check and not expose her inner self in public. In identifying Lina as an 'Aristokratin', Loos reveals that the figure of the Aristocrat contained in his writings represents an ideal type which is based on the notion of a *Geistesaristokratie* (intellectual aristocracy) rather than on that of a *Blutadel* (aristocracy by birth) (Roth 1995, p.82).²⁵ Indeed, Loos's ([1910] 1982a, p.78) tongue-in-cheek remark, contained in 'Ornament und Verbrechen', that anyone sporting a tattoo and not in prison is either a latent criminal or a degenerate aristocrat can be read as a critique of the ostentatious lifestyle of the old aristocracy whose 'princely splendour and magnificence' now belongs in a museum (Loos [1898] 1981, pp.28-9). Although this representative function of the decadent aristocracy belongs in the past, the ideal of the aristocracy is still of central importance to Loos, but aristocratic characteristics can now be attributed to certain members of all social classes – those who, as Loos argues in 'Weihnachtsausstellung im österreichischen Museum', have reached the heights of intellectual *Vornehmheit*:

²⁴Altenberg's *Stammtisch* in the *Löwenbräu*, to which Loos, Kraus, Egon Friedell and the Muhr brothers (members of the industrial bourgeoisie) belonged, has been well documented (see, for example, Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, pp.37-8). It was here that Loos made the acquaintance of his first wife, Lina (Fischer 1994, pp.59-61).

²⁵The idea of an elite *Geistesaristokratie* places Loos's cultural criticism in the context of conservative *Kulturkritik* in general at the turn of the century. As Hepp (1987, pp.69-75) demonstrates, the aristocracy invoked as an ideal in conservative cultural criticism is by no means identical to the real existing upper class. Instead, as used by such diverse critics as Nietzsche, Muthesius, Karl Scheffler and Kurt Hiller, the term connotes the antithesis to the nineteenth century ideal of a *Gelehrtenrepublik*.

Die aufgabe der modernen künstler ist es, den geschmack der menge innerhalb seiner verschiedenen charakteristischen standesabstufungen zu heben, indem sie die bedürfnisse der jeweilig *geistig vornehmsten* erfüllen. (Loos [1897] 1981, p.34 – my emphasis) [65]

Loos's ideal of the *Geistesaristokratie*, embodied in the figure of the English Gentleman, focuses on the concept of *Vornehmheit* (distinction) that finds its outer expression in the simplicity which, he argues, represents modern style. However, *Vornehmheit* also refers to internal individuality.²⁶ Thus in 'Lob der Gegenwart' ([1908] 1983, p.117), Loos describes the English, with their desire for outer uniformity, as the nation which 'unter allen die stärksten Individualitäten zählt' ['includes the strongest personalities of all']. In other words, *Vornehmheit* connotes the simultaneous combination of individuality and social homogeneity which is encapsulated in Loos's ideal of the modern person. This definition of *Vornehmheit* reveals a striking correspondence between Loos's thought and that of Simmel. Crucially, in terms of establishing the correspondence between his use of *Vornehmheit* and the way in which it is employed in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, in his *Philosophie des Geldes*, Simmel ([1900] 1989, p.535) argues that 'der vornehme Mensch ist der ganz persönliche, der seine Persönlichkeit doch ganz reserviert' ['the distinguished person is the very person who completely reserves his personality' (Simmel 1990, p.390)]. In other words, Simmel, like Loos, defines *Vornehmheit* in terms of a strong sense of subjectivity which does not require to be displayed.

²⁶This double-edged definition of *Vornehmheit* is not recognised by Roth (1995, p.80), who has defined Loos's use of the term as 'der menschliche Ehrgeiz nach sozialer Anerkennung,' which, he argues, provides Loos with the motor for a possible cultural revolution. In emphasising difference, Roth does not recognise the simultaneity of individuality and difference that are combined in the concept of *Vornehmheit* as employed in Loos's textual *oeuvre*. Thus, he fails to recognise the correspondences between Loos and Simmel.

The ideal of *Vornehmheit*, described as 'one sense of value with which we respond to phenomena' (Simmel [1900] 1989, p.534) occupies a central role in Simmel's discussion of modernity, in which he maintains that the unique character of *Vornehmheit* as evaluation is that it can be applied to a variety of otherwise unrelated phenomena.²⁷ This aspect of *Vornehmheit* is apparent in Loos's texts where it is not only the figure of the Aristocrat that is described as *vornehm*, but also, for example, Loos's wife, the clothing of the English gentleman, shoes, and a match-box. However, returning to the figure of the Aristocrat, it is significant that Simmel concludes that the 'ideal of *Vornehmheit*' is radically opposed to the money economy, since money destroys the self-respect [*Aufsichhalten*] which is characteristic of the *vornehme* person (p.541). This being the case, it is no surprise that the figure of the English Gentleman, a fusion of bourgeois and aristocratic elements that appears to transcend the realities of the money economy, should be equated with the 'ideal of *Vornehmheit*' in Loos's texts. Nor is it surprising that in his *Soziologie*, Simmel describes the aristocracy in terms which recall the ideal of *Vornehmheit*:

Indem der Adel, in seinen reinsten historischen Erscheinungen, die Lebenswerte der Individuen mit einzigartiger Kraft in sein Gesamtgebilde zusammenführt, und indem die Entwicklung dieses wiederum mit vorbehaltloser Gesammeltheit auf die Formung, Steigerung und Selbständigkeit des Einzelnen hinzielt - *hat der Adel der Gleichung zwischen dem Ganzen und dem Individuum, den vorbestimmenden Gegebenheiten und den persönlichen Ausgestaltungen des Lebens eine historisch einzigartige Lösung gegeben.*

(Simmel [1908] 1992b, p.831 - my emphasis) [66]

Therefore, although the ideal of *Vornehmheit* is characterised by a simultaneity of homogeneity and difference, it does not represent a mass culture. Indeed, Simmel emphasises that the extreme opposite of the ideal of *Vornehmheit* is the tendency, associated above all with the money economy, to do things in common with others

²⁷As examples of such unrelated phenomena, Simmel ([1900] 1989, p.535) names attitudes, works of art, lineal descent, a highly-developed taste, corresponding objects, manners and an animal of noble stock.

[*sich-gemein-machen*] (p.537). In other words, the ideal ultimately represents a form of resistance towards the levelling processes inherent in capitalism which function to bring down the higher levels of culture more than raising the lower levels (p.537). The ideal of *Vornehmheit*, then, is predicated on social exclusivity, and is therefore, closely connected to the idea of a *Geistesaristokratie*, symbolised in Loos's textual *oeuvre* by the figure of the English Gentleman that represents a fusion of bourgeois and aristocratic elements. Since we have already examined the place of the bourgeois in Loos's writings, we will now move to a detailed investigation of the figure of the Aristocrat.

The Aristocracy: A Dialectic of Change and Stability

In Loos's textual *oeuvre*, the figure of the Aristocrat represents the perfect 'moderner Mensch,' and the primary function of the aristocracy, according to Loos's argument which is based on a popular interpretation of Darwin's evolutionary laws, is to act as a model of cultural attainment towards which the rest of humanity can continue to strive (Loos [1898] 1983, p.79). The aristocracy can function as a model for the rest of society precisely through the advantages that their higher societal position grants them. Loos presents a model of cultural change which is imposed from above, and which therefore, reflects the actual historical role of the aristocracy, not at the turn of the century, but during the Austrian Enlightenment (1749-95) and particularly, during the rule of Joseph II (1781-90). Although his texts do not explicitly mention Joseph II, in *Das Andere*, Loos argues that in the eighteenth century, Austria's level of cultural attainment was comparable to that of England, but that Austria lost its way culturally in 1815, when 'alle Faktoren daran gearbeitet haben, uns langsam aber sicher zu Balkanstaatlern herunterzudrücken' (Loos 1903b, p.2) ['many factors came together to bring us down, slowly but surely, to the level of the Balkan states']. Loos is critical of Metternich's reactionary politics and therefore, implicitly admires the progressive social reforms that characterised the Habsburg Monarchy in the second half of the eighteenth

century.²⁸ Thus, the model of cultural change proposed in Loos's texts is grounded in the form of the Austrian Enlightenment which, labelled 'enlightened absolutism', was marked by reform from above (Bodi 1995, pp.31-8). However, the social carrier of the turn-of-the-century form of cultural transformations imposed from above is not the *Blutadel*, but the *Geistesaristokratie*. In other words, 'enlightened absolutism' has been replaced by a form of 'enlightened individualism': an idea which can be traced to Nietzsche's philosophy (Frisby 1985, p.44).

In the context of Loos's textual *oeuvre* and his account of reform from above, the position assigned to the Aristocrat is mirrored in the position signified by the figure of the *Über-architekt*, which appears in 'Die alte und die neue Richtung in der Baukunst' (Loos [1898] 1983, p.65). The main point of this article is Loos's discussion of the architect of the future as artist and therefore, as prophet.²⁹ Loos's *Über-architekt*, a play on the Nietzschean concept of the *Übermensch*, which plays a central role in *Also sprach Zarathustra* (Nietzsche 1988c),³⁰ stands at the forefront of culture and represents

²⁸For a detailed account of Metternich's influence and politics see Srbik ([1925-54] 1979-85). Bodi (1995) contains a comprehensive study of the Austrian Enlightenment, its social reforms and its socio-cultural consequences.

²⁹This view of the architect stands in contradiction to the view of the architect expressed in 'Architektur' (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.101), where Loos explicitly denies that the architect is an artist. This tension between the architect as artist, located in the realm of Art and therefore, of the future, and the architect as builder, located in the realm of Life and therefore, of the present, mirrors the tension between the essentially elitist ideal of *Vornehmheit* and the democratic ideal of a homogenous, unified culture which lies at the heart of Loos's thought.

³⁰Loos's evocation of the Nietzschean Superman is also of importance in the context of the above discussion on *Vornehmheit*, since this is a concept which is also central to Nietzsche's thought on the nature and function of the aristocracy (Heller 1979, p.309). Moreover, in *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, Nietzsche (1988b) describes the role of the artist (in this case, the poet) as the 'Wegweiser für die Zukunft' ['one who points the way towards the future']. Taken together with the correspondences between Nietzsche and Loos pointed out in the discussion of Germanic culture in the previous chapter, this suggests that a detailed analysis of Loos's reception of Nietzsche would be illuminating. However, such an analysis lies outwith the scope of the present study. Maldoner 1989 and Lustenberger 1994 have both examined connections between Loos and Nietzsche, and Lustenberger has

a new way of seeing. His task is to lead the way into the future by emancipating modern style from the ornaments of the past, while still maintaining a direct connection to antiquity.³¹ In other words, this figure reiterates the parallel between Loos's and Benjamin's diagnosis of the dialectic of antiquity and modernity delineated in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the *Über-architekt* is charged with the responsibility of inducing social change through introducing changes to the form of use-objects (Loos [1898] 1983, p.66). In order to achieve this goal, the *Über-architekt* must simultaneously be situated in, and stand apart from his own culture (p.66). Thus, this figure and concomitantly, the figure of the Aristocrat, connote a position based on a dialectic of belonging and not belonging, which recalls correspondences to the *flâneur* described in chapter two of this study.³² Loos's discussion of the mechanisms for cultural evolution focuses on the task of those 'enlightened individuals', signified by the figure of the *Über-architekt*, who are to take up position at the forefront of the modern and must assume the role of teacher, or trainer (Loos [1898] 1983, p.65). A key component of Loos's thought is the notion that although the modern structure of feeling already exists within the parameters of modernity, there is a need to guide peoples' perception through educating their taste and influencing patterns of consumption, in order that they recognise and embrace the modern. Thus, the *Über-architekt* does not

noted the tension in Loos's work which stems from his concern to provide a democratic critique of Vienna, whilst focusing on the Nietzschean Superman, but neither study provides a close textual analysis of the correspondences.

³¹The links between the figure of the *Überarchitekt* and the Aristocrat find their nexus in the idea of a new way of 'seeing'. Thus, Loos's modernity, as Cacciari (1993, p.158) has argued, is first and foremost, a culture of sight.

³²The attraction that the feudal aristocracy of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy holds for Loos reveals itself in the dialectic of belonging and not belonging. Due to its international character, the aristocracy, while rooted in a particular place through the ownership of land, transcends the nationalism of the rising bourgeoisie. However, in the third part of his study of the Habsburgs, Kann (1962) provides a critique of the supra-national ideal in the Habsburg Monarchy, arguing that the failure of the monarchy was its inability to embody the supranational ideal. Nevertheless, it is also the international nature of the aristocracy, as opposed to the provincialism of the petty-bourgeoisie, that is central to Nietzsche's thought (Heller 1979, p.314).

only represents the builder, the creator of concrete form, but also the intellectual, the politician, and the social theoretician; in other words, the creators of societal form and the architects of social change.³³

In precipitating social change, the Aristocrat takes up a position at the forefront of culture, functioning as the signifier of a cultural avant-garde elite (Roth 1995, p.93). Focusing on the function of the music of Beethoven as a signifier in Loos's work, Roth substantiates his claim that Loos's writings are based on the idea of an aristocracy of culture.³⁴ Furthermore, Roth continues, this ideal of a cultural aristocracy is based on the manner in which the Aristocrat signifies an ethical view of culture (p.96). Loos's characterisation of the aristocracy as an ethical avant-garde can be illuminated with reference to Bourdieu's (1984, p.24) analysis of the structure of the aristocracy of culture, in which he maintains that aristocracies are essentialist and perpetuate themselves through the manifestation of this essence. In this way, they can expect of themselves that which they cannot expect of others – to 'live up' to their own essence. And indeed, this is exactly the point that Loos makes in a tale related by his third wife, in which he delineates the difference, as he sees it, between the aristocracy and the proletariat:

³³Thus, Loos's pedagogical lectures of 1918 and 1919 are aimed specifically at educating those who have the potential to function as architects of social change: 'alle Herren der Regierung und solche, die es werden wollen, Sozialpolitiker, Pädagogen und Ärzte' (Loos [1919] 1983, p.176) ['all the gentlemen belonging to the government and those who would like to belong to it, social politicians, educationalists and doctors'].

³⁴Roth (1995) also demonstrates how Loos identifies himself with the figure of the Aristocrat. In 'Die kranken Ohren Beethovens', Loos argues that it was the aristocracy that enabled Beethoven to present his work. Following this example, Loos enabled Schönberg's *Watschenkonzert* (1913) to take place by providing 4.000 gold crowns as a guarantee, and then buying all the available tickets and distributing them on the Kärntnerstraße (Roth 1995, p.97).

Ein Prolet läßt alles herumliegen. Er sagt: zum Aufräumen ist das Personal da. Ein Aristokrat räumt alles weg, es ist ihm peinlich, daß ein Fremder, ein Angestellter seine privaten Sachen in die Hand nimmt.
(Claire Loos 1985, p.43) [67]

This tale demonstrates that as a signifier, the figure of the 'Aristocrat' connotes an ethical avant-garde position in Loos's *oeuvre* which is, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter, predicated on Loos's belief in the naturalness of an evolutionary view of culture. This view of the aristocracy as an ethical avant-garde is not unique to Loos, but is also shared by Simmel who, in explaining why artists are so often 'aristocratically inclined', asserts:

der psychologische und historische Zusammenhang zwischen aristokratischer und künstlerischer Lebensauffassung dürfte so mindestens zum Teil darauf zurückgehen, daß nur eine aristokratische Ordnung den inneren Wertrelationen der Menschen eine sichtbare Form, sozusagen ihr ästhetisches Symbol, verschafft. (Simmel 1992b, p.275) [68]

Thus, Simmel explicitly links the artistic and the aristocratic to an ethical stance. Put another way, the aestheticism which underlies Simmel's sociological analysis of his middle period, allowing him to develop a stance characterised by the distance from reality (Frisby 1992, p.85),³⁵ is paralleled by the development of a new kind of ethics – an 'aesthetic ethics' (Hübner-Funk 1976, p.49). This is a label which is also of use in describing Loos's position. Many existing commentators have pointed to Loos's ethical stance (Markalous 1930; Janik and Toulmin 1973; Torrance 1976; Schorske 1981; 1986) but, in neglecting to analyse the importance of the concept of *Vornehmheit* and its consequences for Loos's arguments, they have too readily accepted Loos's own assessment of his thought and focused too closely on the rational dimension of Loos's critique, encapsulated in Schorske's remark that 'out of his ethical impulses [...] this cool

³⁵Frisby (1992) defines the 'middle period' of Simmel's work as 1908-1914. In this period, 'all Simmel's volumes of published work are upon philosophy and aesthetics' (p.27).

Austrian gentleman built us a dream world of reason' (Schorske 1986, p.28). In comparison, the concept of an 'aesthetic ethics' captures the essential tension at the heart of Loos's critique – between an ethically-informed search for a homogenous, unified culture (a 'dream world of reason') and an aesthetically-informed yearning for aristocratism and distinction.

In this tension, which rests on the utopian hope of distinction as an escape route from the massifying tendencies of modern rational culture, Loos's textual *oeuvre* also displays an affinity with a strand of Max Weber's thought. Although Weber's 'external analysis' of the feudal aristocracy condemns it to extinction because of its inability to adapt to the demands of formal rationality (Mitzman 1985, p.236), his 'internal analysis' of the basic attitude to life (*Gesinnung*) of the aristocracy reveals that their emphasis on play, diametrically opposed to formal rationality, provides a barrier to technical formal rationality (pp.237-8). Thus, as Mitelman (p.239) argues, the aesthetic impulse embodied in aristocratic values forms a utopian hope of protection from the objectivity of modern (academic) life described in Weber's (1988) lecture (given in 1919), 'Wissenschaft als Beruf'. Moreover, in placing the hope of social change in the figure of the Aristocrat as a representative of the avant-garde, Loos's critique also demonstrates a parallel with Adorno's emphasis on the socio-cultural importance of a politically powerless aristocracy, differentiated from the bourgeoisie.³⁶

Investigating the role of the figure of the Aristocrat in Loos's textual *oeuvre* reveals the existence of a common thread which connects his thought to that of Simmel, Weber and

³⁶According to Steinert (1993), Adorno's aristocratism was developed through his experiences in Vienna. Furthermore, Wilcock's (1996) study of the connections between Adorno and his relations in England who were members of the English gentry, suggests another possible source for Adorno's aristocratism which is of interest in the context of the importance that Loos accords to the figure of the English Gentleman. Moreover, it is not only Adorno that may have been influenced by the model of the English Gentleman. Günther Roth (1995) has explored Weber's anglophilia and his affirmation of the lifestyle of the gentleman.

Adorno. To a greater or lesser extent, all these thinkers seek to establish a position from which they can resist the levelling processes characteristic of modernity.³⁷ Thus, they all place hope in the notion of an avant-garde *Geistesaristokratie* fighting to counteract the levelling processes brought about by modern rational capitalism. Although there are significant differences between these analyses in terms of their content and indeed, of their belief in the possibility of transcending the levelling processes of modernity society, they are intertextually connected through Nietzsche's philosophy and in particular, his emphasis on the importance of *Vornehmheit* and a *Geistesaristokratie*.³⁸ This allows them, in different ways, to develop a model of cultural change which would confront the massifying tendencies of modernity, while attempting not to lose sight of the democratic impulse of the levelling processes in modern society discussed, for example, in Simmel's analysis of the women's movement (Frisby 1985, p.44). The ambivalence in these theories of modernity lies in their recognition of the double-edged character of the levelling process, and their similarity lies in their essentially critical stance towards this process. This ambivalence plays a central role in shaping Loos's model for cultural change.

However, as well as connoting a particular model for cultural change, the figure of the Aristocrat in Loos's textual *oeuvre* also represents the social stability which forms the basis for evolutionary change. Thus, Loos's Aristocrat will not force societal change,

³⁷These levelling processes are expressed in Simmel's ([1900] 1989) work, in terms of the equivalence of the money economy, in Weber's (1972) analysis, in terms of the increasing rationalisation which characterises modern society and in Adorno's thought, in his critique of mass culture and the culture industry articulated, for example, in 'Zeitlose Mode. Zum Jazz' (Adorno 1977).

³⁸Traces of Nietzsche's philosophy which appear in Loos's textual *oeuvre* have been detected in the course of this study. Frisby (1985, p.44) has identified Nietzsche's philosophy as a primary source of 'enlightened individualism' at the turn of the century opposed to the levelling tendencies of modern society. Moreover, Fleischer (1991, p.16-17) points out the role that Nietzsche's thought assumes in the *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (Adorno and Horkheimer [1944] 1981) in which it represents the reverse side of the Enlightenment, which provides the impetus for its redemption. In the same article, Fleischer (pp.22-3) also provides an overview of Simmel's and Weber's reception of Nietzsche.

but will wait for it to occur 'naturally', which is in line with Loos's argument, outlined in 'Wäsche' that 'es wäre ein Unsinn, den Leuten eine Kulturform aufzuoktroieren, die ihrem innersten Wesen nicht entspricht' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.150) ['it would be a nonsense to impose on people a cultural form which went against their inner feeling' (Loos 1998, p.115)]. In comparison to the revolutionary, the Aristocrat, argues Loos understands this point.³⁹ In 'Ornament und Verbrechen', Loos maintains that since ornament does still hold social meaning for sections of the population, this must be respected. Hence, the Aristocrat

läßt sie [die Ornamente] gewähren, er weiß, daß es ihre [der Handarbeiter] heiligen stunden sind, in denen sie arbeiten. Der revolutionär würde hingehen und sagen: 'es ist alles unsinn!'. Wie er auch das alte weiblein vom bildstock reißen würde und sagen würde: 'es gibt keinen gott!'. Der atheist unter den aristokraten aber lüftet seinen hut, wenn er bei einer kirche vorbeigeht.

(Loos [1910] 1982a, p.87) [69]

In other words, Loos recognises the alienating effect of stripping ornament still imbued with social meaning from those who have nothing to replace it, in much the same way as Marx (1961, pp.378-9), in the introduction to 'Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie' (first published in 1844) explains the consequences of criticising religion.⁴⁰ The difference between Loos and Marx is that Marx recognises the

³⁹Paradoxically, while stressing his evolutionary views, as opposed to a revolutionary consciousness, Loos has often compared himself to the revolutionary. Claire Loos's memoirs contain the curious statement which she attributes to Loos: 'Ich bin Kommunist. Der Unterschied zwischen mir und einem Bolschewiken ist nur der, daß ich alle Menschen zur Aristokraten, er alle Menschen zu Proleten machen will.' (Loos 1985, p.59) [I'm a communist. The difference between me and a Bolschewik is that I want to turn everyone into aristocrats, while he wants to turn everyone into proletarians].

⁴⁰Much of the discussion of Loos's thought has centred on the function of ornament. Stemming from a misreading of the title of 'Ornament und Verbrechen', critics have continually argued that Loos equates ornament with crime and therefore, have characterised Loos as the precursor of New Objectivity and rationalism (for example, Shand 1934/35b). However, more recent articles have recognised the more complex position assigned to ornament in Loos's thought (for example, see Rukschcio 1985a), often quoting his 1924 essay, 'Ornament und Erziehung' as a corrective to the strict rejection of ornamentation

importance of destroying socially necessary illusion, while Loos is loath to disenchant the world.⁴¹ Part of the task of Loos's Aristocrat is to respect and indeed, to represent stability and tradition, thereby stemming the danger of revolution.

Loos's analysis of the representative function of the aristocracy, first delineated in his review of the Winter Exhibition in the *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie* in 1897 (Loos [1897] 1981, pp.28-9) is concomitant with the actual position of the aristocracy in Austro-Hungary in the period before the First World War. Indeed Simmel, in the context of an examination of the social form of the nobility that forms part of his *Soziologie*, draws on the example of the aristocracy in Austro-Hungary to demonstrate the cohesive function of the nobility:

Die große Bedeutung des Adels in Österreich und die erheblichen, ihm dort jederzeit eingeräumten Prärogativen hat man darauf zurückgeführt, daß in den außerordentlich heterogenen und auseinanderstrebenden Bestandteilen der österreichischen Monarchie der Adel noch ein durchgehend gleichmäßiges, qualitativ gemeinsames Element sei und damit dem Zusammenhalt des Ganzen erheblich nütze. Die gleiche formale Stellung des Adels in den verschiedensten Teilen dieses zusammengewürfelten Landes ermöglicht es, daß es einen österreichischen Gesamtadel geben kann, auch wenn es keine österreichische Gesamtnation gibt.

(Simmel [1908] 1992b, p.823) [70]

Thus, as opposed to the image of a monarchy in decay which has often been the picture painted of the last years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Magris 1966), it is possible to

contained in 'Ornament und Verbrechen' (p.67). A close analysis of 'Ornament und Verbrechen', taking into account passages such as the one cited here, reveals that even in this seminal article, there is no simple rejection of ornament *per se*, but rather an ambivalent analysis of modernity in which ornament no longer refracts social meaning, but the co-existing pre-modern is still organically linked to the cultural meaning crystallised in ornament.

⁴¹Indeed, Marx's (1961, p.379) argument about the necessity of a critique of religion is described in terms of stripping away ornament, likening it to getting rid of the imaginary flowers on its chains. However, the aim of his critique is not to leave an unornamented chain, but to enable people to cast off the chains of religion completely.

marshal evidence which points to the perceived stability of the *ancien régime*.⁴² The celebrations which surrounded the Imperial Jubilee celebrations in 1898, on the occasion of which Loos produced his series of essays for the *Neue Freie Presse*, reflected the feelings of peace and security and the prosperity of the ruling classes in a period rooted in an illusion of permanence (Vergo 1981, p.10). In the words of the often-cited passage from Stefan Zweig's autobiographical work, *Die Welt von Gestern*: 'alles in unserer fast tausendjährigen österreichischen Monarchie schien auf Dauer gegründet und der Staat selbst der oberste Garant dieser Beständigkeit' (Zweig [1944] 1970, p.14) ['everything about our thousand-year-old Austrian monarchy appeared grounded upon eternity, the State itself the ultimate guarantor of continuity']. In terms of its signification of stability and continuity, the figure of the Aristocrat represents a conservative dimension in Loos's thought which has its basis in the perceived permanence of the monarchy and the landed nobility in Austro-Hungary in the pre-First World War period.

The figure of the Aristocrat in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, then, represents both an elitist avant-garde model of change, resisting the levelling processes brought about with the rise of capitalism, and a reactionary force. Yet it is precisely a recognition of the double-edged role of the Aristocrat that is missing from most existing interpretations of Loos's textual *oeuvre*. Thus, Cacciari's argument that Loos's Aristocrat does not signify a regressive aristocratic attitude, but rather 'the isolation of one who has unmasked this false *Zeitgeist*' (Cacciari 1993, p.108) illuminates but one facet of the Aristocrat as signifier. Similarly, interpretations that focus on the regressive role of the aristocracy

⁴²Magris's (1966) thesis of the 'Habsburg Myth' played a seminal role in deconstructing the taken-for-granted assumptions that underlay the glorification of life in the Austro-Hungarian Empire under the rule of the Habsburgs. However, his insistence on the decay of the monarchy ignores the fact that despite the many signs of dissolution such as rising nationalism, the 'persistence of the old regime' meant that, at least in peoples' perceptions, the Habsburg monarchy seemed as though it would continue indefinitely. This perception is summed up in the title of the first chapter of *Die Welt von Gestern*: 'Die Welt der Sicherheit' (Zweig [1944] 1970) ['the world of certainty'].

also do not do justice to the complexity of Loos's argument. In fact, the Aristocrat signifies both a regressive attitude and a progressive avant-garde attitude in Loos's textual *oeuvre*. It points to future possibilities, while simultaneously representing stability in a time of change. In other words, the figure is a representation of the paradox that lies at the heart of Loos's analysis of Viennese modernity.

Elite Consumption

The process of social and cultural change outlined in Loos's textual *oeuvre* includes two impulses, signified by the figures of the *Bürger* and of the Aristocrat, where each is connected to an ostensibly contradictory model of change. The Aristocrat signifies the role in bringing about social change assigned to Art and the Artist. His task is to lead by example from the 'forefront of culture' and point to the future (Loos [1898] 1983, p.66). Meanwhile, the bourgeois figure signifies the realm of Life, reflected in the structure of feeling of the present. However, these two models are inextricably connected through the circulation of commodities within capitalism and thus, the circularity of consumption. According to Loos ([1927] 1983, p.224), the spirit of the modern is social, and so change can only be brought about through interactive processes. Therefore, as he argues in 'Die englischen Schulen im österreichischen Museum', Art (representing the realm of the future) and Life (representing the realm of the present) should exist independently of each other, and yet also in a symbiotic relationship with one another (Loos [1899] 1981, p.50). However, Loos then qualifies this model by asserting, in his discussion of men's fashion contained in 'Wäsche', that those responsible for bringing forth new social forms must not make concessions to the masses (Loos [1898] 1981, p.151). Instead, they must continually keep in mind the notion of standing at the forefront of an ever-changing, ever higher-reaching culture. In other words, in contradiction to his definition of modernity as the balance of inner and outer culture (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.91), Loos's model of social change is essentially

based on an elitist view of consumption, following the logic of an aristocratic ethic of consumption (Williams 1982).⁴³

THE SPHERE OF PRODUCTION

Loos's reports of the exhibitions held in the *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (1897-99) and of Kaiser Franz Joseph's Jubilee Exhibition of 1898 were designed to educate taste and influence patterns of consumption. However, these reports do not merely focus on the sphere of consumption. Indeed, his work demonstrates an awareness of the interaction between the spheres of consumption and production which plays a central role in Simmel's ([1900] 1989) analysis of capitalism contained in the *Philosophie des Geldes*. Furthermore, in the course of an article on the exhibitions held in the *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie*, Loos argues that the producers are of greater importance for the museum than the consumers:

maßgebend für das Museum sind nicht die Consumenten, sondern die Producenten. Und für diese ist dann die Ausstellung der beste Barometer für die kommende Geschmacksrichtung. (Loos [1898] 1983, p.80) [71]

According to Loos's model of society contained in his texts from the period before the First World War, the agents of societal change, the consumers, are represented by the figures of the Aristocrat and the Bourgeois. Meanwhile the objects of that change, the producers, are the lower classes, signified by the figures of the *Bauer* and the Artisan. In this hierarchical model, his view of the relationship between production and consumption differs markedly from Simmel's analysis. While in Loos's model, the

⁴³For a discussion of the presuppositions related to the aristocratic model of consumption see Campbell 1987, pp.161-72.

production of goods is carried out by the lower classes for consumption by the higher classes, Simmel ([1900] 1989, pp.634-5) argues that such a hierarchical one-way view of the relationship between production and consumption cannot adequately express the nature of capitalism. Instead, it is the case that in the money economy, the spheres of consumption and production exist in a circular relationship, in which the higher classes also produce for the consumption of the lower classes. However, undermining his hierarchical view of the relationship between production and consumption, Loos's textual *oeuvre* also functions to illustrate the topsy-turvy nature of the commodity world (Marx [1867] 1962, p.85) since it identifies the consumer as the active agent of social change, while the producer represents its passive object. And yet, despite Loos's focus on consumption and production and the way in which his analysis appears to mirror the oddities of a commodity-producing society, the two figures which represent the lower classes in his early texts – the Peasant and the Artisan – belong to a pre-capitalist mode of production (Marx 1967, pp.405-7).

The Peasant: A Pre-Industrial Rural Dystopia

In Loos's textual *oeuvre*, the figure of the Peasant represents the backward nature of a feudal 'caste' system which is characterised by impermeable barriers to social mobility. These barriers, symbolised by folk costume, which Loos ([1898], 1981, p.147) describes as clothing which has become fixed in an old form, operate through a rigid distinction between city and country. This divide between city and country, identified by Marx ([1867] 1962, p.373) as the first step towards a capitalist division of labour, represents a consistent object of Loos's critique throughout his writings and lectures, from *Das Andere* (1903) to 'Die Moderne Siedlung' ([1926] 1982a). Since, as we have seen, the creation of the homogenous unified culture, which represents Loos's cultural ideal of modernity, is dependent upon the possibility of upward social mobility, the figure of the Peasant functions as a negative signifier in Loos's texts. It highlights the continuing existence of a feudal, or at least a pre-capitalist, mode of production in Austro-Hungary

at the turn of the century.⁴⁴ And indeed in 1900, the majority of workers in the empire were still employed in pre-capitalist structures (Schwendter 1993, p.682); despite the massive migration from the country to Vienna in the last decades of the nineteenth century, especially from Bohemia and Moravia (Brousek 1980, p.14), over 50% of the population in Austro-Hungary were still employed in agriculture and forestry (Sandgruber 1978, p.243). The central contradiction in Loos's textual *oeuvre* lies in the fact that he refuses to acknowledge the correspondences between a continuing pre-capitalist mode of production and the aristocracy. It is only by ignoring these correspondences that he can simultaneously uphold an aristocratic ideal and criticise the repression of the Peasant.

The Artisan: A Pre-Industrial Urban Utopia

Despite his desire to break the bonds of the feudal mode of production that limit the horizons of the Peasant, Loos's ideal type in the sphere of production, the figure of the Artisan, is also located in a pre-industrial mode of production, albeit having exchanged a rural for an urban setting. The figure of the Artisan represents one of the constants circulating throughout Loos's work, appearing in the early essays of 1897/98, but also in the lectures of the middle period such as 'Ornament und Verbrechen' (1910) and 'Heimatkunst' (1912), as well as in Loos's late articles, 'Möbel und Menschen' and 'Josef Veillich', which were published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in 1929. In Loos's model,

⁴⁴Adshead (1985, pp.25-8) provides a description of the significance of the Great Estate in the socio-economic situation of the Habsburg lands. Drawing implicitly on a Malthusian demographic thesis, he argues that the continuation of serfdom in the East after 1600, in comparison to its decline in the West in the same period, can be explained with reference to different responses to the Black Death (pp.25-6). However, he argues that this form of production cannot be characterised as 'feudal' since the Great Estate was not a fief and, moreover, often produced for a market (p.26). There is a complex debate, which cannot be discussed in detail in the confines of this study, on the decline of feudalism and the rise of capitalism, complicated by the different patterns of development in the West and the East of Europe (see for example Hilton 1976). However, It is clear that in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, the figure of the Peasant is the signifier of a pre-capitalist mode of production.

the Artisan represents an ideal of free creative work in the face of the increasing alienation caused by the gradual, but inexorable rise of industrial capitalism. Thus, in the conclusion to 'Die Möbel aus dem Jahre 1889', Loos describes the work of Zelezny⁴⁵ and by extension, of all craftsmen as 'die arbeit des freien arbeiters aus dem ende des neunzehnten jahrhunderts, der aus freude an der eigenen arbeit schafft, schnell schafft und viel schafft' (Loos [1898] 1981 p.164) ['the work of the free worker from the end of the nineteenth century who creates quickly and prolifically out of sheer joy in his own work'].

In its focus on the figure of the Artisan, Loos's critique once more locates itself in the socio-economic situation in Vienna at the end of the nineteenth century, in which the majority of workers were still engaged in work defined by a pre-industrial mode of production (Schwendter 1993, p.682), and small-scale artisan production dominated.⁴⁶ However, the nature of production in Austro-Hungary at the turn of the century was undergoing rapid and intensive change.⁴⁷ From the middle of the 1880s, artisan producers became 'caught up in impersonal economic processes beyond their understanding or control' (Boyer 1981, p.48). At the same time, there was an expansion in large-scale industrial production (Ehmer 1986)⁴⁸ and a corresponding increase in the size of the urban proletariat located in the outer suburbs (Bodzenta 1986; Sieder 1986;

⁴⁵Franz Zelezny (1866-1932) was a sculptor who worked independently in Vienna from 1891.

⁴⁶Schwendter (1993, p.682), in a telling illustration of the prevalence of pre-capitalist social relations in Vienna, states that in 1882, half of the waged employees in the shoe-making trade still lived with their Master.

⁴⁷Good (1984, pp.228-9) demonstrates that by the 1890s, the form of production was dependent on the particular sector of Austrian industry. While in areas such as wood products and textiles, small-scale artisan production still dominated, in other areas such as mining and sugar production, large-scale capitalist enterprises were the norm, which led to 'important changes in the capitalistic organization of production' including 'unusually close ties between banks and industry' (p.229).

⁴⁸While in 1890, there were 75,828 workers in 1,226 medium and large-scale concerns, in 1906, this had risen to 113,438 workers in 1503 factories (Ehmer 1986, p.197).

John and Lichtblau 1990).⁴⁹ Thus, the situation in Vienna at the turn of the century was indeed characterised by a 'semi-industrialised capitalist economy' (Perry Anderson 1988, p.326).

However, Loos's textual *oeuvre* largely ignores the existence of the urban proletariat, granting it little more than a cursory glance in his pre-First World War writings. In *Das Andere*, he only includes a brief mention of the proletariat couched in the terms of the social reportage, such as that of Max Winter (1982), which was popular at the time. And although in 'Kultur' ([1908] 1982a, p.70), Loos's prediction that the American worker, 'the man in overalls', will conquer the world in the twentieth century seems to recognise the importance of the urban proletariat, in the context of Loos's textual *oeuvre* as a whole, it is likely that the American worker represents the Artisan, the 'man in the blue apron' (Loos [1898] 1983, p.62), rather than the industrial production-line worker. After the First World War, a surrogate urban proletariat, signified by the figure of the *Siedler*, does appear in Loos's texts. This figure, representing the sublation of the divide between city and country, has the status of the Other in Loos's *oeuvre*, since it stands in opposition to the bourgeois form of life. But it is also sharply differentiated from the industrialised urban proletariat since it represents the 'ergebnis einer revolution, die der arbeiter gegen den kasernenzwang der fabriken unternommen hat' (Loos [1926] 1982a, p.161) ['result of the worker's revolution against the barrack-like confinement of the factories'].

Nevertheless, despite largely ignoring the urban proletariat, Loos's pre-First World War texts do criticise the alienation of industrial labour which, Loos suggests in a manner

⁴⁹Although much of cultural history of 'fin-de-siècle' Vienna focuses on the artistic and intellectual achievements of the bourgeoisie, there is now a second stream of literature which addresses different experiences of Vienna at the turn of the century, focusing on life in the working-class suburbs (for example, see Ehalt, Heiss and Stekl, 1986).

similar to Marx, can be overcome by free creative work.⁵⁰ Indeed, in 'Die Baumaterialien', Loos outlines a critique of capitalist production that, in part, resembles Marx's labour theory of value.⁵¹ Thus, he characterises and criticises modernity as a period in which value is measured through the rational quantification of labour:

Die erfurcht vor der quantitat der arbeit ist der furchterlichste feind, den der gewerbekundige besitzt. Denn er hat die imitation zur folge. Die imitation hat aber einen groen teil unseres gewerbes demoralisiert. Aller stolz und handwerksgest ist aus ihm gewichen. (Loos [1898] 1981, p.135)⁵² [72]

Moreover, in this passage, Loos appears to recognise that capitalist production, in line with the rational capitalist world view, spells the demise of artisan production. However, the rationale that informs Loos's analysis of the consequences of a capitalist system is essentially conservative, in comparison to Marx's revolutionary utopia. Loos's ideal, outlined in 'Ornament und Verbrechen', consists in a return to artisan production, in which not only the quantity, but also the quality of labour will determine the value of an object and furthermore, in which the value of a commodity will be determined by its use-value, rather than its exchange-value (Loos [1910] 1982a, pp.85-6). In its focus on use-value rather than exchange-value, Loos's critique demonstrates its affinities with the

⁵⁰In the famous 'Architects and Bees' passage of *Das Kapital*, Marx ([1867] 1962, p.193) states that 'Was aber von vornherein den schlechtesten Baumeister vor der besten Biene auszeichnet, ist, da er die Zelle in seinem Kopf gebaut hat, bevor er sie in Wachs baut' [what distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality' (Marx 1977, p.456)]. In other words, human labour is distinguished from that of animals through the human consciousness, but in the capitalist labour process, the worker's will is subordinated to another purpose and thus the nature of the work is less enjoyable and more taxing than the utopian ideal of free creative work.

⁵¹In part six of the first volume of *Das Kapital*, Marx ([1867] 1962, pp.557-87) outlines his controversial labour theory of value, in which he criticises political economists of failing to question the equation of the wage, or price of labour, with the duration of labour. He argues that all the mystifications of the capitalist mode of production and its illusions of freedom rest upon the metamorphosis of the value of labour power into the form of the wage, or the value of work itself (p.562).

⁵²This critique of imitation reiterates Loos's comments on the parvenu outlined above. Here, however, the focus is not on the influence of imitation on sphere of consumption, but on that of production.

English Arts and Crafts movement and in particular, with the work of William Morris who, in seeking a critical paradigm with which to counter industrial mass production, turned his gaze backwards to the handicraft production of a pre-industrial age (Stansky 1985, p.38). In order to illuminate these correspondences which are based on a utopian hope of a return to a pre-capitalist mode of production, it is necessary to first develop the results of a focus on use-value rather than exchange-value.

In *Das Kapital*, Marx focuses on the nature of the commodity, demonstrating how in the capitalist economy, which is founded on exchange-value, social relations manifest themselves as the relations between things:

Die Form des Holzes z.B. wird verändert, wenn man aus ihm einen Tisch macht. Nichtsdestoweniger bleibt der Tisch Holz, ein ordinäres sinnliches Ding. Aber sobald er als Ware auftritt, verwandelt er sich in ein sinnlich übersinnliches Ding. Er steht nicht nur mit seinen Füßen auf dem Boden, sondern er stellt sich auf allen andren Waren gegenüber auf den Kopf, und entwickelt aus seinem Holzkopf Grillen, viel wunderlicher, als wenn er aus freien Stücken zu tanzen begänne. [...] Das Geheimnisvolle der Warenform besteht also einfach darin, daß sie den Menschen die gesellschaftlichen Charaktere ihrer eigenen Arbeit als gegenständliche Charaktere der Arbeitsprodukte selbst, als gesellschaftliche Natureigenschaft dieser Dinge zurückspiegelt.

(Marx [1867] 1962, pp.85-6) [73]

While Marx's analysis focuses on the table, Loos ([1929] 1982a, pp.213-8) investigates the form of the chair. However, whereas Marx's table takes on fantastic qualities in its life as a commodity, Loos's chair remains a use-object opposed to the commodity world. Indeed, in 'Und noch einmal zum Thema "Der Stuhl"', Loos (1929, p.1) asserts the exhibition of the chair, first held in Stuttgart in 1927 and brought to Frankfurt in 1929,⁵³

⁵³This exhibition was assembled by Adolf Schneck (1883-1971), then professor of architecture in Stuttgart. In 'Und noch einmal zum Thema: "Der Stuhl"', Loos (1929, p.1) claims that the idea for this exhibition was originally his. In 1929, the February issue of *Das Neue Frankfurt* was devoted to the exhibition.

was conceived to illustrate the relative permanence of the form of the chair as use-object, in comparison to the ever-changing form of the chair as commodity exhibited in the *Geschmacksmuseum*.⁵⁴ On 21 March 1929, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* published Loos's article, 'Josef Veillich', accompanied by an introduction by Benno Reifenberg, which draws parallels between the exhibition and Loos's article. On 29 April, Loos's reply to Reifengerger appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, in which Loos reiterates his arguments about the importance of the chair as use-object and about the evolutionary nature of cultural change. In his discussion of the form of the chair as use-object, Loos argues that its relative permanence is a function of the relationship of the object to humans, thereby rehearsing his central argument that changes in forms of life naturally bring about changes in the form of use-objects. Because of his emphasis on use-value, Loos ignores the consequences of a society based on exchange-value and fails to recognise the manner in which social relations are expressed in terms of the relationship between things within capitalism. Therefore, his analysis undermines his claim that his texts are located within the capitalist world-view.

This gap in Loos's analysis is illuminated in his discussion of the form of consumption signified by the figure of the Artisan, which focuses on personal contact between the consumer and the producer. In his description of consumption contained in his articles on the exhibitions in the *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (1897-8), each of the objects on display and for sale contains the name of its producer. Although production is mediated through the museum, there is still at least the illusion of a direct relationship between producer and consumer, which is emphasised by the fact that each piece is the product of only one producer. In comparison, in the mature money economy, in which social relations are expressed as a relationship between things, the close relationship between the consumer and the producer is destroyed (Simmel [1900]

⁵⁴The *Geschmacksmuseum* to which Loos refers is probably the collection in the *Landesgewerbemuseum* in Baden-Württemberg. This museum began a collection of kitsch in 1906 and published a 'Catalogue of Bad Taste' (*Katalog der Geschmacksverwirrungen*) in 1909 (Schweiger 1982, p.253).

1989, p.634). Instead, the extreme form of modern consumption is characterised by the vending machine, where everything is expressed in the money equivalent and there is no direct human relationship between consumer and producer, which means that not only the producer, but also the consumer is alienated from the product in a money economy (p.639).

His focus on use-value rather than exchange-value highlights the non-contemporaneity of Loos's critique,⁵⁵ which attempts to overcome the alienating tendencies of modern industrial capitalism by turning its back on them and is therefore, directly connected to sections of the English Arts and Crafts movement. Indeed, Loos specifically identifies himself with the work of Morris, Ruskin and Crane, which he summarises as comprising the 'Negierung der Maschine' (Loos [1898] 1983, p.38) ['negation of the machine'].⁵⁶ In other words, in line with the subjective non-contemporaneity of the petty-bourgeoisie (Bloch 1969, p.116), Loos aligns himself with this movement in backing artisan production and rejecting industrial capitalism. Yet his textual *oeuvre*, for the most part, contains a sustained critique of the continental Arts and Crafts movement, and especially of its Austrian representatives, the *Wiener Werkstätte*. And despite his ambivalence towards new technology signified by the figure of the English Gentleman, Loos is also critical of the *Deutscher Werkbund's* attempts to find new methods of

⁵⁵In *Erbschaft dieser Zeiten*, Bloch (1969) explores the nature of non-contemporaneous forms of life, concluding that Germany, which until 1918 had not witnessed a bourgeois revolution, was the 'classic country of non-contemporaneity' (p.114). As we have seen, Austro-Hungary before the First World War was also characterised by a failed bourgeois revolution and was politically controlled by the landed nobility. Moreover, Vienna was in the power of the Christian Socialists, which represented a bourgeois protest movement whose normative and social roots were firmly located in the nineteenth century (Boyer 1981, p.413). Hence, Austro-Hungary also represents a country characterised by non-contemporaneity.

⁵⁶Loos's critique amounts to an exaggerated simplification of the attitude of the Arts and Crafts movement. For example, Morris's views on the machine were more complex than a simple negation. In 'The Revival of Handicraft' published in the *Fortnightly Review* in November 1888, he outlines a position which recognises both the evils and the benefits of the machine (Stansky 1985, p.64). However, Loos is also ambivalent on the subject of machine production, as was described in the discussion of 'England' as signifier in the previous chapter.

production which would include the use of new technology without losing the central ideal of free creative labour associated with handicraft production (Roth 1995, pp.114-5). Loos's rejection of the *Wiener Werkstätte* and the *Deutscher Werkbund*, documented in a series of confrontations throughout his life-time,⁵⁷ can be explained in terms of his tendency to value origins over innovation. This tendency, which links his cultural criticism closely to that of Karl Kraus,⁵⁸ is articulated not only in his undifferentiated approval of such diverse thinkers as Ruskin and Morris, but also, for example, in his valuation of classical antiquity and his ideal of Germanic culture described in the previous chapter. Moreover, Loos's search for origins, grounded in a belief in the 'good old times', underlines the non-contemporaneity of his critique. Finally, it is also highly revealing of the bourgeois nature of Loos's cultural criticism, since a conservative bourgeois critique of culture is always located in some isolated, unquestioned and dogmatic ideal of culture (Adorno 1977, p.7). In Loos's case, the ideal is identical with the origin.

However, Loos's search for origins in the shape of artisan production is tempered in his later writings by an awareness that as a remedy for the alienating character of modern industrial labour, artisan production could at best, only be sustained for a short period in the liminal situation at the turn of the century. In his article on 'Josef Veillich', Loos ([1929] 1982a, p.213) maintains that the death of Josef Veillich, an artisan who specialised in producing chairs, 'wird eine große änderung in der menschlichen wohnung zur folge haben' ['will result in great changes in the way that people furnish

⁵⁷Many of Loos's articles contain personal attacks on members of the *Wiener Werkstätte* and in particular, on Josef Hoffmann (for example, see Loos [1926] 1983, pp.217-8). The inaugural meeting of the *Deutscher Werkbund* was held in Munich in 1908, and at that time, Loos published a series of articles in the Munich-based journal, *März* ('Kultur', 'Die Überflüssigen', 'Kulturentartung' and 'Lob der Gegenwart') which include direct criticism of the *Werkbund*. Finally, Loos's controversial 1927 lecture on 'Das Wiener Weh', subtitled either 'Eine Abrechnung' or 'Eine Erledigung', summarises his confrontational attitude towards the Austrian Arts and Crafts movement. See also Posener 1980; Amanshauser 1985; Roth 1995, pp.113-22.

⁵⁸On the concept of the *Ursprung* in Kraus see Timms 1986, pp.231-4.

their apartments']. Veillich's death signifies the death of artisan production and indeed, Loos's article on Veillich is tantamount to a lament for artisan production. Yet it also heralds the necessity of embracing new forms of production, signified by the factory-made chair produced by Thonet: 'der sozial und ökonomisch denkende mensch versteht, weshalb der thonetsessel und der korbessel die herrschaft antraten, während wir trauernd dem alten Veillich seinen hobel mit ins grab legten' (p.218) ['The man that thinks socio-economically will understand why the Thonet chair and the basket chair assumed a dominant position, while we grieved and buried old Veillich and with him, his plane']].

The tension between artisan production and the new forms of technology associated with a capitalist mode of production is articulated in Loos's discussion of the division of labour. His critique, which is based on 'the decisive and irreducible mechanisms of the division of labour and the radical differences that make up the universe of languages' (Cacciari 1993, p.105), embraces the notion of a division of labour and he directs his criticism towards the hierarchy of values that are accorded to specialised tasks.⁵⁹ His ideal is represented by a society based on specialisation, but in which the hierarchical relationship of intellectual to physical work has been dismantled (Loos [1898] 1983, p.62). In other words, Loos does not foresee a dissolution of the distinction between intellectual and physical work but a process of democratisation, which represents the cornerstone of his vision of a homogenous unified society. However, his claim that modernity represents a revaluation of manual work is contradicted by Marx's ([1867] 1962, p.446) analysis of the division of labour in capitalist society, which focuses on a continuing and extended mental-manual division of labour.

⁵⁹In his recognition of the place of the division of labour in modern society, Loos's critique differs sharply from that of Morris whose view of handicraft production included an emphasis on the lack of a division of labour in former times (Stansky 1985, p.44).

In Loos's analysis of the division of labour in modern society, we gain an insight into his overarching ideal of modernity consisting in the simultaneity of homogeneity and difference. Each of the parts of modern society are to have the same value and therefore, be able to interact on the same basis and yet at the same time, each is distinct. In the light of this insight, Loos's critique of the Arts and Crafts movement becomes more transparent. It is based on the fact that the Arts and Crafts movement fails to uphold the radical separation of art and life,⁶⁰ subjectivity and objectivity, interior and exterior culture which stands at the centre of Loos's view of modernity. However, while arguing for the necessity of the radical separation of these spheres, Loos's analysis also points to the importance of their simultaneous existence. To paraphrase Simmel on the interaction between the spheres of production and consumption in capitalism, the distinct spheres are separated through being linked to each other (Simmel [1900] 1989, p.635). Loos's ideal of a unified culture is based on balance, and on the simultaneous existence of homogeneity and difference and so his analysis of the division of labour bears a resemblance to Durkheim's ([1893] 1984, pp.101-75) ideal of a society based on 'organic solidarity'. Furthermore, according to this model, Loos's analysis and critique of the cultural situation in Austro-Hungary at the turn of the century can be understood as a situation of imbalance, illustrated by the existence of a hierarchical division of labour and by the barriers to social mobility which characterise the figure of the Peasant. However, the modernity of his ideal is brought into question by a close examination of his ideal of the division of labour which is, as we have seen, located in Artisan production and therefore, in a pre-capitalist mode of production.

The Ideal of Democratic Consumption

Loos's affirmation and simultaneous critique of the Arts and Crafts Movement should not merely be explained in terms of production, but may also be clarified with direct

⁶⁰However, in a speech delivered to the *Werkbund* in 1914, Muthesius also argued for the separation of art from the culture of everyday life (see Roth 1995, p.121).

reference to the sphere of consumption. The Arts and Crafts Movement was essentially concerned with the democratisation of consumption and yet the spirit of the movement, as it developed, became that of an elitist democracy which enjoyed international appeal among a limited public (Williams 1982, p.162). Thus the movement, which started out with a genuinely democratic mission of improving art and society through improving the design of ordinary objects of consumption, quickly reached the point where 'the ideal was [...] rapidly reduced to the lifestyle' (p.162). Since Loos's texts are partly predicated on the ideal of the democratisation of consumption, which should lead to the creation of a homogenous, unified culture, they too can be located in the 'dream world of democratic consumption' (p.168).⁶¹ However, failing to recognise the impulse towards elite consumption in his own work, Loos's critique of the *Wiener Werkstätte* focuses on its reduction of the ideal of the democratisation of consumption to the creation of a specific lifestyle for a small elite group. This is made clear in an interview given directly after he had presented his 'reckoning' (*Abrechnung*) with the *Wiener Werkstätte* in the form of a lecture entitled 'Das Wiener Weh':

Ich werde mich auch in Hinkunft nicht abhalten lassen, meine ausländischen Freunde darüber aufzuklären, daß österreichische Arbeit und **der Snobismus eines gewissen, winzig kleinen Kreises** nicht dasselbe sind!

(*Neues Wiener Journal* [1927] 1985, p.102 – my emphasis) [74]

Loos's critique is, therefore, of Arts and Crafts as lifestyle, rather than of Arts and Crafts as an ideal, which allows him to sustain a critique of the Arts and Crafts Movement while affirming artisan production.

⁶¹However, a distinction must be made between Loos's view and that of the Arts and Crafts Movement. In his drive to educate people in matters of taste and consumption, Loos urges them to find utilitarian objects beautiful in their own right, thereby rejecting the ideology of the Arts and Crafts Movement which was to bring art to the masses through adornment of use objects. Loos appeals to consumers in order to effect change in the mode of production.

THE TENSION BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC AND ELITE CONSUMPTION.

Although ostensibly located in the context of a capitalist world-view (Loos [1898] 1983, p.68), Loos's texts fail to focus on the experiences of the bourgeoisie as a modern rational commercial class, turning instead to the ideal of a *Geistesaristokratie*. Moreover, they also provide little analysis of the urban proletariat, focusing instead on artisan production. In other words, although Loos's view of the modern is predicated on the necessity of overcoming the barriers to social mobility characteristic of a feudal society, articulated in his critique of the old aristocracy and of the peasantry, it simultaneously rests upon the pre-capitalist figures of the English Gentleman and the Artisan. His description of 'the modern' is characterised by a romantic anti-capitalist stance, and his critique of capitalism is based on non-contemporaneous forms of life. Therefore, while an analysis of Loos's texts reveals a picture of life in Vienna based on paradox, this sense of paradox, at least in part, is not the 'contemporaneous paradox' which characterises capitalism (Bloch 1969, p.117), but rather a 'non-contemporaneous paradox' based in the remnants of earlier periods (p.116).⁶² In other words, although Loos is critical of the non-contemporaneity of the Peasant, his own definition of 'modernity' is also located in the pre-history of modernity. Despite his 'praise of the present' (Loos [1908] 1983, p.74) and rhetoric of progress, Loos's critique is essentially based on the unfulfilled myth of the 'good old times' which is the fundamental marker of non-contemporaneous paradox (Bloch 1969, p.122).

⁶²Bloch (1969, p.116) distinguishes between subjective and objective non-contemporaneous paradox, where the subjective dimension is the petty-bourgeois response to embodying the middle class of a society which no longer has a middle, and the objective dimension is the continuing existence of old relations and forms of production, and old superstructural elements. He argues that subjective non-contemporaneous paradox would not play such an important role, if the present was not characterised by the objective contemporaneous paradox of capitalism (p.117).

Moreover, although Loos's critique of the Arts and Crafts Movement is based partly on his affirmation of the ideal of democratic consumption as a pre-requisite for the creation of a unified, homogenous culture, the first part of this chapter demonstrated that the figure of the English Gentleman as the embodiment of the ideal of *Vornehmheit*, was based on an opposing elitist model of consumption. While Loos's ideal of a unified homogenous culture in Vienna was frustrated from the outside by both national and social difference, it was also threatened from the inside, from within his texts, by his emphasis on *Vornehmheit* which stands in direct contradiction to his ideal of a democratic culture, since although the ideal of *Vornehmheit* is predicated on a dialectic of homogeneity and difference, it is necessarily located in pre-capitalist social relations and a drive towards social exclusivity. Standing in a contradictory relationship to one another, the opposing models of democratic and elite consumption embody the two characteristic tendencies of modern society – equalisation and individuation – which Loos ([1910] 1982a, p.91) attempts to reconcile in his definition of modernity as the 'Ausgeglichenheit des inneren und äußeren Menschen' ['balance of man's inner and outer being']. Individuation and equalisation represent the opposing tendencies which stand at the centre of Simmel's analysis of fashion. Since fashion, and its role in the display and disguise of difference, also plays a central role in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, it is to an investigation into Loos's critique of fashion that we now turn.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DISPLAY AND DISGUISE OF DIFFERENCE

Jede Saison bringt in ihren neuesten Kreationen irgendwelche geheimen Flaggensignale der kommenden Dinge. Wer sie zu lesen verstünde, der wüßte im voraus nicht nur um neue Strömungen der Kunst, sondern um neue Gesetzbücher, Kriege und Revolutionen. - Zweifellos liegt hierin der größte Reiz der Mode, aber auch die Schwierigkeit, ihn fruchtbar zu machen.

(Benjamin 1982, p.112) [75]

Wenn von einem ausgestorbenen volke nichts anderes als ein knopf übrig bliebe, so ist es mir möglich, aus der form dieses knopfes auf die kleidung und die gebräuche dieses volkes, auf seine sitten und seine religion, auf seine kunst und seine geistigkeit zu schließen. Wie wichtig ist dieser knopf!

(Loos [1919] 1982a, p.155) [76]

Die verurteilungen nach den §§ 125 bis 133 unseres strafgesetzes sind das verlässlichste modejournal.

(Loos [1902] 1981, p.128) [77]

Olsen (1986, p.248) argues that 'no city in Europe is better suited for a life of public self-representation' than Vienna and substantiates this assertion with a description of the importance attached to the daily duty of displaying oneself in public that was crystallised in the turn-of-the-century 'Ringstraßen-Corso' (see fig. 17):

Appearance along the town-side of the Kärntner Ring between three and five in the afternoon, to display oneself and be seen, acknowledge and be acknowledged, was one such duty to oneself, one's class and one's sovereign. The Corso was by no means composed exclusively of the high nobility. The demimonde, the substantial bourgeoisie, and the upper bohemia were there as well, observing and mimicking the display and rituals of their social superiors.

(p.241)



Fig. 17. Ringstraßen-Corso. Watercolour by Theo Zasche.
(Olsen 1986)

It is against this background of the importance of public self-representation and rituals of display in Vienna at the turn of the century that Loos's concern with, and critique of fashion must be investigated.

Loos's concern with fashion can be documented with reference to his architectural and textual work, as well as to his personal life. The *Haus am Michaelerplatz* (1910/11), which represents Loos's most well-known architectural work, was commissioned by the Viennese tailor's and outfitter's firm, Goldman & Salatsch.¹ Loos was appointed as the architect after a design competition yielded no satisfactory entries (Czech and Mistelbauer 1984, p.18). Indeed, he was an obvious choice as architect as he had already designed the interior of a gentleman's fashion house for Leopold Goldman in 1898, as well as working on other projects for him (p.18). Moreover, Loos had also designed interiors for other clothing retailers such as Knize and Steiner and indeed, continued to do so throughout his life.² In 'Mein erstes Haus!', an article written in

¹In his series of articles for the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1898, Loos explains the rise of this 'neuer geschäftstypus: *Tailors and outfitters*. Der *outfitter* hält alles auf lager, was zum anzuge des mannes gehört. Seine aufgabe ist keine leichte. [...] Denn es ist schwer, die führende rolle im modefache zu erwerben, noch schwerer aber, sich in dieser rolle zu erhalten. Und doch wird nur der kleinste teil der waren in seiner werkstatt hergestellt. Er ist vorwiegend händler. Zum gewerbetreibenden verhält er sich ähnlich wie der sammler, der direktor einer gemäldegalerie zum künstler. Auch jenem liegt die verpflichtung ob, aus der fülle des geschaffenen das beste auszuwählen' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.152) ['new type of business: *Tailors and outfitters*. The *outfitter* stocks all the accessories required for a man's suit. His is no easy task. [...] While it is difficult to assume a leading role in the world of fashion, it is certainly more difficult to maintain that position. And still only a few of his wares are produced in his own workshop. Above all, he is a trader. His relationship to the craftsman is similar to that of the collector or gallery director to the artist. They are also duty bound to select the best from a wealth of material'].

²For a detailed description of Loos's interiors for Knize see Worbs 1970. Spindler (1996) has attempted to trace affinities between interiors and fashion in Loos's work, and has analysed Loos's interiors for Knize in Vienna and Paris in this context. Her analysis is, however, problematic in that the affinity in Loos's textual *oeuvre* is drawn not between the interior and fashion, but between the exterior and fashion (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.100).

defence of his project for the *Haus am Michaelerplatz*, Loos suggests that he was commissioned by Goldman & Salatsch in part payment of his tailoring bill:

Nun kam eines tages ein unglücklicher und bestellte bei mir die pläne zu einem hause. Es war mein schneider. Dieser brave man [...] hatte mir jahr für jahr anzüge geliefert und geduldig an jedem ersten januar eine rechnung geschickt, die, ich kann es nicht verhehlen, nie kleiner wurde. Ich konnte mich und kann mich heute noch nicht, trotz dem heftigen widerspruche meiner mäzenen, des verdachtes erwehren, daß mir der ehrenvolle auftrag zu teil wurde, damit wenigstens eine verkleinerung dieser rechnung erzielt würde.

(Loos [1910] 1982a, pp.109-10) [78]

No matter whether this tale is strictly true or whether it represents another example of Loos's narrative technique, it nonetheless demonstrates Loos's personal concern with clothing – a concern which is indeed well-documented, both in his texts and in photographic evidence (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982; Spindler 1996).

A cursory glance at the titles of Loos's essays reveals the extent of his fascination with fashion. In the series of articles which appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* in 1898, there were pieces entitled 'Die Herrenmode', 'Die Herrenhüte', 'Die Fußbekleidung', 'Die Schuhmacher', 'Das Prinzip der Bekleidung' and 'Wäsche'. There are suggestions that 'Damenmode' should also have appeared as part of this series, but it appears not to have been published until 1902, in *Documente der Frauen*.³ Evidence of Loos's concern with clothing is also to be found in the titles of later texts such as 'Die englische Uniform' (1918) and indeed, in the titles of many of the series of articles, dealing with questions on matters of taste posed by the readership of the *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt* in 1919 (such as 'Warum heißen die Sporthosen Knickerbockers?', 'Hoher Hut und Würde',

³The structure of 'Damenmode', however, suggests that it was not part of the series of articles written for the Kaiser Jubilee Exhibition (1898) since, for example, it does not refer to the exhibition itself, as the other articles of the series do. Moreover, there is nothing in this issue of *Documente der Frauen* which would indicate that the version of 'Damenmode' that appeared therein was a reprint.

'Leinenunterkleidung' and others).⁴ These texts, located on the fashion page of the newspaper, form part of the 'written fashion narrative' (Barthes 1990) of 1919, which itself is an example of the manner in which logonomic systems (Hodge and Kress 1988) function to articulate rules of etiquette and taste.⁵ Furthermore, the existence of a typescript, dated from 1925, containing an 'umfangreichen Aufsatz über die moderne Kleidung' ['a comprehensive essay on modern clothing'] suggests that Loos's concern with fashion did not diminish in his later years (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.306).⁶ This suggestion is confirmed by a report which appeared in the *Vossische Zeitung* of a lecture that Loos gave in Berlin in 1927, on the subject of 'Hosenträger, Gamaschen und den europäischen Geist' (Lang 1927) ['braces, spats and the European mind']. Moreover, not only the content of Loos's lectures, but also their locations indicate his interest in clothing. Thirty years before he gave this lecture on fashion in Berlin, Loos delivered his first lectures to tailors' apprentices in the context of the tailoring course held at the *Technologisches Gewerbe-Museum* in Vienna (1898).⁷ Finally, the lecture

⁴For a full list of these articles see appendix 1.

⁵Hodge and Kress (1988, p.5) distinguish between what they term the 'logonomic system' and 'ideological complexes'. The 'logonomic system' is a second-level construct containing messages about how to read messages i.e. rules for the production and reception of meanings. Although Hodge and Kress do not draw this comparison, their description of the 'logonomic system', which stipulates who can initiate or know meanings about what topics under what circumstances, is close to the Foucaultian notion of 'discourse' (Foucault 1973). Moreover, it can also be argued that the 'logonomic system' represents something akin to the Wittgensteinian (1953) 'form of life'. 'Logonomic systems', 'discourse' and 'forms of life' share the need to be highly visible, otherwise they would cease to function, thus they are characterised by formulated politeness conventions, rules of etiquette and others. This feature of logonomic systems suggests a direct link to Loos's texts. In the second issue of *Das Andere*, for example, Loos (1903b, p. 9) identifies himself as a tourist guide, prepared to show strangers to culture (*Kulturfremde*) how to negotiate the 'correct' path through the world of things.

⁶Unfortunately, this typescript belongs to the part of the *Loos-Nachlaß* closed to researchers.

⁷Rukschcio and Schachel (1982, p.61) state that Wilhelm von Exner, the founder of the *Technologisches Gewerbe-Museum*, invited Loos to give these lectures after having read Loos's 1898 article on 'Die Herrenmode'. However, a footnote to this article – which appears in the original publication (*Neue Freie Presse* 22.05.1898: 16) and is reprinted in *Ins leere gesprochen* – reads, 'Manche dieser Ideen habe ich in meinen Vorträgen im Schneidermeisterkurse des Technologischen Gewerbe-Museums zum Ausdrucke gebracht.' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.57) ['I expressed some of these ideas in my lectures delivered as part of

form itself, intimately linked to aspects of self-representation (Goffmann 1971; Habermas 1981), demonstrates a direct parallel with the world of fashion, since self-representation is also a primary aspect of fashion (Brunkhorst 1986, p.406). And indeed, this correspondence between the lecture form and fashion is highlighted in reports of Loos's lectures, which often comment favourably on his dress.⁸

In order to develop the complex critique of fashion contained in Loos's texts, it is necessary to disentangle two distinct moments of his critique, distinguishing between his prescriptive view of fashion and his descriptive view. Loos sets out to write fashion, but in so doing, he also provides a description of the complexities of the relationship between fashion and modernity. His first aim – to write fashion, and thereby inscribe a particular logonomic system – can be easily identified with reference to Loos's writings, since he makes it perfectly clear, for example in the sub-title to *Das Andere*, that the main rationale of his writings is to introduce Western culture into Austria. And indeed, those critics who have traced Loos's concern with fashion have focused on this first aim (Lubbock 1983; McLeod 1994; Wigley 1994). However, the second aspect of Loos's analysis of fashion – his implicit description of fashion in terms of a dialectic of display and disguise – has either been ignored completely or merely treated superficially. In focusing on the opposition between men's fashion and women's fashion in Loos's critique, commentators such as McLeod and Wigley have failed to adequately address the complexity of his writings on fashion. The present analysis of fashion in Loos's texts seeks to address this imbalance and commences with an investigation into the function of fashion in Loos's textual *oeuvre*.

the tailoring course in the Technical Museum of Trade']. This means that Rukschcio and Schachel's sequence of events cannot be completely accurate.

⁸For example, in the context of a report of a lecture which Loos gave in Graz (1927) under the title, 'Der soziale Mensch und seine Architektur', the correspondent describes Loos as 'ein Mensch, der im Silberhaar des Alters [...] seinen modernen Abendanzug schön und seidene Kniehosen häßlich findet' (K.N. [1927] 1985, p.116) ['a man who, in the elegance of old age, [...] regards his modern evening suit to be fine and silk stockings to be ugly']. In the same vein, Max Ermers ([1927] 1985, p.90), in his report of Loos's controversial lecture, 'Das Wiener Weh', describes Loos's tail coat as fitting 'extra well'.

MODE

A close examination of the place of *Mode* in Loos's texts reveals a complex view of fashion which changes according to context. In the course of his series of articles on questions of taste and fashion for the *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, Loos argues that:

die 'arbeiterzeitung' irrt, wenn sie das wort mode nur für die bekleidung, also die arbeit des schneiders, hutmakers, schusters angewendet wissen will. Das ist falsch. Mode ist der stil der gegenwart. [...] In hundert jahren nennt man die mode der zeit ihren stil, ob es sich um damenhüte oder katedralen handelt.

(Loos [1919] 1982a, p.153) [79]

This statement contains two interrelated but distinct ideas on the nature of fashion; first, fashion is identified as an overarching term, not directly interchangeable with clothing and second, fashion is equated with the style of the present. In its function as an overarching term, fashion applies to all cultural artefacts; its realm is the culture of things. Therefore, Loos's insights pertaining to clothing are directly applicable to other areas of his analysis, illustrating the way in which the different modes of signification employed in his textual *oeuvre* are linked together. The connection between clothing and architecture in Loos's writings, which Loos invokes in the passage quoted above, has already been established (McLeod 1994; Wigley 1994), but this connection must also be extended to all artefacts.

In considering fashion as the style of the present, Loos explicitly equates his definition of fashion with the modern and simultaneously, blurs the distinction between fashion and style central to Otto Wagner's ([1896] 1988) theory of modern architecture. While Loos maintains that in retrospect, both women's hats and the architecture of the

cathedral are considered representative of the style of a particular age, Wagner defines 'fashion' as a 'precursor of style', easy to understand and influence, while 'style' itself 'represents something more difficult to influence, a rigid and refined taste whose critique demands concentration and understanding' (p.77). Nevertheless, there are similarities between Loos and Wagner, centring on their belief that fashion is representative of the modern. In Loos's texts, fashion is conceived as a mode of signification which articulates the modern structure of feeling. This is made clear in 'Lob der Gegenwart', in which Loos compares the form of modern clothing to the clothing of the Romans, arguing that only modern clothing is suited to the modern disposition:

Aber in keiner Zeit ging man so schön, gut and praktisch gekleidet wie heute. Die Idee, daß ich mich am Morgen mit einer Toga drapieren und diese Draperie den ganzen Tag, den ganzen Tag bitte, in derselben Ordnung an mir herumhängen lassen müßte, könnte mich zum Selbstmord treiben. Ich will gehen, gehen, gehen; und wenn mir eine Laus über die Leber läuft, auf einen dahinsausenden Tramwagen aufspringen. Und dann ist sie weg. Die Römer aber gingen nie. Sie standen herum. Und wenn ich mir im Bade das Leintuch umnehme und knote, so ist es schon in fünf Minuten ganz wo anders. Solche Nerven habe ich.

(Loos [1908] 1983, p.116) [80]

In 1919, Loos reiterates his argument that modern clothing articulates the modern structure of feeling and must therefore, be suited to 'modern nerves,' which demand a closed front to the outer world. Thus:

je moderner heute die nerven des mannes, desto zugeknöpfter sein rock. Peter Altenberg trug schon vor fünfzehn jahren einen gürtel zum gewöhnlichen sakko. Das erschien wohl komisch, aber seine nerven brauchten es. Wie überhaupt das 'komische' des anzuges eines vorläufers der menschheit immer daher rührt, daß der schneider, der für die allgemeinheit arbeitet, dem nervenbedürfnis noch nicht nachgekommen ist.

(Loos [1919] 1982a, p.150) [81]

In equating fashion with the neurasthenia of modern life in this manner, Loos's analysis parallels Simmel's view of fashion which connects rapid changes in fashion with the nervous excitement of an epoch (Frisby 1985, p.98).

However, despite the link made between fashion and the modern structure of feeling, Loos's definition of the modernity of an object, based on his equation of fashion with the modern, is essentially incompatible with the capitalist mode of production (Haas ([1931] 1985, p.179). Loos's texts contains two 'rules' against which the modernity of an object can be measured. The first is that 'jeder gegenstand hat so lang ästhetisch zu halten [...] als er physisch hält' (Loos [1919] 1982a, pp.157) ['every object must last aesthetically as long as it does physically'], and the second is that 'es gibt keine entwicklung einmal gelöster Dinge' (Loos [1929] 1982a, p.215) ['objects which have found their final solution do not develop further']. Exploring these 'rules' in some detail, Haas draws attention to two consequences of Loos's analysis. First, the life-span of a particular fashion is limited by the life-span of the commodity defined by that fashion and second, the number of fashions that an object can sport is limited, since every object will, at some point, be perfected and no longer subject to the vagaries of fashion (p.180). Applying these insights to the commodity world, Haas shows that Loos's idealised image of fashion represents a completely closed world-view which cannot be reconciled with the capitalist system of production and consumption (p.180). Instead, it can only lead either to a restorative and conservative backwards gaze to the ideal of artisan production and handicrafts, or to a planned socialist economy (p.180). And as we saw in the previous chapter, Loos's Utopia is indeed predicated on the possibility of reverting to a pre-capitalist mode of production.

Furthermore, just as Loos's account of social difference, based on pre-capitalist social relations, was grounded in an evolutionary model, so his definition of fashion, as a mode of articulation of the modern structure of feeling, is grounded in a model of evolutionary change. Although in defining fashion as the 'style of the present', Loos

analytically distinguishes between fashion and clothing (*Bekleidung*),⁹ he also argues that clothing represents a paradigmatic example of fashion, since the form of (men's) clothing at the turn of the century is more modern than other cultural forms, such as architecture or furniture (Loos [1910] 1982a, pp.97-8). In arguing this point, Loos echoes Otto Wagner's ([1896] 1988, p.77) praise of the public's 'extraordinary sensitivity' to fashion, which is in marked comparison to their attitude towards artistic style, characterised by 'indifference, even dullness'. However, Loos extends Wagner's argument by playing on the public's acute awareness of fashion to illustrate his evolutionary theory of cultural forms. Thus in 'Architektur' (adroitly equating clothing with men's clothing and bracketing out women's clothing), he argues:

Der stil vom jahre 1900 [unterscheidet] sich vom stil des jahres 1800 nur so weit [...], als sich der frack vom jahre 1900 vom frack des jahres 1800 unterscheidet. Das ist nicht viel. Der eine war aus blauem tuch und hatte goldene knöpfe, der andere ist aus schwarzem und hat schwarze knöpfe. Der schwarze frack ist im stile unserer zeit. (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.99) [82]

There are two important points contained in this passage. First, it is the understated black tail coat with its black buttons which represents the style of the times and is, therefore, modern. This illustrates Loos's argument that the modern is, above all, characterised by a desire for the disguise of difference. Second, in emphasising the continuity of design between the tail coat of 1800 and that of 1900, Loos illustrates the evolutionary nature of fashion. However, it is only by bracketing out women's clothing, which demonstrates unmistakably the rapid change associated with fashion (and also by ignoring the cycles of fashion typical of men's clothing in modernity) that Loos is able

⁹As an architect, Loos was influenced by the discussion of 'Bekleidung' in Gottfried Semper's works, who, in *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder Praktischen Ästhetik* (Semper 1860-63), writes on this theme in some detail. Loos first became acquainted with Semper's theories while studying architecture in Dresden (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.17). His essay, 'Das Prinzip der Bekleidung', ([1898] 1981, pp.139-45) refers specifically to Semper, while other articles demonstrate an affinity with Semper's ideas. For a discussion of correspondence between Loos, Semper and Otto Wagner see Kurrent 1983.

to discuss changes in the form of clothing in terms of a model of evolutionary change, and so confirm his view that modern culture is the culmination of an evolutionary process (p.92).

Loos's belief in an evolutionary model of change in the context of clothing is more fully developed in his discussion of 'Die Fußbekleidung' ([1898] 1981, pp.114-19). In this essay, he introduces the thesis that changes in the form of footwear are due to changes in the social process. He traces the 'history' of the shoe from the Middle-Ages through to the late nineteenth century, and shows how the form has changed in response to different cultural forms of life. According to Loos, in the Middle-Ages, the knights represented the dominant group, and as they did not walk, but rode, their feet were small. Since then, there have been a variety of changes in the form of feet and footwear. The rise of the cities meant that people walked more and feet grew in size. However, the demands of court life again emphasised the small and dainty unused foot. In the present, Loos argues, it is the increasing tempo of modern life that has wrought changes in the shape of the foot and therefore, in the style of ideal footwear:

Aber schon im laufe dieses jahrhunderts begann der menschliche fuß eine wandlung durchzumachen. Unsere sozialen verhältnisse haben es mit sich gebracht, daß wir auch von jahr zu jahr schneller gehen. Zeit ersparen, heißt geld ersparen. Auch die vornehmsten kreise, also leute, die genügend zeit hatten, wurden mitgerissen und beschleunigten ihr tempo. (p.115)¹⁰ [83]

His analysis considers the interaction of objects with the body in the connection of social relations and social processes. However, it also emphasises the primacy of socio-cultural change in influencing and determining the form, or style, of functional objects such as clothing. Indeed, this point represents one of the central tenets of Loos's

¹⁰The increased tempo of modern life and its relationship to the money economy which Loos hints at in this article is discussed in greater detail by Simmel in his *Philosophie des Geldes* ([1900] 1989, pp.498-503). Moreover, this discussion was originally delivered as a lecture in Vienna in 1896 at the invitation of the *Gesellschaft österreichischer Volkswirthe* entitled 'Geld in der moderner Cultur', and was subsequently published in three parts in the *Neue Freie Presse* in August 1896 (Simmel 1992a, p.589).

thought, continually repeated in his texts and lectures and emphasised forcefully in one of his last published treatises, 'Und noch einmal zum Thema: "Der Stuhl"', which appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on 29 April 1929:¹¹

Und so komme ich zur wichtigsten Frage der neuen Formgebung: alle Ansichten, die jetzt überall dahin gehen, daß das Sitzmöbel von unseren Körpermaßen abhängig ist, sind falsch. Es ist überall der gleiche Körper, dem die Sitzmöbel dienen sollen und wie verschieden sind durch die Jahrtausende die Formen! [...] Wer diese Lehre nicht begreift, soll die Hand davon lassen. Das hat meine Vortragsreihe: 'Der Mensch mit den modernen Nerven' für alle Gegenstände lehren wollen. (Loos 1929, p.1)¹² [84]

The same point is reiterated when the shoe once more becomes the object of Loos's analysis, in the context of a reply to a question from the readership of the *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt* regarding 'American shoes'. Dismissing "'American" shoes' as articles which 'nur im wilden westen und im wilden osten getragen [werden]' (Loos [1919] 1982a, p.141) ['are only worn in the wild West and in the wild East'], Loos nonetheless praises the American factory-production of shoes. According to his analysis, the modernity of such shoes is represented by the introduction of a rational form of sizing feet, characterised by standard use of numbers for the length and letters for the breadth (p.141). This creation of a model for the 'normal foot' facilitates the mass-production of shoes and this, in turn, is dependent on the evolution of 'normal feet' which occurs, to return to

¹¹This short article represents Loos's reply to the introduction by Benno Reifenberger which accompanied the *Frankfurter Zeitung's* publication of Loos's essay, 'Josef Veillich'. Reifenberger (1929) suggests that the significance of the chair is that it represents the point of interaction between the new form of architecture and the unchanging demands of the human body which, in turn, appear to contradict each other. Loos's article criticises Reifenberger's argument, maintaining that it amounts to a fundamental misunderstanding of Loos's position.

¹²The series of lectures entitled 'Der Mensch mit den modernen Nerven' were held in the Sorbonne, Paris on 17, 22, 25 February and 8 March 1926. See appendix 2 for further details.

earlier analysis of footwear (1898), as a consequence of the increase in tempo that is an integral part of the cultural form of modern life.¹³

In 'Die Herrenhüte' ([1898] 1981, p.108), Loos poses the questions, 'wie wird die mode gemacht?' and 'Wer macht die mode?' ['How is fashion created?' 'Who creates fashion?']. According to the above analysis, his own answer to this question is that fashion is not made, but occurs 'naturally' as a response to changes in cultural forms. However, Loos's evolutionary view of fashion is contradicted by other turn-of-the-century works, such as Sombart's ([1902] 1986, pp.95-104) description of the complexities of the creation of fashion based on an analysis of the manufacture of ready-to-wear women's coats in Breslau. Tracing the connections between the economy and fashion, Sombart shows how women's fashion in Breslau is intimately linked to the genesis of Parisian fashion and communicated through processes of imitation.¹⁴ His conclusion is that the consumer plays a minimal role in the creation of fashion, which lies ultimately in the hands of the capitalist producers. While questioning the validity of this conclusion,¹⁵ the strength of Sombart's analysis lies in his recognition of the intensity of fashion in modernity, expressed in the number of objects subject to the logic of fashion, the absolute generality of fashion and most importantly, the rapid tempo of changing fashions which is a characteristic feature of modern fashion. This is a conclusion underlined in Simmel's work on fashion (Frisby 1985, p.98) but which would seem to be in direct contradiction to Loos's definition of fashion, since it appears to stress permanence rather than change.

¹³Loos's treatise on factory-made shoes is also of interest in that it represents one of the few references in his work to the mass-production of clothing. The impulse towards mass production is also illustrated in the clothing of the American worker, 'Der mann im overall' (Loos [1908] 1982a, p.70) ['the man in overalls'].

¹⁴However, this schematic representation of the 'trickling down' of fashion from the centre is, as Sombart (p.98) recognises, a simplification of the actual manner in which fashion works, which includes, for example, the input of other local tendencies.

¹⁵Recent work on consumption has criticised such analyses for failing to take into account the important role of consumption in the creation of fashion. For example, see Brunkhorst 1986, p.412.

However, as is the nature of Loos's writings, there is slippage in his terminology which means that fashion is not always employed as an overarching term connoting slow evolutionary change culminating in the perfection of form. In some articles, Loos's analysis of fashion focuses on the transitory rather than the permanent:

Der Einwand, diese ständigen Änderungen der Mode seien ein sehr nützliches Ding, indem sie den Erzeugern viel Arbeit verschaffen, ist eine verkehrte Anschauung. [...] Die Mode ist etwas, das nur deshalb rasch verläuft, weil wir zeitlich mit unseren Sachen nicht auskommen. Sobald wir Gegenstände haben, die lange halten und schön bleiben, hört die Mode sofort auf.

(Loos [1924] 1983, p.205) [85]

While this passage, taken from 'Von der Sparsamkeit', is critical of the fleeting nature of fashion, it is significant that Loos recognises that rapid change characterises fashion in the present, while objects which last a long time and still look good represent a Utopia as yet unattained. Hence, Loos contradicts his own argument about the evolutionary nature of fashion and the permanence of the modern, for if the modern is the 'style of the present', then it must be characterised by the rapid and continuous change seen in the fashions of the present. In other words, there are two competing models of fashion to be found in Loos's analysis; the first is hierarchical and based on evolutionary change, while the second is circular and based on a view of fashion similar to the Benjaminian analysis of fashion as the articulation of the 'eternal recurrence of the ever-new' (Benjamin 1974, p.677). Thus, while Loos's emphasis on evolutionary change is extended into a critique of representative forms of clothing, his analysis of women's fashion focuses on circularity and display. These diverse strands of his critique are then woven together in his most complex signifier of fashion, the figure of the English Gentleman.

THE ROLE OF REPRESENTATIVE CLOTHING (*TRACHT*)

Central to an evolutionary model of change is the pre-requisite that change is allowed to occur naturally. According to Loos ([1898] 1981, p.55), the main cultural advance of modern times lies in its eradication of rigid barriers to social mobility, signified by the repealing of sumptuary laws of dress (*Kleiderordnung*). Thus, the level of cultural attainment of a particular country can be measured by how many of its citizens are able to take advantage of this new freedom. In Austro-Hungary, argues Loos, all too few make use of their right (p.55), and he sets out to investigate the causes of this situation. Going in search of those whose dress can only be characterised as 'unmodern', Loos arrives in the country to be confronted with the figure of the Peasant (see fig. 18). According to Loos, the clothing of the Peasant represents 'in einer bestimmten form erstarrte kleidung, die sich nicht weiter entwickelt' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.147) ['clothing that has become fixed in a particular form, that has stopped developing' (Loos 1998, p.112)]. It is a sign that the wearer has stopped attempting to improve his situation. In other words, 'die tracht ist die verkörperung der resignation' (p.47) ['Folk costume is the outward sign of resignation' (Loos 1998, p.112)]. While the main function of Loos's idealised view of modern clothing is to facilitate social interaction on an equal basis, the costume of the Peasant, based on the display of difference, hinders the realisation of this ideal. His distinction between modern clothing and folk costume (*Tracht*) echoes Friedrich Theodor Vischer's ([1879] 1986) argument according to which, fashion represents the 'scharf geweckter Geist der modernen Bildung' ['the abruptly awakened spirit of modern education'], while *Tracht* 'liegt im Elemente des gebundenen Geistes' ['is located in elements of the restricted mind'] (cited in Brunkhorst, p.407).¹⁶ Illustrating the social consequences of this rigid distinction, Loos (1903a, p.1) relates the tale of a

¹⁶Since the publication of Vischer's *Mode und Zynismus* in 1879, sociology has regarded the newness and the actuality of fashion in terms of its opposite, the stability costume (*Tracht*) and of other kinds of ritualised clothing which are firmly embedded in cultural norms and values (Brunkhorst 1986, p.407).



Fig. 18. Othmar Ruzicka. *Beim Lebzelter* (1911)

(Frodl 1987)

peasant wearing *Lederhosen* who is refused service in a city coffee-house and is thereby, practically and symbolically, denied entry to one of the central urban locations of the bourgeois public sphere.¹⁷

Comparing Austria to America, Loos argues that America's modernity lies in the fact that barriers to social interaction and mobility are unknown in America. Expanding on this theme, in *Das Andere*, Loos (1903a, p.1) relates his experience with his relatives in Pennsylvania, Aunt Anna and Uncle Ben, who live on a farm an hour's train ride from Philadelphia. His first meeting with them was when he visited them on their farm. Their clothing, described as simple and functional, but unfashionable, was in accordance with Loos's expectations. In contrast, his second meeting with these relatives, at the funeral of one of his cousins in Philadelphia, held some surprises. Loos describes how he was greeted by an 'elegant elderly lady in mourning' whom he did not recognise (p.1). However, after a few minutes, it became clear that this 'elegant lady' was in fact Aunt Anna, the 'American farmer's wife' (p.1). On remarking that he had failed to recognise her immediately because of the remarkable change in her appearance, he was told that her dress was a Dreccoll model from Vienna.¹⁸ Moreover, it was not only Aunt Anna that Loos did not recognise; Uncle Ben, dressed in 'den Zylinder mit hohem Flor umgeben, der vornehme Gehrock und eine enge Hose' (p.1) ['a top hat complete with black ribbon, a refined frock coat and fitted trousers'], had also effected a complete

¹⁷Thus, the coffee-house scene, identified as being of paramount importance for literary, artistic and political production in Vienna at the turn of the century (for example, see Veigl 1991) actually represents private-public space to which not all members of a society can gain entry. The bourgeois ideology of freedom of speech and a communicative community is therefore undermined.

¹⁸Christoph Dreccoll (1851-1933), who opened his own fashion salon in Vienna in the 1880s, was famed for an extravagant style often regarded as ahead of current fashions (Loscheck 1987, pp.492-3). Loos's use of this signifier of Viennese *haute couture* serves to underline the change in Aunt Anna's appearance and the extreme difference between America and Austria. The thought of a peasant woman wearing a Dreccoll dress would have been absurd to his readers.

change in his appearance for his visit to the city.¹⁹ The central point to Loos's anecdote is that his rural relatives were able to dress appropriately for a given urban occasion; although they lived an hour's journey away from the city, they were equally at home in the country and the city. This, he argues, is in marked contrast to the situation in Austro-Hungary. Journeying for an hour away from the city, one comes across people whose dress marks them out as complete strangers and moreover, who are prevented from dressing in a modern fashion (p.1). Since Loos's ideal of modern society rests upon all its members being free to assume modern clothing, he turns to investigate why the Peasant is hindered in so doing.

Loos rejects an analysis which would suggest that the Peasant is passively resigned to the symbolic barrier to social mobility that his clothing represents. Instead, in 'Wäsche', Loos argues that a new generation of peasants, assisted by processes of modernisation, has already declared war on costume:

Nun aber kommt eine neue generation. Die hat der tracht den krieg erklärt. Dabei hat sie eine gute verbündete, die dreschmaschine. Wo die einmal ihren einzug hält, ist es für immer mit dem malerischen plunder vorbei. Der geht nun dahin, wo er hingehört: In die maskenleihanstalt. [86]
(Loos [1898] 1981, p.148)

However, the novel turn of Loos's analysis is contained in his argument that the Peasant's enemy in his struggle to overcome the barriers to social mobility is not the feudal aristocracy, but rather the provincial bourgeoisie, represented by the *Provinzkunst/Heimatkunst* movement.²⁰ Much of 'Wäsche' is taken up with Loos's

¹⁹The force of this remark lies in the faintly ridiculous situation in which the writer of a journal concerned with establishing standards of good taste admits that he had been less fashionably dressed than a farmer. In other words, this serves to underline once more the vast difference between America and Austria. Only in America would it be possible for a farmer to upstage a fashion critic in the fashion stakes.

²⁰Rossbacher (1982, p.30) confirms that the *Provinzkunst* movement, with its concern for maintaining 'traditional' cultural forms, was petty-bourgeois in character.

critique of the *Provinzkunst* movement and its false maintenance of redundant forms of life in the name of art or of history. The article begins with an account of a difference of opinion with an acquaintance:

Was ich über kunstgewerbliche fragen schrieb, wollte er wohl gelten lassen. Aber die mode- und bekleidungsthemen gingen ihm gegen den strich. Er warf mir vor, daß ich die ganze welt uniformieren wolle. Was soll denn dann aus unseren herrlichen nationaltrachten werden! (p.146) [87]

Loos then deconstructs the assumptions crystallised in the ideal of 'our splendid national costumes,' arguing that far from symbolising identity (in the sense of belonging), the artist's insistence on the maintenance of national costume functions to prevent the Peasant from assuming a modern identity (p.146). Chastising his unnamed acquaintance, Loos criticises the selfish spirit which underlies this Romantic ideal of the wholesome nature of the Peasant:²¹ 'Sie verlangen von anderen Menschen, daß sie ihnen zu liebe in der landschaft staffage spielen, um ihr trunkenes literatenauge nicht zu beleidigen' (pp.146-7) ['You expect other people to play at being figures in a landscape, just to satisfy your artist's eye' (Loos 1998, p.112)]. Loos refuses to countenance any notion that the *Provinzkunst* movement's concern to preserve traditional forms of life is in the interest of country-dwellers. Instead, he argues that the associations which argue for the preservation of national costume are guilty of not taking the plight of the peasantry seriously. To emphasise this point, Loos draws on a characteristically provocative analogy, maintaining that he has never heard a Jew argue that the Jews in Galicia should continue to wear the caftan (Loos 1903a, p.2).²² He then asserts that the real motivation behind these movements which concern themselves with the

²¹According to Rossbacher (1982, p.29), the glorification of the archaic and primitive Peasant as the symbol of wholesome natural man was a central tenet of the *Provinzkunst* ideology.

²²The provocation in this remark lies in the fact that a central aim of the *Provinzkunst* movement in German-speaking Austria was to protect 'German' culture from the threat of the Other, and especially of the Jews (Rossbacher 1982, p.28). The extreme anti-Semitic ideology of the movement was intensified by its suspicion of the city and led to a bitter critique of Karl Lueger (the anti-Semitic Christian Socialist mayor of Vienna) who was accused of selling out to the Jews (p.28).

preservation of national costume is power, since it is commonly thought to be the case that a person who cannot exchange his *Lederhosen* for modern city clothing is easier to rule than one for whom this process of exchange is possible (p.2). Loos argues that such a view is short-sighted and amounts to little more than self-delusion, for to hinder evolutionary change is to prepare the ground for revolution (Loos [1926] 1982a, p.186). Moreover, in 'Ornament und Verbrechen' ([1910] 1982a, p.82), he maintains that it is not only mistaken to believe that the preservation of barriers to social mobility makes a people easier to rule, but also harmful for the nation as a whole, since the cultural lag symbolised and experienced by the Peasant slows the cultural development of the rest of the country.

Shifting his focus from the country back to the city, Loos turns his attention to the fashion industry. He argues that attempts to create a new specifically Austrian modern style are closely connected to the impetus to preserve national costume, which he has shown to be responsible for hindering cultural development.²³ Loos's critique of this approach is no less biting than his critique of the *Heimatkunst* movement:

Die Schaffung einer österreichischen Nationalmode ist ein phantom und aus dem starren festhalten an ihn würde unserer industrie unberechenbarer schaden erwachsen. China beginnt seine mauer niederzureißen, und es tut gut daran. Dulden wir es nicht, daß leute aus falschem lokalpatriotismus um uns eine chinesische mauer errichten. (Loos [1898] 1981, p.113) [88]

The connection that Loos draws between the creation of a new Austrian national fashion and the movement to preserve folk costume lies in his argument that both are used to create symbolic social barriers – the former between nations, the latter between classes, and between the city and the country.²⁴ As a result of his critique of the symbolic

²³The arguments which are illustrated here with reference to fashion reiterate those used in Loos's defence of von Scala outlined in chapter three.

²⁴Loos's comments on the use of costume to create symbolic social barriers recalls Simmel's analysis of the border as the geographical signifier of a sociological fact. It also shows correspondences with

boundary that is erected between city and land through the preservation of national costume, Loos's analysis also contains a discussion of the creation of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990) which feeds on this display of difference:

Volkskunst? Was ist das? Nackte Knie? Volkstrachten? Volkstänze? Und wir aus der Stadt sollen wie ins Theater hingehen, auf Bänken sitzen und zuschauen? [...] Die Schranken zwischen Stadt und Land sollen überhaupt fallen. Diese Verschiedenheit ist etwas künstliches und dabei Lächerliches.
(Loos [1924] 1983, pp.211-2) [89]

The gaze of the tourist objectifies the Peasant, as does the common practise of the city-dweller as tourist dressing in the folk costume of Bad Ischl (*Ischler Dirndl*) while on holiday there (Loos [1912] 1982a, p.126).²⁵ Moreover, the implicit warning in Loos's critique is that if Austria insists on displaying difference in the creation of an Austrian national style, the country as a whole will become little more than the quaint object of the Anglo-Saxon tourist's gaze.

Searching for solutions to the problem of a continuing display of difference represented by folk costume, Loos suggests that rather than associations for the preservation of national costume, associations are needed which would be responsible for introducing modern forms of clothing. Yet he does not labour under the illusion that one could become modern merely by adopting modern forms of dress, for clothing, in Loos's analysis, is actually no more than the articulation of a structure of feeling:

Moderne kleidung tuts nicht. Man muß auch moderne manieren dazu haben und modernes deutsch dazu sprechen. Denn sonst wirkt man wie ein negerhäuptling in zentralafrika, der sich für ein modernen menschen hält,

Benedict Anderson's (1991) analysis of the use of signifiers to create the differences between the Self and the Other necessary for the idea of the nation as an 'imagined community'.

²⁵Bad Ischl represented a favourite holiday destination for the Viennese bourgeoisie and aristocracy at the turn of the century. Baedeker (1913, p.11) describes the town as a 'well-visited spa town' with a well-developed tourist infrastructure. Loos himself spent much time there, in the company of Karl Kraus, Peter Altenberg, Genia Schwarzwald and others (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982).

weil er einen europäischen zylinder auf dem kopfe trägt. Er ist grotesk, ohne es zu wissen.

(Loos [1919] 1982a, p.140)²⁶ [90]

In 'Wäsche' ([1898] 1981, p.150), he argues that it would be a mistake to force modern cultural forms upon people who had not, as yet, reached the heights of modern culture. Although the caste system, characterised by servitude, has been eradicated by capitalism and peasants are now formally free, this freedom, argues Loos, is at present only at the level of appearance and not at the level of essence (p.148).

Shifting the focus once more from the country to the city – as it were, from The Other, to The Other Within – Loos suggests that it is not only the Peasant who has not yet attained the heights of inner cultural development associated with modernity. Thus, he arrives at the central argument of 'Wäsche', suggesting that were most Austrians forced to strip off their modern outer clothing, they would reveal decidedly 'unmodern' underwear:

Wehe uns aber, wenn uns die oberfläche der bekleidung stück für stück abfiele und wir in der wäsche dastünden! Da würde man gewahr werden, daß wir unsere europäische kleidung nur wie einen maskenzug anlegen, denn unter derselben tragen wir noch die nationale tracht. [...] Äußerlich aber den modernen kulturmenschen spielen zu wollen und mit jenen kleidungsstücken, die dem fremden blicke erreichbar sind, anderen die augen auszuwischen, zeigt nicht von vornehmer denkungsweise.

(Loos [1898] 1981, p.148) [91]

Loos's ideal of modern man is characterised by a balance of inner and outer culture. Using underwear as a metaphor, he suggests that this balance is still lacking in the majority of the Austrian population, urban as well as rural. Thus, Loos's critique of

²⁶Loos's argument rests on the binary opposition between Self and Other. In this case, as was a commonplace in European writing at the turn of the century, the Other is signified by 'Africa'. In a similar way, in 'Die Frage der Laienanalyse', Freud (1940, p.241) describes the sexuality of the adult woman as representing a 'dark continent' for psychology.

Tracht as the embodiment of resignation, as well as allowing him to criticise both the *Provinzkunst* movement and the Austrian fashion industry, also provides us with a description of Vienna based on the illusory nature of the new.

However, the description of *Tracht* as the embodiment of resignation is not the only aspect of representative clothing that is to be found in Loos's textual *oeuvre*. In 'Damenmode', he discusses the still common ceremonial use of clothing, emphasising the fact that this represents a remnant of pre-modern society within modernity:²⁷

Männer, die ihr verhältnis zu vorhergehenden epochen betonen wollen, kleiden sich heute noch in gold, samt und seide: Die magnaten und der klerus. Männer, denen man eine moderne errungenschaft, die selbstbestimmung, vorenthalten will, kleidet man in gold, samt und seide: Lakaien und minister. Und der monarch hüllt sich bei besonderen gelegenheiten in hermelin und purpur, ob es nun seinem geschmacke entspricht oder nicht, als erster diener des staates. Auch beim soldaten wird durch farbige und goldstrotzende uniformen das gefühl der hörigkeit erhöht. (Loos [1902] 1981, pp.131-2) [92]

And indeed, this collection of public figures, for whom the symbolic dimension of clothing is still important, is representative of pre-modern institutions – the Church, the Imperial Bureaucracy, the Monarchy and the Army. More importantly however, these pre-modern institutions represent the locations of power and influence in turn-of-the-century Vienna. Instead of signifying resignation, this form of *Tracht* signifies power. These opposing moments of the symbolic function of *Tracht* contained in Loos's textual *oeuvre* – *Tracht* as the embodiment of resignation, and as the embodiment of power – are related in the manner in which they expose the continuation of pre-modern forms of life in Vienna at the turn of the century. However, it is the difference in Loos's attitude

²⁷Indeed, the extent to which representative clothing played a role in public life in the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the turn of the century is satirised in an article by Mark Twain reviewed in *Die Zeit* on 13 May 1899. Twain reported that American diplomats in Vienna deeply regretted the lack of an American uniform, since they were far too conspicuous in their tail coats than they would have been in any grand regalia.

towards these two forms of *Tracht* which is most revealing of the contradictory nature of his cultural criticism. While he fiercely attacks attempts to preserve the clothing of the Peasant, which he regards as blocking the path of evolutionary change, he appears not to question the use of pre-modern representative clothing to symbolise power. Moreover, although Loos considers the display of difference to be legitimate in the context of the display of power, in other areas such as women's fashion, it once more becomes the object of his critique.

DAMENMODE

Loos's analysis of women's fashion is basically predicated on the inequality between men and women in Austria at the turn of the century; women's fashion represents the 'unmodern' Other, the display of difference, while men's fashion represents the 'modern' Self, the disguise of difference. Like the costume of the Peasant, women's fashion appears to signify the Other as cultural threat. However, while the costume of the Peasant is a pre-modern cultural form, women's fashion represents a more complex problem, representing not only a display of difference linked to pre-modern notions of the representative function of clothing, but also a display of difference intimately linked to the money economy (Loos [1929] 1982a, p.214). As a result of its close link to the money economy, women's fashion is characterised by rapid change and circularity and therefore, is at variance with Loos's ideal of slow evolutionary change. And indeed, the logic of Loos's ([1902] 1981, p.128) critique of the fleeting character of women's fashion, and its impulse towards display, is to suggest that it can never articulate the ideal of *Vornehmheit*.²⁸

²⁸However, according to Loos ([1902] 1981, pp.129-30), a tendency towards emancipation from the dominant form of women's fashion can be seen in the dress of aristocratic women. He explains this by arguing that within feudal society, it is not only the hierarchical position of the man, but also of the woman that plays a role in a family's social standing. This fact allows the woman freedom from the

Despite identifying women's fashion with the world of commodities, Loos's analysis of women's fashion does not initially appear to focus upon its relationship to the workings of the money economy. Instead, his most sustained critique of women's fashion, contained in 'Damenmode', which was published in *Documente der Frauen* (1902) in the context of a special issue on fashion, focuses on the links between fashion and sexuality. The review of this issue of *Documente der Frauen*, which appeared in *Die Zeit* on 8 March 1902, notes:

Das sehr interessante Märzheft beschäftigt sich mit der Reform der Frauenkleidung und bringt über dieses Thema Aufsätze von Alfred Roller, Hermann Bahr, Freiherr von Drecolt sowie Gutachten von Ärzten, Meinungen von Künstlern und Schriftstellern über das Miedertragen. *Besonders bemerkenswert ist der 'Damenmode' betitelte Aufsatz von Adolf Loos, worin die Wandlungen der Mode als Folge der Wandlungen des erotischen Empfindens dargestellt werden.* (My emphasis) [93]

In other words, the discussion on fashion (which, although appearing in a feminist publication, was dominated by men), follows contemporary trends, and centres first, on the deformity and conformity of the body and second, on the way in which women's fashion is linked to the contemporary understanding of cultural norms and eroticism.²⁹

necessity to define herself through her relationship to a man, and therefore, the fashion of the aristocratic woman articulates a devotion to the ideal of *Vornehmheit*. And indeed, as we saw in the previous chapter, the ideal of *Vornehmheit* is linked to a model of elite consumption.

²⁹This issue of *Documente der Frauen* can be regarded as a mirror of the discussion on women's clothing from moral, ethical and medical standpoints that was taking place at the turn of the century. An idea of the importance of these issues can be gained from a survey of *Die Zeit* which carried numerous articles on women's fashion by Henri Albert Paris (1897), Friedrich Schautz (1902); Simmel (1895), Sombart (1902), Henry Van de Velde (1901a; 1901b), Bertha Zuckerkandl (1899; 1901), and others. Moreover, Van de Velde gave a lecture on women's fashion in Vienna on 9 March 1901 at the invitation of the *Damenakademie*, which generated much discussion (Hevesi [1906] 1984, pp.313-6).

Loos's ([1902] 1981, p.128) analysis of women's fashion contained in *Documente der Frauen* centres on his argument that 'die verurteilungen nach den §§125 bis 133 unseres strafgesetzes sind das verlässlichste modejournal' ['convictions made under paragraphs 125-133 of our criminal laws are the most reliable of fashion journals' (Loos 1998, p.107)]. He thereby establishes a direct link between criminality, sexual morality and fashion,³⁰ since the paragraphs to which he refers belong to the section of the Austrian Criminal Code of 1852 concerned with 'Notzucht, Schändung und anderen schweren Unzuchtsfällen' (Altmann 1911, p.97) ['Rape, defilement and other serious sexual offences']. Linking all these crimes is the view of the woman (or child, or animal) as the passive victim of the sexual act.³¹ This view of women's sexual passivity is symbolised in Loos's ([1910] 1982a, pp.78-9) provocative reading of the cross as an erotic ornament – the vertical line represents the man who penetrates the reclining woman, represented by the horizontal line. The provocation in this analysis of the ornament lies in Loos's re-interpretation of the religious symbol (which, he suggests, represents the original meaning of the symbol, before it was appropriated by Christianity); instead of signifying man's suffering, it comes to indicate woman's suffering at the hand of man.

According to Loos, women's passive relationship to the erotic is articulated in fashion. His article on women's fashion begins with the following lines:

Damenmode! Du gräßliches kapitel kulturgeschichte! Du erzählst der menschheit geheime lüste. Wenn man in deinen seiten blättert, erbebt die

³⁰There are clear parallels between 'Damenmode' and Kraus's (1987, pp.9-28) 'Sittlichkeit und Kriminalität' which was also first published in 1902. This satire 'marks the beginning of a sustained attack by Kraus on the "mask" of moralistic attitudes towards sex' (Timms 1986, p.64).

³¹Women's sexual passivity characterises part of the discourse on sexuality at the turn of the century, for example in the work of Krafft-Ebing (see Wagner 1982, pp.74-5). Thus Fuchs ([1904] 1986, p.156) argues that while men's fashion also represents an erotic problem, this is less acute because of man's active role in sexual life. And yet, this did not signify the only view of women as sexual beings in currency at the turn of the century. Dijkstra (1986) has shown, through an investigation of turn-of-the-century art, that women often represented visions of sexual perversity which were in direct opposition to the view of women as the passive victim of the sexual act contained in the Austrian Criminal Law Code.

seele angesichts der fürchterlichen verrirrungen und unerhörten laster. Man vernimmt das wimmern mißbrauchter kinder, das gekreisch mißhandelter weiber, den ungeheuren aufschrei gefolterter menschen, das geheul derer, die am scheiterhaufen starben. Peitschenhiebe klatschen, und die luft bekommt den brenzlichen geruch gebratenen menschenfleisches.

(Loos [1902] 1981, p.126) [94]

It continues by questioning the accepted definition of 'unnatural' sexual acts, arguing, in a manner similar to Freud ([1930] 1953), that it is civilisation and not sexual drives, which is unnatural,³² and providing evidence for this view in the argument that feelings of shame are socio-cultural constructs, unknown to primitive man. Loos rejects the argument that women's clothing originally developed out of a sense of shame, suggesting instead that by covering up her nakedness, the woman became an attractive puzzle (Loos [1902] 1981, p.127). Indeed, he argues that the naked woman is without appeal; only by clothing herself and becoming mysterious can a woman attract a man (p.127).³³ In other words, although the motive underlying women's clothing is disguise, the point of this disguise is to focus attention on the disguised. Thus, the disguise becomes an instrument of display. In his analysis of fashion, Eduard Fuchs supports this view, arguing that, according to ethnographic evidence,

³²This similarity between Loos and Freud has been explored by Müller (1977, pp.123-6), who argues that like Freud, Loos describes the construction of culture and civilisation in terms of the repression of natural drives.

³³However, in an unpublished article entitled 'Nacktheit' (1923), which describes Isadora Duncan's performance in the Secession in 1902, Loos undermines this argument by suggesting that Duncan can only appear naked because she had a body which 'beim besten Willen keine unkeuschen Gedanken aufkommen ließ' (cited in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.77) ['with the best will in the world, was not conducive to unchaste thoughts']. The implication of this remark is that the naked bodies of other women are attractive to men.

es ist eine absolut feststehende Tatsache, [...] daß es ein Irrtum ist, wenn man von einem dem Menschen von Uranfang angeborenen Schamgefühl spricht, das sie dazu triebe, gewisse Körperteile zu bedecken; wir wissen, daß im Gegenteil jede Art der Bekleidung niemals einen anderen Zweck verfolgt hat, als den des Schmuckes und der Zierde.

(Fuchs [1904] 1986, pp.157-8)³⁴ [95]

The sense of heightened eroticism and mystery gained through employing disguise as an instrument of display is, according to Loos (1981, p.127), the only weapon that women have in the present-day battle of the sexes. Love is the daughter of want, and to excite man's sense of want is woman's hope (p.127).³⁵ Man dominates woman because of his relatively higher social status which Loos attributes to man's 'Drang nach Vornehmheit' (p.127) ['impulse towards *Vornehmheit*'] that is articulated in his clothing and functions to disguise his strong sense of individuality.³⁶ This is in comparison to women's fashion which articulates the erotic and therefore, is primarily concerned with display:

Während also die Veränderung in der Männerkleidung in der Art bewirkt wird, daß die großen Massen in ihrem Drange nach Vornehmheit nachstürzen

³⁴These views can be read as a criticism of Havelock Ellis's (1901) *Geschlechtstrieb und Schamgefühl*. The translation of this work into German presented Simmel with the opportunity of publishing an essay on the 'Psychologie der Scham' in *Die Zeit* on 9 November 1901, in which he criticises Ellis's conclusion that shame is representative of purposive action designed to make one appear more pleasant in interaction with others, and therefore, that the function of clothing 'bewege sich zum Verbergen der Organe und Funktionen, an die sich in der Regel Ekelgefühle knüpfen' (Simmel 1983, p.140) ['moves to hide the organs and functions which are usually linked to feelings of disgust']. Simmel uses this essay to investigate the feeling of shame in detail, suggesting that it is caused by a dialectic of the exaggeration of the subject, caused by attracting attention, and the deficit that the subject feels in its failure to maintain its own idea of the complete and normative self (p.142).

³⁵This statement reveals a parallel with Loos's comments on *Tracht*. Just as the gaze of the tourist objectifies the Peasant, so the male gaze, attracted by clothing, objectifies the woman. Since a married woman's social standing is defined by her husband's status, women are forced to try to catch a man, and the only way that they can achieve this is to appeal to man's sensuality.

³⁶In 'Die Frau und die Mode', Simmel (1993, p.346) argues that this 'Drang nach Vornehmheit' expresses itself in man's indifference (*Gleichgültigkeit*) to fashion.

[...] wird der wechsel in der frauenkleidung nur von dem wechsel der sinnlichkeit diktiert. (p.128) [96]

This passage illuminates Loos's claim that the convictions under §§ 125-33 of the Austrian criminal laws form the most reliable of fashion journals; his argument is that the erotic, as a socio-cultural construct, changes constantly and that women's fashion reflects these changes (see fig. 19). He documents the changing sense of the erotic by recalling the literature of the 1870s and 1880s, which was dominated by the preferences for sado-masochism articulated in the work of Sacher-Masoch, Catulle Mendès and Armand Sylvestre.³⁷ Mirroring this idea of the erotic, women's fashion emphasised the mature female form (and if one did not naturally have a voluptuous figure, then one used one's clothing to create the illusion of womanly curves (p.128)). However, he maintains that a reaction to this sense of the erotic followed, which was documented, for example, in Peter Altenberg's writing:³⁸ 'Das weibkind kam in die mode. [...] Da verschwand aus der kleidung der frau, was weiblich ist, um den kampf gegen das kind aufzunehmen' (pp.128-9) ['The child-woman came into fashion.. [...] And everything that was womanly had to disappear from a women's clothing, in order to arm her for the battle against the child-woman' (Loos 1998, p.108)]. Instead of emphasising female bodily attributes, hips and all hints of curvaceousness were now hidden (Loos [1902] 1981, p.129). But this too was to be a fleeting fashion; writing in 1902, Loos maintains

³⁷Sacher-Masoch's (1836-1899) best-known work is *Venus im Pelze* (1869). Around 1890, Krafft-Ebing coined the phrase 'masochism', based on the oversensitive men and dominant women in Sacher-Masoch's writing. Catulle Mendès's (1841-1909) novels which trace themes of incest and adultery, include *Zo'har* (1886). Armand Sylvestre (1837-1901) produced 'Rabelaisian' tales.

On the relationship between literature, the erotic and women's social position, Wagner (1982, p.133) has argued that 'das Gros der (bürgerlichen) Frauen stellte [...] eine Fleisch und Blut gewordene Imitation poetischer Tagträumereien dar' ['the majority of (middle-class) women represented flesh and blood imitations of poetical day dreams']. As evidence, she quotes from 'Damenmode' (Loos [1902] 1981, p.129), but neglects the connection to fashion which is the central point of Loos's analysis.

³⁸Peter Altenberg's concern with the pre-pubescent female is expressed in many of his vignettes. Barker and Lensing (1995, pp.87-90) explore this fixation in the context of the contradictory attitudes to women depicted in turn-of-the-century painting, demonstrating the interaction between this current in painting and Altenberg's writing.



Fig. 19. Bruno Paul. Streit der Moden (1904/5).

(von der Boehn 1988)

that the fashion of the child-woman has also run its course. Basing his argument on a view of fashion similar to that expressed by Simmel (1992a), according to which the motor for change is provided by the imitation of the upper classes by the lower classes, Loos asserts that the fact that more and more cases of child abuse are being brought to trial shows that the fascination with the child-woman has been appropriated by the broad masses and that therefore, the upper classes will be forced to replace it with a new fashion (Loos [1902] 1981, p.129).³⁹

Summarising the essential difference between men's fashion and women's fashion, Loos reiterates the argument that while men's clothing is secondary to social status, women's fashion is dependent on ideals of sexuality. This means that the prostitute embodies the heights of women's fashion:

Aus dem gesagten geht hervor, daß die führung in der herrenkleidung der mann inne hat, der die höchste soziale position einnimmt, die führung in der damenmode aber jene frau besitzt, die für die erweckung der sinnlichkeit das meiste feingefühl entwickeln muß, die kokette. (Loos [1902] 1981, p.130)
[97]

Loos is echoed by Simmel in this view of women's fashion. In 'Die Frau und die Mode' (first published in 1908), Simmel (1993, p.346) argues that women's fashion represents a replacement for status defined by one's place in the world of work and that therefore, the 'demimonde' represents the pioneer of new fashions:

³⁹Ironically, but neatly illustrating the cyclical nature of sexuality as a social construct which forms the basis of Loos's argument, Loos was brought to court in Vienna in 1928 on charges of child abuse. According to eyewitness accounts, Loos did not take the charges seriously (in response to the judge's request that he explain himself, Loos apparently began a long monologue with the remark, 'Vor dreihundert Jahren haben auch die Franzosen Zwetschkenknödel gegessen...' (Rismondo 1988, p.196) ['The French also ate plum dumplings three hundred years ago ...']). However, although he was cleared of the charge of child abuse under § 128 of the Criminal Code, he was found guilty of a lesser charge and was given a four month suspended sentence (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.342).

Daß die Demimonde vielfach die Bahnbrecherin für die neue Mode ist, liegt an ihrer eigentümlich entwurzelten Lebensform; das Pariadasein, das die Gesellschaft ihr anweist, erzeugt in ihr einen offenen oder latenten Hass gegen alles bereits Legalisierte, gefestigt Bestehende, einen Hass, der sich in dem Drängen auf immer neue Erscheinungsformen seinen noch relativ unschuldigsten Ausdruck findet. (p.347) [98]

The difference between Loos's and Simmel's analyses is that Loos focuses closely on the erotic as the catalyst for change, and the 'cocotte' as the symbol of the erotic, whereas Simmel examines the 'demimonde' in the context of her social position, and attributes her leading role in the constant change which characterises women's fashion to her existence on the margins of society. It is the weaker position of women in society that defines clothing as an erotic problem, and it is women's weak social position with which Simmel (p. 344) explains the fact that fashion is more important for women than for men. His argument escapes the limits of the erotic by maintaining that women's relatively weak social position means that they are more closely bound to social and cultural norms than men, and correspondingly, normally seek to avoid individuation. Fashion allows women a safety-valve; it enables them to express their individuality with clearly defined limitations, which are represented by the mimetic characteristic of fashion (p.345). In other words, women's fashion is about the display of pseudo-individuality, rather than the disguise of individuality, which is characteristic of men's clothing.

Moreover, at this point Simmel (1993, p.347) extends his analysis of women's fashion to argue that it is not creativity, but destruction that is its driving force:

in dem fortwährenden Streben nach neuen bisher unerhörten Moden, in der Rücksichtslosigkeit, mit der gerade die der bisherigen entgegengesetzteste leidenschaftlich ergriffen wird, liegt *eine ästhetische Form des Zerstörungstriebes*, der allen Pariaexistenzen, soweit sie nicht innerlich völlig versklavt sind, eigen zu sein scheint. (My emphasis) [99]

This image of the destructive force of fashion is reiterated by Benjamin (1982, p.119) who uses the figure of the Prostitute to argue that fashion and death are intimately and allegorically connected, such that the extremes of fashion are represented by frivolity and death.⁴⁰ Focusing on the nature of the prostitute as both woman and commodity, he points to the manner in which fashion represents 'den dialektischen Umschlagplatz zwischen Weib und Ware – zwischen Lust und Leiche' (p.111) ['the dialectical trading centre between woman and commodity – between lust and corpse']. Moreover, he argues that fashion was never anything more than 'die Parodie der bunten Leiche, Provokation des Todes durch das Weib und zwischen geller memoriertes Lache bitter geflüsterte Zwiesprach mit der Verwesung' (p.111) ['the parody of the gaily decked-out corpse, the provocation of death through the woman and a bitter *tête-à-tête* with decay whispered between memorised bursts of shrill laughter']. Benjamin's analysis brings the connection between women's fashion, sexuality and the body, and the money economy sharply into focus, thus forcing us to revise the claim, made at the outset of this section, that Loos's analysis of fashion does not appear to focus on the relationship between fashion and the money economy, concentrating instead on the connections between fashion and sexuality. Far from bracketing off the money economy, Loos's analysis of women's fashion which, like Simmel's and Benjamin's, identifies the prostitute as the pioneer of new fashions, is located firmly within the world of commodity capitalism.⁴¹

However, the deadly combination of fashion and the erotic is not Loos's last word on the subject of women's fashion. As we have seen, he argues that the display of difference is characteristic of women's fashion. This difference does not merely lie in the distinction between men's fashion and women's fashion, but also reveals itself in the existence of

⁴⁰Although Loos's analysis does not link fashion with the destructive, in his later writings, the destructive ideal is of paramount significance ([1926] 1982a, pp.183-4).

⁴¹Benjamin (1977, p.498) praises Eduard Fuchs's analysis of fashion for not falling into the trap of examining fashion merely from the aesthetic and erotic standpoints. Similarly, Loos's analysis of women's fashion also contains more than merely a view of fashion as an aesthetic or erotic object. However, present-day commentators (such as McLeod 1994) have often neglected this aspect.

parallel directions in women's fashion. Loos argues that the most important of these parallel developments, since it has developed in England, is 'jene richtung, die das raffinierte Hellas erfand - die liebe Platos: Das weib sei dem manne nur ein guter kamerad' (Loos [1902] 1981, p.129) ['one that goes back to the sophistication of ancient Greece: Platonic love. Women and men should be just good friends, companions' (Loos 1998, pp.108-9)]. Platonic love represents the ideal of an equal relationship between men and women, as opposed to the inherent inequalities that Loos assigns to erotic relationships. The style which articulates this form of social interaction is the tailor-made costume, fashioned by a 'gentleman's tailor' (p.129).⁴² In the context of Loos's ideal view of the modern, the tailor-made costume, closely related to the clothing of the English Gentleman, signifies the disguise of difference which would allow women to participate equally in the bourgeois public sphere.⁴³ As such, it finds an echo in Simmel's ([1908] 1993, p.346) discussion of women's fashion in which he argues that the emancipated woman, striving to approach the differentiation and individuality already achieved by men, will show the same indifference (*Gleichgültigkeit*) towards fashion that is characteristic of men's attitudes. Loos's critique of women's fashion, then, appears to contain a playdoyer for women's liberation and indeed, the conclusion to 'Damenmode' emphasises his view of the close link between the modern and women's economic emancipation:

Aber wir gehen einer neuen, größeren zeit entgegen. Nicht mehr die durch den appell an die sinnlichkeit, sondern die durch arbeit erworbene wirtschaftliche unabhängigigkeit der frau wird eine gleichstellung mit dem manne hervorrufen.

(Loos [1902] 1981, p.132) [100]

⁴²In the context of a survey of dress reform at the turn of the century Stamm (1978, p.138) identifies the tailor-made costume imported from England as the most important innovation and simplification in women's clothing in the period.

⁴³Wolff (1985) has discussed the reasons for the absence of women from the bourgeois public sphere at the turn of the century.

In the above passage Loos suggests, in line with his evolutionary beliefs (but in contradiction to his description of the circular form of women's fashion), that changes in cultural forms – in this case women's direct participation as producers in the money economy – will effect a change in the basic form of women's clothes, since they will be required to articulate a changed structure of feeling. Expanding on this theme, he demonstrates how changes in patterns of consumption and leisure can also lead to the transformation of cultural forms:

Wie im XIII. jahrhundert dem reiter, wird im XX. jahrhundert der radfahrerin das zugeständnis der fußfreien kleidung und der hose gemacht. Und damit ist der erste schritt zur gesellschaftlichen sanktion der frauenarbeit getan.

(Loos [1902] 1981, p.132) [101]

It is illuminating to note that Loos's evocation of the female cyclist as the forerunner of a new attitude to clothing and therefore, of women's emancipation, is strikingly close to the opinion held by the bourgeois feminist, Rosa Mayreder, who asserted that the introduction of cycling did more for women's emancipation than the feminist movement itself (Sandgruber 1986, p.291). However, Benjamin (1982, p.110) notes the commodity form of the clothing of the female cyclist, revealing it to be another erotic form of fashion:

Das Kostüm der Radlerin als frühe und unbewußte Vorform der Sportkleidung entspricht den traumgestalten Vorformen, wie sie, ein wenig früher oder später, für die Fabrik oder das Auto aufkamen. Wie die ersten Fabrikbauten sich an die überkommene Form des Wohnhauses klammern, die ersten Automobilkarosserien Karossen nachbilden, so ringt in der Kleidung der Radlerin der sportliche Ausdruck noch mit dem überkommenen Idealbild der Eleganz, und der Ertrag dieses Ringens ist der verbissene, sadistische Einschlag, der es für die Männerwelt dieser Jahre so provokatorisch machte. [102]

Just as the bicycle as a form of transport merely creates the illusion of social mobility, so the fashion of the female bicyclist, firmly located in the social relations of

commodity-producing society, merely creates the illusion of emancipation from man's desire.

According to Loos's model of socio-cultural change, changes in the form of objects should only be caused by transformations in cultural forms. Therefore, he is critical of attempts to directly change the form of objects. In *Das Andere*, he employs the tale of the Saddlemaker to illustrate the folly of such attempts on the part of representatives of the Arts and Crafts movement, which are, he argues, often compounded by a lack of practical knowledge (Loos 1903b, pp.1-2). The hero of Loos's tale is a saddlemaker, who wanted to make sure that his products were truly modern and so approached a professor in the School of Applied Arts for advice. The professor set his students the task of designing the truly modern saddle. Pleased with the results, he summoned the saddlemaker to come and see shape of the modern saddle. The saddlemaker studied the designs carefully and then turned to the professor and said, 'Herr Professor! Wenn ich so wenig vom Reiten, vom Pferde, vom Leder und von der Arbeit verstehen würde wie Sie, dann hätte ich auch Ihre Phantasie' (p.2) ['My dear sir! If I had knew as little as you do about riding, horses, leather and labour, I too would have your imagination']. In 'Von der Sparsamkeit', a connection is made between this tale and the form of women's clothing designed by the Arts and Crafts Movement (Loos [1924] 1983, p.213). Just as in the case of the 'artistic' saddle, where the form of the saddle becomes subordinated to its decorative function, so, Loos argues, the female body is subordinated to the decorative function of the Arts and Crafts dress. In both cases, the designer's mistake is to design from the exterior, rather than from the interior, thereby imposing form artificially rather than allowing a 'natural' form to determine the nature of the clothing.⁴⁴

⁴⁴Emphasising his belief in the folly of designing from the outside, in a description of his *Bauschule*, Loos ([1913] 1982a, p.66) maintained that his students were required to construct their projects from the interior to the exterior.

Loos's argument that dresses designed by the Arts and Crafts Movement impose a foreign form on women echoes the spirit of Berta Zuckerkandl's (1901, pp.168-9) response to Van de Velde's lecture on women's fashion, which he gave in Vienna in 1901 (Hevesi [1906] 1984, pp.313-6). She argues that if artists become responsible for fashion, fashion will lose its function as a form of expression for women. Van de Velde's (1901b, p.42) reply to this criticism, under the title 'Die künstlerische Hebung der Frauentracht', is to argue that a temporary intervention on the part of the artist is necessary in order to point the way forward and restore the morality of women's clothing to women.⁴⁵ And indeed, this view encapsulates the general impetus behind the dress reform movement, or more accurately, movements, at the turn of the century.⁴⁶ There is no trace in Loos's textual *oeuvre* of a direct response to Van de Velde's lecture.⁴⁷ However, 'Damenmode', in which Loos champions the 'tailor-made costume'

⁴⁵The title of this article is also the title of a lecture which Van de Velde held in Krefeld on the occasion of the annual meeting of German tailors in August 1900, at which an exhibition of clothing designed by artists had been organised (Hevesi [1906] 1984, p.315). The lecture also appeared in brochure form under the same title, published by Kramer & Baum, Krefeld.

Van de Velde's use of the concept of *Tracht* suggests that he does not regard women's clothing in terms of modern fashion at all, but in terms of 'costume' or 'dress'. Thus, there is a similarity between his arguments and part of Loos's critique of women's fashion, in which he compares the representative function of women's clothing with that of the peasant. Such parallels serve to undermine Loos's sustained critique of the continental Arts and Crafts Movement. Elsewhere however, Loos is critical of Van de Velde. For example, in response to a critique of his lecture, 'Ornament und Verbrechen' given in Berlin, Loos ([1910] 1982a, p.89) published the following short remark in *Der Sturm*, 'Und ich sage dir, es wird die zeit kommen, in der die einrichtung einer zelle vom [...] professor Van de Velde als strafverschärfung gelten wird' ['And I'm telling you that the time will come when a cell decorated by [...] Professor Van de Velde will be regarded as an added punishment'].

⁴⁶Stamm (1978, pp.118-9) identifies a number of sources and directions of the dress reform movement (concentrating, however, mainly on Germany) including its relationship to the *Lebensreform* movement, the bourgeois feminist movement, the socialist feminist movement, the modern sport movement, medical critique of women's fashion, the English aesthetic movement, the American clothing reform movement and others.

⁴⁷There is no positive evidence to suggest that Loos attended Van de Velde's lecture in 1901. However, given Loos's concern with clothing at the time, documented in the publication of 'Damenmode' the following year and *Das Andere* in 1903, it can be assumed that even if he did not attend the lecture itself,

as modern women's clothing, was published the following year and may represent a reply to Van de Velde. More generally, in his critique of the *Deutscher Werkbund*, which took the form of an open reply to Muthesius's contributions to the first meeting of the *Werkbund* in Munich (1908), Loos ([1908] 1982a, p.74) argues against direct intervention, maintaining that, 'in die speichen des rollenden rades der zeit hat noch niemand mit plumper hand einzugreifen versucht, ohne daß ihm die hand weggerissen wurde' ['No one has ever yet tried to stop the wheel of time by sticking his hand between the spokes without getting it torn off' (Loos 1998, p.163)].⁴⁸

An essay fragment, unpublished in Loos's lifetime, contains an example of his view of how dress reform is to be achieved, if not through direct intervention. In 'Die Fauteuils des Frauenclubs', Loos ([1906] 1983, pp.104-5) describes a visit to the premises of the *Frauenclub* in Vienna to inspect the interior which he had designed in 1900.⁴⁹ As he stood in the entrance hall talking with the receptionist, Loos relates that 'eine ungeheure Detonation drang aus dem nächsten Zimmer. Ein schwerer Fall, ein Aufschrei, verworrene Stimmen durcheinander, Rufe nach Hilfe' (p.104) ['a mighty detonation was heard from the next room. A bad fall, a scream, a confusion of voices, cries for help']. The receptionist, apparently used to such incidents, remained calm, explaining to Loos that the problem lay in the design of his chairs, which were armchairs of the kind that one would commonly find in gentlemen's clubs. Entering the salon in order to see the

he would have followed the subsequent discussion in the Austrian press and at least implicitly, responded to it in his texts on clothing.

⁴⁸This represents, as Roth (1995) has pointed out, a direct reply to Muthesius who, in an article on the *Deutscher Werkbund* published in *Die Zeit* (1908) argued that, 'Eine Generation junger, enthusiastischer Künstler hat es sich zur Aufgabe gemacht, in die Speichen der Bewegung, die sich bisher die kunstgewerbliche nannte, einzugreifen' (cited in Roth 1995, p.116) ['A generation of young enthusiastic artists have taken upon themselves the task of putting a spoke in the wheel of the movement which has called itself 'applied arts']].

⁴⁹Loos was probably invited to design the interior by Rosa Mayreder (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.71). A report of the ceremonial opening of the *Frauenclub* is contained in the *Arbeiterzeitung* on 17 November 1900. According to this report, it was only on the opening day that men were to be allowed into the club, suggesting that Loos's anecdote is more fiction than fact.

damage for himself, Loos was greeted with the accusation, 'du bist der Mörder!' (p.105) ['you're the murderer!']. However the problem, suggests Loos, lay not in the chairs themselves, but in the form of women's clothing, combined with behavioural norms, which only allowed women to sit on the front edge of the chair, from which it was all too easy to collapse onto the floor. But rather than changing the form of the chairs which were, in Loos's opinion, of modern design, the solution to this problem would be a change in the form of women's clothing and a corresponding change in cultural norms. Rather than sitting on the edges of their chairs attentive to male power, emancipated women would be able to sit comfortably. Just as the bicycle, or the car require new forms of clothing, so the modern chair can also demand changes in fashion. Loos, although labelled a 'murderer', presents himself as the 'the hope of women' in matters of dress reform.

This hope is intimately linked to Loos's view that the ultimate function of modern clothing is to disguise difference.⁵⁰ However, a close reading of Loos's texts reveals that he is unable to see past an essential difference between male and female, which cannot be fully disguised. Thus, the emancipatory promise of a modernity which would allow the endless play of difference beneath a veneer of homogeneity fails at the level of sexual equality. This means that the possibility of social interaction in the bourgeois public sphere is denied to women. Similarly, Simmel's analysis is also predicated on a binary opposition between male and female which prevents women from inhabiting the public sphere and consigns them to the home (Mülder-Bach 1987, p.134). And indeed, in 'Die Rolle des Geldes in den Beziehungen der Geschlechter' (first published in *Die*

⁵⁰Colomina (1994), McLeod (1994) and Wigley (1994) all criticise Loos's view of women's emancipation, arguing that his prescriptive view of fashion involves replacing female clothing with male clothing. However, these arguments, caught in the mire of essentialism, reveal a common analytical weakness. The label 'female clothing' suggests that this is an *a priori* biological category, defining those who dress in a particular way as women. Thus, from a sociological viewpoint, to criticise Loos's view of emancipation because it involves the destruction of all that was previously 'female' to conclude that modernity was male because the liberated woman would be required to wear a man's clothes, is the result of a flawed ontology.

Zeit on 15, 22, and 29 January 1898), Simmel (1992a, p.252) locates men in the exterior and women in the interior, while Loos's article, 'Die Frau und das Haus' ([1898] 1983, pp.69-74) assigns men to the public sphere and women to the domestic interior in precisely the same manner.

However, it would be too simplistic to describe these analyses as the product of a bourgeois patriarchal imagination and not subject them to further examination. Although women are excluded from the bourgeois public sphere, for both Loos and Simmel, they also represent the possibility of a different kind of modernity. In Loos's analysis, this is signified by his attributing women with a sense for colour, while men are condemned only to think in black and white:

Die Frau hat mehr mit Farben umzugehen als der Mann. Aus ihrer Kleidung ist noch nicht alle Farbe verbannt. Durch die stetige Sorge um die Farbe in ihrem Anzuge hat sie sich noch das Farbengefühl bewahrt, das dem Manne durch seine farblose Kleidung vollständig abgeht.

(Loos [1898] 1983, pp.71-2) [103]

This echoes an argument made in 'Ornament und Verbrechen', where Loos ([1910] 1982a, p.174) states that while modernity in general is characterised by the disappearance of ornament, women's possessions retain an organic connection with ornament. It is also a distinction echoed by Simmel (1958, p.96) who describes the popularity of his lectures in a letter to Heinrich Rickert, dated 15 August 1898, but complains that the high percentage of women who attend his lectures distract him: 'Die Zweiheit der Erscheinungsformen u. die bunten Kleider stören mich' ['The duality of appearances and the colourful clothes bother me'].

Loos extends his analysis by comparing and contrasting the American woman and the German woman.⁵¹ In 'Die Frau und das Haus', he argues that contrary to popular

⁵¹The context for such a comparison can again be illustrated with reference to *Die Zeit*. In the course of 1897, in response to Susannah Rubenstein's (1897) attack on the vanity of the Austrian woman, a series

wisdom, according to which the American woman sits in a rocking chair all day, smokes, and cooks nothing but steak which requires little preparation, she actually keeps herself extremely well occupied: 'Sie zeichnet, sie malt. Sie ist auf *The Studio* abonniert. Sie trainiert ihre Augen. Der Mann hat für solche Dinge keine Zeit. Der hat ans Geschäft zu denken' (Loos [1898] 1983, p.70) ['She draws, she paints. She subscribes to *The Studio*. She trains her eyes. The man has no time for such things. He has to think of business'].⁵² Taken at face value this passage would appear to merely affirm the position of the nineteenth-century bourgeois woman, assigned to the private sphere and excluded from the public sphere. And this is, without a doubt, the intended meaning of this text, which outlines the bourgeois ideal of the position of women.⁵³ However, the contrast which Loos draws between the German woman and the American woman signifies a more complex structure in which the text subverts the intended meaning, for while the German woman is pictured carrying out domestic tasks in the private sphere, the American woman is situated in the artistic sphere. Moreover, this is recognised as a position which cannot be occupied by the man whose field of competence is business. This view is echoed by Simmel who presents an ideal image of an autonomous homely inner sanctum in which women, for the first time in history,

of articles (mainly written by women) appeared, discussing the vices and virtues of the Austrian woman, German woman, the French woman and others. For example, see Asenijess 1897a, 1897b; Braun 1897; Bruck-Aussenberg 1897.

Five years later, Sombart (1902, p.135) published an article in *Die Zeit* summarising sections of this topic of debate, and concluding that there are two cities in Europe which have developed the social type of the *femme*: Vienna and Paris.

⁵²This is also one of the few references to *The Studio* in Loos's texts which is not disparaging in its tone. (For example, compare Loos 1903b, p.1).

⁵³Privately at least, this bourgeois patriarchal ideal was embraced by Loos who, for example, resented his first wife, Lina Obertimpfler, pursuing a career as an actress (Fischer, 1994, p.81). Moreover, despite the emancipatory tone of some of Loos's articles, in other essays he publicly affirms the bourgeois patriarchal view of women. In 'Das Sitzmöbel' he describes the beautiful woman in the following terms: 'Es ist das vollkommene weib. Ihr liegt es ob, die liebe des mannes zu entflammen, die kinder selbst zu stillen, ihnen eine gute erziehung zu geben.' (Loos [1898] 1981, p.82) ['A beautiful woman? That would be the complete woman. Her responsibility would be to arouse love in the man, to breast-feed her own children, and to give them a good upbringing' (Loos 1998, p.63)].

have become empowered to create significant cultural forms (Mülder-Bach 1987, p.134).

In Loos's texts, the distinction between men and women is encapsulated in the apparently trivial statement that 'die Frau hat mehr mit Farben umzugehen als der Mann' (Loos [1898] 1983, p.71) ['the woman has to know more about colour than does the man']. In order to demonstrate the full import of this assertion, it is necessary to elaborate on the significance of women's ability to use colour in the context of Loos's textual *oeuvre*. Against this background, Loos's recognition of the woman's artistic abilities serves to elevate her status, since in 'Architektur', Loos utilises the figure of the artist to signify the realm of the future, embodying the role of the visionary (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.102).⁵⁴ Moreover, in the context of the radical separation of art from life that informs Loos's critique,⁵⁵ he explicitly assigns art to the feminine, describing its position as that of a 'high goddess' (Loos [1908] 1982a, p.70). However, in contradiction to his view of the role of art in leading the way into the future, in 'Schulausstellung der Kunstgewerbeschule', Loos ([1897] 1981, p.25) urges 'drauf und dran, gesellen, die kunst ist etwas, was überwunden werden muß' ['off you go, lads, art is an obstacle to be surmounted and left behind' (Loos 1998, p.15)]. This suggests that art is nothing but an obstacle to be overcome in the march towards modernity. In fact, this paradoxical view is nothing more than the restatement of the problematic tension between the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, between democratic consumption and elite consumption, and therefore, between display and disguise, which characterises the

⁵⁴Without explicitly making a connection to the position of women, Simmel's critique of Kant contains a discussion of form and colour. While Kant privileges 'rational' form above colour, Simmel emphasises the manner in which colour facilitates gradation and distinctions which cannot be made through the use of form alone (Frerichs 1994). Taken in conjunction with Simmel's remark to Rickert on the colourful nature of women's clothes, this view of colour suggests a parallel with Loos's view of the position of women.

⁵⁵This radical separation of the spheres of art and life, which distinguishes Loos's thought from the ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement, is not, however, unique to him. For example, it also plays a central role in both Kraus's and Wittgenstein's thought (Janik and Toulmin 1973; Timms 1986).

image of modernity found in Loos's texts. In Loos's analysis, art is simultaneously something to be overcome and the signifier of the realm of the future. Similarly, women's fashion, as the display of difference, is something to be overcome, but it is simultaneously pictured as the articulation of a realm which can transcend the restrictions of the money economy. However, it is precisely in its location outwith the money economy that Loos's ideal of an alternative to the relentless rationalisation of capitalism reveals its regressive character. Just as Simmel, in an attempt to overcome the 'tragedy of culture', turns to the concept of femininity as a Utopia which is ultimately regressive (Müllder-Bach 1987, p.137), so Loos's ideal of the woman as artist located in the home is indicative of a regressive Utopia, similar to that signified by the figure of the Artisan or indeed, the Aristocrat.

In revealing the correspondences between women's fashion and the figure of the Aristocrat in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, we have departed from the simple view of women's fashion as the negative Other against which men's fashion can be defined, thereby highlighting two distinct moments of Loos's analysis of women's fashion. First, there is an awareness of the close link between women's fashion, the construction of sexuality and the money economy which has its locus in the figure of the Prostitute. This aspect serves to draw attention to correspondences between Loos and Benjamin. Second, in identifying women's fashion with colour and ornament, Loos's analysis, in a manner similar to Simmel, suggests that women signify the possibility of an alternative modernity which would transcend the money economy. This process of deconstruction of women's fashion as a signifier of the 'unmodern', revealing its complexity, has ramifications for the analysis of men's fashion as the signifier of the 'modern', to which we now turn in order to conclude this investigation into fashion as a mode of signification in Loos's textual *oeuvre*.

THE ENGLISH GENTLEMAN

The figure of the English Gentleman which functions initially as the model for Loos's prescriptive view of fashion is illustrated in the advertisement for Goldman & Salatsch featured on the front cover of both issues of *Das Andere* (1903) (see fig. 20). The heading for both advertisements reads 'Tailors and Outfitters. Goldman & Salatsch'. English is used in the original, and this is significant in that it underlines Loos's ([1898] 1981, p.57) argument that London represents the centre of culture. In these advertisements, the evocation of English culture is connected explicitly with the Viennese aristocracy through the reproduction of the seals of royal approval granted to the tailors. And the location of the shop reiterates this connection to the nobility; its address is given as 'Wien, I. Graben 20'.⁵⁶ Finally, both advertisements are based on pictures of 'gentlemen'; in the first, in sporting dress, wearing blazer, trousers and nautical cap, while in the second, dressed for the city, in frock coat, top hat and cane. At the level of denotation, both provide illustrations of Loos's ideal of modern men's clothing. Functioning as signifiers, they connote a culture which is at once bourgeois and aristocratic, leisured and yet also urban. In other words, they connote the habitus of the English Gentleman described in the previous chapter.

However, while in the previous chapter the English Gentleman was found to be representative of elite models of consumption grounded in the ideal of *Vornehmheit*, in his description of the clothing of the English Gentleman found in 'Die Herrenmode' ([1898] 1981, pp.55-61), Loos makes the key point that the manner in which the English Gentleman is dressed, when correctly dressed, ensures above all that he does not draw attention to himself:⁵⁷

⁵⁶The Graben was one of Vienna's most exclusive shopping addresses. Indeed, it has been described as 'Vienna's Bond Street' (Olsen 1986, p.158).

⁵⁷In Simmel's (1995b, p.16) most extensive version of his analysis of fashion, 'Philosophie der Mode' (first published in 1906), he describes how in the fourteenth century, the Venetian *nobili* were required to



Fig. 20. Advertisements for Goldman & Salatsch from the front covers of *Das Andere*.

wear black in order not to draw attention to themselves and thereby reveal how small their number actually was. Similarly, Loos's injunction that the Gentleman be inconspicuous can, in part, be read as a recognition of the weak position of the bourgeoisie in Vienna at the turn of the century.

Korrekt angezogen sein! Mir ist, als hätte ich mit diesen Worten das Geheimnis gelüftet, mit dem unsere Kleidermode bisher umgeben war. Mit Worten wie schön, schick, elegant, fesch und forsch wollte man der Mode beikommen. Darum handelt es aber gar nicht. *Es handelt sich darum, so angezogen zu sein, daß man am wenigsten auffällt.*

(p.56 - my emphasis) [104]

The clothing of the English Gentleman, argues Loos, rejects the fetish of fashion, in the sense of the ephemeral and transitory, which is expressed in words such as 'beautiful' and 'elegant'. Moreover, the ultimate goal of men's clothing, according to Loos's prescriptive view of fashion, is to enable the wearer to be inconspicuous. The demand that men's clothing should function as a disguise is reiterated throughout Loos's textual *oeuvre*. Thus for example, in 'Von der Sparsamkeit', Bohumil Markalous quotes Loos's assertion that, 'der moderne intelligente Mensch muß für die Menschen eine Maske haben. Diese Maske ist die bestimmte, allen Menschen gemeinsame Form der Kleider' (Loos [1924] 1983, p.206) ['the modern intelligent man must have disguise when interacting with others. This mask is a specific form of clothing common to all']. According to Loos, clothing as mask, which functions as a disguise, allows all men to appear formally equal, from worker to the King of England – who is identified as 'das sichtbare Symbol des englischen Volkscharakters' (Loos [1919] 1983, p.176) ['the visible symbol of the English national character'] and therefore, as an archetypal modern man.

An example of clothing as mask is the functional uniform which, as Loos explains in 'Die englische Uniform' ([1919] 1983, p.168), literally means 'one form':

Uniform heißt auf Deutsch 'Einform'. Der neue Staat hat dieses Abzeichnen des alten Staates nicht abzuschaffen, sondern im Gegenteil zu verstärken und zu vertiefen. Das entspricht seiner sozialen und sozialisierenden Tendenz. [105]

This passage, written just as the First Republic was emerging, contains the curious suggestion that elements of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy should be resurrected and

reappropriated.⁵⁸ This non-contemporaneous and paradoxical demand is underlined by the nature of uniform itself which, as Loos himself recognised, does not merely function as a single form which serves to disguise difference, but is also utilised, especially in the military, to display difference and to maintain a hierarchical social structure (Loos [1919] 1982a, p.155).

However, Loos attempts to overcome this tension by insisting that his vision is of a new uniform, functionally suited to the modern life-style. This argument is based on his definition of fashion as the style of the present, conforming to modern cultural forms (Loos [1908] 1983, p.116). Because of this connection between fashion and modern cultural forms, Loos does not rule out a change in the model for a modern uniform style. Indeed, in 'Kultur' ([1908] 1982a, pp.68-70), Loos predicts that in the future, the style of the present will no longer be represented by the clothing of the English Gentleman. Instead, he argues, 'the new Werther' will be represented by the American worker: 'Der

⁵⁸In 1920, a group of 'important public figures' in Vienna sent an open declaration to the government and the leaders of the political parties, outlining the preconditions they regarded as necessary for the development of the Republic. Loos's name appears in a list of signatories, which also includes factory owners, university professors, industrialists, property-owners and others. The declaration, published in the *Neue Freie Presse* on 22 July 1920, demanded 'die politische Einheit des Staates, eine kräftige Zentralgewalt, eine wohldisziplinierte bewaffnete Macht, Disziplin in der Beamtenschaft, äußerste Sparsamkeit, ausgiebige Besteuerung des Luxus, Freiheit des wirtschaftlichen Verkehrs innerhalb der Republik, neutrale äußere Politik' ['a unified State, strong centralised powers, a disciplined armed force, discipline in the civil service, extreme thriftiness, a substantial tax of luxury, freedom of trade within the republic, neutrality']. It appeared just over a month after the failed communist-inspired putsch in Vienna (Gruber 1991, p.21), and at the time in which the Austrian constitution, laid down on 1 October 1920, was being debated. The declaration represents a marked mixture of bourgeois concerns (freedom of trade, a tax on luxury) and echoes of the socio-political certainties of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (a unified state, strong centralised powers, a disciplined civil service). However, when the constitution was drawn up it rejected a number of the demands falling into the latter category, suggesting that Loos and others, in their continuing faith in the old structures of the monarchy, were out of tune with modern Austria. In particular, instead of a unified state, the constitution stipulates that the republic will be of federal character (article 2), and instead of centralised powers, it stipulates a separation of powers (article 94) (Klecatsky and Morscher 1997).

mann im overall' (p.70) ['the man in overalls'].⁵⁹ However, the possibility of change in Loos's definition of the modern is immediately negated in his assertion that the new uniform is, in fact, not at all new. In 'Lob der Gegenwart', Loos ([1908 1983, p.117) argues that the clothing of the English Gentleman, which represents the uniform of the present, is 'die Urkleidung' ['mankind's original clothing']:

Als die Engländer die Weltherrschaft antraten, haben sie [...] die Urkleidung dem Erdball aufgezwungen. [...] Und die Form wurde zum Eiform, zur Uniform ausgebildet, in der Individualität ihren Reichtum am besten verbergen kann. Zur Maske. [106]

Loos's use of the concept of *Urkleidung* – to which he draws attention by beginning three consecutive paragraphs of this article with the assertion, 'Es ist die Urkleidung...' – illuminates his rejection of the ideology of the new and concomitantly, the ultimately conservative nature of his prescriptive view of fashion. The idea which lies behind the concept of *Urkleidung* is that the form of use-objects reach a stage of perfection and then serve as models for later exact copies. Therefore, Loos's ideal of modern fashion is influenced by the context of his emphasis on the importance of origins discussed in the previous chapter.

Despite the ambiguities of uniform, the exterior function of the mask in Loos's ideal view of fashion is to create the conditions in which all men can interact on a formally equal basis, i.e. it is a pre-requisite for the attainment of cultural homogeneity. However, there is a further dimension to the idea of clothing as mask, related to its interior. In 'Örnamant und Verbrechen', Loos ([1910 1982a, p.88) argues that wearing a

⁵⁹Loos's texts make several references to Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*, often pertaining to Werther's clothing which is described in detail at the close of the novel: 'Er lag gegen das Fenster entkräftet auf dem Rücken, war in völliger Kleidung gestiefelt, im blauen Frack mit gelber Weste' (Goethe [1774] 1973, p.124). It has been established that after the publication of *Werther*, young men took to copying his manners, his attitudes, his clothing and his suicide (Engel 1986, pp.91-3). Loos has recognised Werther's role as one of the original fashion models for men.

mask entails something being hidden, or disguised. Similarly, Simmel's (1904, p.130) essay, 'Fashion', contains the description of an old Flemish house, over which 'there stands the mystical inscription: There is more within me'. Furthermore, in the passage from 'Lob der Gegenwart' quoted above, Loos argues that it is the 'riches of individuality' that are hidden behind the mask of clothing, thus echoing Simmel's assertion, in 'Zur Psychologie der Mode', that fashion as disguise has a levelling function which veils the 'die Besonderheit [des] innerlichen Wesens' (Simmel [1895] 1992a, p.111) ['the particularity of the inner being'].

However, revealing his awareness of the actual circularity of men's fashion, Loos maintains that it is not the case that men's clothing in general has attained the level of the ideal of the English Gentleman.⁶⁰ To illustrate his arguments about the necessity of clothing as a disguise which functions to enable and protect the existence of the 'riches of individuality', Loos draws on the figure of the 'Gigerl' which, in his textual *oeuvre*, represents the antithesis to the modern man.⁶¹ The folly of the *Gigerl* is his failure to recognise the centrality of the mask to modernity; instead, he attempts to express his individuality in the public sphere through his flamboyant clothing:

⁶⁰Indeed, a close examination of his texts reveal him to be acutely aware of the cyclical nature of men's fashion. The first issue of *Das Andere* (1903a, p.1) contains an anecdote centring on Loos's cousin's funeral in Philadelphia. It describes in some detail Loos's surprise at the elegant manner in which his Uncle Ben was clothed, dwelling on the fact that, in comparison to Loos's wide-fitting trousers, Uncle Ben's trousers were fitted. Loos comments, 'Später erst wußte ich, daß er nicht "noch" eine, sondern "schon" eine enge Hose trug' [It was only later that I realised that he was not "still", but rather "already" wearing fitted trousers']. In his use of the particles, 'noch' ('still') and 'schon' ('already') Loos reveals his awareness of the circularity of men's fashion. Moreover, in 'Die Herrenmode', Loos's ([1898] 1982a, p.55) critique of fashion also considers the cyclical nature of men's fashion, illustrated by the 'eternal recurrence' of fitted trousers.

⁶¹*Gigerl* is a derogative colloquial term used in Southern Germany and Austria. It can be translated as *dandy* or *fop*. Although English translations of Loos's texts tend to use the term *dandy*, this dissertation will follow Lubbock's (1983, p.43) distinction between the *dandy*, as the representation of modern man (Beau Brummell, Baudelaire, Loos himself) and the *fop*, or *peacock*, as the antithesis to the *dandy*. In Loos's texts, the English Gentleman is the *dandy*, the *Gigerl* is the *fop*, to which the English Gentleman is contrasted.

Ein Gigerl ist ein Mensch, dem die Kleidung nur dazu dient, sich von seiner Umgebung abzuheben. Bald wird die Ethik, bald die Hygiene, bald die Ästhetik herangezogen, um dieses hanswurstartige Gebaren erklären zu helfen.

(Loos [1898] 1981, p.57) [107]

The *Gigerl*, for whom the express purpose of clothing is to display rather than to disguise difference, is, according to Loos, at odds with the modern structure of feeling. In 'Ornament und Verbrechen', Loos argues that the essential difference between the modern man and the *Gigerl* centres on their attitudes to 'individuality'; the *Gigerl* attempts to differentiate himself from the crowd through expressing exterior difference, whereas the individuality of the modern man is so strong that clothing can no longer signify it adequately:

Wer heute im samtrock herumläuft, ist kein künstler, sondern ein hanswurst oder ein anstreicher. Wir sind feiner, subtiler geworden. Die herdenmenschen mußten sich durch verschiedene farben unterscheiden, der moderne mensch braucht sein kleid als maske. So ungeheuer stark ist seine individualität, daß sie sich nicht mehr in kleidungsstücken ausdrücken läßt. Ornamentlosigkeit ist ein zeichen geistiger kraft. Der moderne mensch verwendet die ornamente früherer und fremder kulturen nach seinem gutdünken. Seine eigene erfingung konzentriert er auf andere dinge.

(Loos [1910] 1982a, p.88)⁶² [108]

In Loos's view, clothing as display actually functions to replace, rather than to signify individuality. In a similar manner, in 'Zur Psychologie der Mode', Simmel (1992a, p.109) describes how the clothing of the *Gigerl*, exaggerating the logic of fashion,

⁶²In this passage, Loos not only confirms the impossibility of expressing the individuality of modern man through external signifiers, but also makes the connection between modernity and lack of ornamentation which is a theme that links fashion as a mode of signification to other elements at play in his textual *oeuvre* such as the interior, and architecture and the city. The discussion on ornament has been at the centre of Loos scholarship and the literature on the subject is correspondingly extensive. See, for example, Janik and Toulmin 1973, Müller 1977, Rukschcio 1985a, Pfabigan 1985, Anderson 1988, Grusevich 1988, Adorno 1977, Eadie 1990, Roth 1995 and others.

represents the illusion of individuality. However, there is an essential difference between his analysis and that of Loos, which lies in their assessment of the significance of the *Gigerl*. While Loos rejects the display of difference as 'unmodern', Simmel recognises that this is one aspect of the dialectic of fashion which characterises modernity.

In Loos's prescriptive analysis of men's fashion, the modern, signified by the figure of the English Gentleman, is inconspicuous, while the 'unmodern', signified by the figure of the *Gigerl*, is conspicuous. Moreover, the main function of modern clothing is the disguise of difference which first, is conducive to the creation of a bourgeois public sphere, allowing all men to interact as equals, and second, protects individuality. However, his own example of clothing which would function as a mask, the uniform, undermines this neat distinction between the modern and the 'unmodern' since, as we have seen, the uniform connotes both disguise and display. This dichotomy lies at the heart of the problematic signified by the English Gentleman and therefore, merits closer examination.

Both Loos and Simmel regard the mask as a means of protecting subjectivity and preserving inner difference; in other words, the mask is an integral feature of the ideal of *Vornehmheit*. However, the ideal of *Vornehmheit* is essentially grounded in an elitist model of consumption which means that in the context of the money economy, it is in direct conflict with the ideal of cultural homogeneity. The tension between clothing as disguise and the ideal of *Vornehmheit* suggests correspondences between the figure of the English Gentleman in Loos's work, Loos himself and the figure of the Dandy in Baudelaire's (1964) *The Painter of Modern Life* (Lubbock 1983, p.43).⁶³ These connections centre on a dialectic of belonging and not belonging, since Baudelaire's Dandy represents:

⁶³And, as if to confirm this affiliation, Thackeray's *The Book of Snobs* (n.d.) and a Reclam edition of Baudelaire's (1909) poetry and sketches are to be found in Loos's library.

the leader of a spiritual revolution [...] the inhabitant of the modern city, who merges unnoticeably with the crowd, and yet holds himself apart in order to observe it. (Lubbock 1983, p.44)

The ability to merge with the crowd and yet at the same time hold oneself aloof from that crowd is characteristic not only of the attitude of the Dandy, but also of Benjamin's (1982) *flâneur*, and of Loos's ([1898] 1983, p.66) *Über-architekt*, whose dual role is to take up position at the forefront of modern culture and lead the way into the future, while simultaneously demonstrating an understanding and detailed knowledge of that culture. The dialectic of belonging and not belonging which is signified by the figure of the *Über-architekt* is also used to describe Loos's English Gentleman. Arguing in 'Lob der Gegenwart' that 'der Königssohn will unerkannt durch die Straßen schreiten' ['the King's son wants to walk the streets anonymously'], Loos ([1908] 1983, p.119) confirms that the double function of the English Gentleman, involves him taking up position at the forefront of culture (for which the 'King's son' functions as signifier) and yet simultaneously, being able to stroll unobserved through the city streets. This image suggests a further parallel between the English Gentleman and Baudelaire's *flâneur* who is described as 'ein Fürst, der überall im Besitze seines Inkognitos ist' (cited in Benjamin 1974, p.543) [a prince who is everywhere in possession of his incognito' (cited in Benjamin 1983, p.40)].

It is precisely in the correspondence between the English Gentleman and the Dandy that the complexity of Loos's work on men's fashion reveals itself. Although the Dandy embodies the eradication of rigid barriers to social mobility, he also represents a pre-bourgeois and anti-bourgeois figure who simultaneously maintains the social exclusivity of the ruling classes and the avant-garde (Brunkhorst 1986, p.412). In other words, the figure of the Dandy signifies a dialectic of inclusivity and exclusivity. In Loos's textual *oeuvre*, the clothing of the English Gentleman ostensibly functions as a disguise, enabling the creation of a bourgeois public sphere in which all modern persons are able to interact on an equal basis. According to this view, the purpose of the clothing of the

modern gentlemen is to facilitate and signify equality and so the rational, well-dressed English Gentleman becomes a signifier of a modernity that is characterised by cultural homogeneity, thus articulating an impulse towards inclusivity. However, in 'Die Herrenmode', Loos contradicts his own ideal in his description of the manner in which the exclusive tailors' firms protect their business:

Man beschränkt sich womöglich auf einen kleinen kundenkreis. Wohl sind sie nicht so exklusiv wie mancher londoner häuser, die sich einem nur auf eine empfehlung Albert Edwards, des Prinzen von Wales, öffnen. Aber jeder prunk nach außen ist ihnen fremd. (Loos [1898] 1981, p.59)⁶⁴ [109]

The final pages of Loos's survey of tailored clothing on show at the 1898 exhibition focus on the creation and maintenance of difference through the use of expensive materials and secrecy in the matter of design. In this description of the way in which the exclusive tailors secure a refuge from the constant search for new materials and cuts, Loos provides a vivid example of Simmel's (1992a, p.112) analysis of the conservative nature of the upper classes who neither desire nor require change. Thus, although his ideal of the English Gentleman is indeed predicated on the ideal of a bourgeois style of clothing which is no longer dependent on the outer symbols of power and wealth typical of the old aristocratic style, this style of clothing is not the simple uniform of the 'man in overalls', attainable by all. Instead, it represents a fusion of bourgeois and aristocratic elements. Although ostensibly functioning to disguise difference, the clothing of the English Gentleman, actually upholds difference through the display of fine distinctions.⁶⁵ Thus, men's fashion, the 'style of the present', does not only entail the disguise of difference, but also simultaneously, contains a moment of display. In other words, the English Gentleman embodies, to paraphrase and modify Veblen's ([1899] 1925) term, a form of non-conspicuous 'conspicuous consumption'.

⁶⁴In identifying the Prince of Wales as the model for men's fashion, Loos is echoed by Sombart ([1902] 1986, p.99).

⁶⁵The use of 'distinction' to create and uphold class differences is also the object of Bourdieu's (1984) sociological investigation of taste.

This insight, contained in Loos's texts and yet diametrically opposed to the ideal of cultural homogeneity that he intends to signify with the figure of the English Gentleman, is strikingly similar to Simmel's analysis of fashion in 'Zur Psychologie der Mode'. Describing the dialectic of fashion, Simmel argues:

Die Mode ist eine besondere unter jenen Lebensformen, durch die man ein Compromiß zwischen der Tendenz nach socialer Egalisierung und der nach individuellen Unterschiedsreizen herzustellen suchte.

(Simmel 1992a, pp.106-7) [110]

According to Simmel, the two tendencies which characterise fashion – equalisation and individuation – can be explained sociologically if one regards fashion as the product of class differences, representing a method of identifying oneself with others of the same status, while simultaneously serving to close off this group to the lower classes. However, the members of the lower classes will constantly strive for upward mobility and so imitate the fashions of the higher classes. They in turn, in order to preserve difference, must dispose of the style which has been appropriated in favour of a new style.

Returning briefly to the content of the previous chapter, it becomes clear that this dialectic of fashion corresponds to the model for social change contained in Loos's texts, in which the upper classes are spurred on to the eternal change (*ewiger Wechsel*) of forms through the impulse of the lower classes ([1898] 1983, p.80). This notion of *ewiger Wechsel* is taken up by Simmel in his analysis, in which he recognises the dialectical nature of this characteristic of fashion, arguing that 'die Thatsache, daß der Wechsel dauert, gibt hier jedem der Gegenstände, zu dem der Wechsel sich vollzieht, einen psychologischen Schimmer von Dauer' (p.113) ['the fact that change itself does not change endows each of the objects which it affects with a psychological shimmer of permanency' (Simmel 1997, p.204)]. Moreover, it represents a central aspect of fashion reiterated later by Benjamin (1974, p.677) in his description of fashion as the 'eternal

return of the new'.⁶⁶ This close examination of the ambiguities in the position of Loos's English Gentleman reveals that although Loos would have him stand outside the transitory world of fashion, in reality, he is subject to the mechanisms and machinations of the fashion industry. Indeed, the English Gentleman is the embodiment of the 'psychological shimmer of permanency,' that represents a central illusion of fashion and by extension, of modernity. In Loos's textual *oeuvre*, men's fashion signifies a tension between the permanent and the fleeting, between disguise and display. The paradoxical image of Viennese modernity hinted at in his analysis of *Tracht* and of women's fashion, is fully embodied in the figure and clothing of the English Gentleman.

By extending the analysis of fashion in Loos's texts from a narrow focus on the difference between men's clothing and women's clothing, we have revealed that McLeod's (1994, p.64) definition of Loos's English Gentleman as the signifier of a modernity which is bourgeois, rational and masculine does not do justice to the complexity of Loos's analysis. Circulating through Loos's textual *oeuvre* like a commodity in the money economy, the figure of the English Gentleman assumes a fantastic form thereby revealing more about the paradoxical nature of Viennese modernity than Loos intended it to. Indeed, the process of excavation of fashion as a mode of signification carried out in this chapter has demonstrated that in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, both women's fashion and men's fashion are complex signifiers which function, to paraphrase Wigley (1994, p.302), to 'unsecure the line' which connects men's fashion and modernity. This investigation of fashion in Loos's textual *oeuvre* illustrates Kracauer's (1969, p.6-7) argument that ideas which do not fit into a given model of

⁶⁶In the *Passagenwerk*, Benjamin (1982, p.120) quotes Egon Friedell (who in turn is citing Nietzsche's (1988c) *Also Sprach Zarathustra*): 'Selbst die radikale Revolutionen wie das heutige knabenhaft geschnittene Haar sind nur die "ewige Wiederkunft des Gleichen"' ['Even the radical revolutions, such as today's boyish crops, are only the "eternal recurrence of the ever-same"']. In 'Zentralpark' Benjamin (1974, p.677) subtly changes this to the eternal return of the new, thereby emphasising, as Buck-Morss (1989, p.98) has pointed out, fashion's celebration of novelty which means that 'the living human capacity for change and infinite variation becomes alienated and is affirmed only as a quality of the inorganic object (p.99).

explanation become repressed or hidden. Exposing and reconstructing the hidden elements of Loos's critique reveals that the ambiguities of the dialectic of the Self and the Other, and of elite and democratic consumption are articulated in Loos's analysis of fashion, which functions to illustrate the ambiguous and complex nature of modernity. This ambiguity is compounded by the continuing existence of non-contemporaneous elements signified by the representative clothing of the Peasant and of those in power. In 'Architektur', Loos draws attention to the 'strange correspondence' between the outward appearance of people and the exterior of buildings (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.100). Building on this premise, the final chapter seeks to reconstruct Loos's Vienna, investigating the location of the paradoxes and contradictions which characterise the modernity articulated in his textual *oeuvre*.

CHAPTER SIX

LOCATING THE NARRATIVE: THE CITY, ITS ARTEFACTS AND ITS ATTRACTIONS

Die Modernität einer Stadt zeigt sich im Straßenpflaster.

(Loos [1911] 1983, p.122)¹ [111]

Die Gemächlichkeit dieser Schildereien paßt zu dem Habitus des Flaneurs, der auf dem Asphalt botanisieren geht.

(Benjamin 1974, p.538) [112]

Straßen sind die Wohnung des Kollektives.

(Benjamin 1982, p.533) [113]

Taking the dialectic of the Self and the Other implicit in the title of *Das Andere* as their point of departure, the preceding chapters have explored in turn aspects of the paradoxes and contradictions which structure Loos's cultural criticism. This chapter turns to examine the location of Loos's lectures and essays. It investigates the city as the place in which Loos 'goes botanizing on the asphalt', identifying and classifying the social types he meets in the city; for the city, as Barthes has recognised, represents the meeting place with the Other:

¹This quotation is taken from the version of 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' contained in *Die Potemkin'sche Stadt* (Loos 1983, pp.122-3). In the preface to this collection, Opel describes this article as comprising the main part of Loos's (1911) lecture of the same title, citing Kulka (1931) as his source. However, Eckel (1995 p.88) has demonstrated that this article represents a combination of unconnected quotations which were originally published by Kulka (1931), and that therefore, the text lacks logic and cohesion and cannot be the main part of Loos's lecture. Eckel's argument is supported by the fact that two years after the publication of *Die Potemkin'sche Stadt*, Rukschcio published the full text of the lecture, 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' (Rukschcio 1985b) in which the 1983 text does not appear. However, the authenticity of the individual remarks which comprise the 1983 text need not be doubted. It is likely that they formed part of a different lecture on Loos's 'Haus am Michaelerplatz'. For example, the lectures that Loos gave in his *Bauschule*, which Kulka attended, included an analysis of his *Haus am Michaelerplatz* (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.188).

the city centre is felt as the place of exchange of social activities [...], the city centre is always felt as the space where subversive forces, forces of rupture, ludic forces act and meet. (Barthes 1986, p.96)

In exploring the city, this chapter traces the markers of the city and its artefacts present in Loos's textual *oeuvre* in order to reconstruct an image of 'Loos's Vienna'.² Taking Benjamin's (1982, p.533) insight that 'Straßen sind die Wohnung des Kollektives' ['streets are the home of the collective'] as its point of departure, this chapter begins by developing the characteristics of the city as interior. This view of the city provides a theoretical framework, based on Loos's analysis of the interior, for the subsequent close analysis of the city and its artefacts in Loos's textual *oeuvre*. However, to engage with Loos's textual *oeuvre* is to recognise that he does not provide an abstract analysis of 'the city'. Rather, Loos's texts and lectures are littered with direct references to Vienna which represents the site and the object of much of Loos's cultural criticism. Accordingly, this chapter contains a detailed exploration of Loos's Vienna, tracing Loos's method of recording his impressions as he strolls through the city, from the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition (1898), to *Das Andere* (1903), his 'Wohnungswanderungen' (1907) and his 'Stadtwanderungen' (1913/14), and finally, culminating in his description of his experience of 'das neue Wien' in the post-First World War period. In comparison to the mode of analysis used in the earlier chapters, which focused on the signifiers circulating throughout Loos's texts and lectures, the method employed in this chapter involves imposing a broad linear order on his textual *oeuvre*.³ Developing the temporal progression of Loos's critique of Vienna, reveals that it is mirrored by a spatial progression; beginning in the exhibition site located outside the city centre, Loos's analysis then moves into the city centre, before finally experiencing the city in terms of

²In the term, 'Loos's Vienna', there is an immediate reference to Janik and Toulmin's (1973) *Wittgenstein's Vienna*, and also to Thompson's (1990) *Schnitzler's Vienna*. However, this is not to reiterate material included in these volumes, for Loos's subjective experience (*Erlebnis*) of the city necessarily represents a different experience to that of either Wittgenstein or Schnitzler.

³However, because of the circular nature of Loos's textual *oeuvre* it is often necessary within the individual sections to draw correspondences with other temporal locations.

a struggle between the centre and the periphery. However, before entering Loos's Vienna, it is necessary to explore the nature of the city as interior.

THE CITY AS INTERIOR

What is it that characterises the interior? According to Loos, the authentic interior is at once firmly rooted in the past and ever-changing. This dialectical view is articulated throughout Loos's textual *oeuvre*, but is expressed most poignantly in 'Von einem armen reichen Manne' (Loos [1900] 1981, pp.198-203). This story is based on the character of a rich man, described by Loos as 'a powerful man' (p.198) used to getting things done quickly. This being the case, when the rich man decided to have his apartment redecorated, he wasted no time, but called an architect and commanded him to bring art into his apartment with no regard for cost. No sooner said than done, the architect conjured up 'ein heer von parkettierern, spalierern, lackierern, maurern, anstreichern, tischlern, installateuren, töpfern, tepichspannern, malern und bildhauern' ['an army of floor-layers, paper-hangers, varnishers, builders, painters, carpenters, plumbers, stove fitters, carpet-layers, artists and sculptors'], with the result that in next to no time, art was 'eingefangen, eingeschachtelt, wohlverwahrt in den vier pfählen des reichen mannes' (p.199) ['caught, boxed in, and well looked after within four walls of the rich man's abode'], and the rich man was most pleased with the finished product.

Halfway through the tale, however, a hint of dissonance can be discerned as the reader is informed that the architect had to supervise the way in which the rich man inhabited his new abode, since it was imperative that the rich man learned where everything belonged in the architect's composition. Then the reader discovers that despite the architect's triumphs in the field of applied music which meant that the trams that passed the rich

man's house were forced to roll past in the rhythm of the *Radetzkmarsch*,⁴ the rich man preferred to spend as little time at home as possible. Moreover, he began to hanker after his old belongings, which had been sacrificed in the name of art. The climax to the tale comes when the rich man celebrated his birthday and was presented with gifts by his family. These gifts, the reader is told, made the rich man very happy, and yet the architect's reaction was to ask the rich man what he was thinking of, allowing people to give him gifts. Had the architect not provided him with everything? At these words, the rich man's mood changed from happiness to deep sadness as he realised that he had been 'ausgeschaltet aus dem künftigen leben und streben, werden und wünschen' (p.203) ['suspended from future processes of living and striving, becoming and wishing']. By allowing someone else to compose his living space, the rich and powerful man had surrendered control over his own life. He had lost all sense of his history and moreover, neither through rearranging the objects in the interior, nor by adding new objects, could he express his future development.⁵

In comparison, as Loos argues in 'Die Interieurs in der Rotunde' ([1898] 1982a, pp.75-81), the authentic interior is one in which a person's history is recorded and simultaneously, one which documents a person's development.⁶ Put another way: 'Wohnen heißt Spuren hinterlassen' (Benjamin 1982, p.53) ['living is to leave traces'].

⁴Loos's emphasis on the rhythm of the *Radetzkmarsch* and the juxtaposition of the music with modern transport is reminiscent of Kracauer's (1990a, pp.289-90) insights into the correspondences between the empty homogenous space of modern travel and the empty homogenous time of modern dance and music contained in 'Die Reise und der Tanz'.

⁵The article 'Vom armen reichen Manne' has been read (Wigley 1994, p.190; McLeod 1994, p.58) as a direct attack on Van de Velde. Although not wanting to reject this reading, a close examination of Loos's text reveals that it holds greater significance than merely being an example of Loos's criticism of Van de Velde and the decorative arts movement.

⁶Similarly, Riggins (1994, p.101) has argued that an ethnography of the living room, analysing the symbolic and functional artefacts that make up the room, reveals a rich source of social data in 'vernacular interior design'.

Recalling the traces of his early family life in Brünn in order to illustrate his concept of the authentic interior, Loos describes the symbolic meaning of the artefacts in his home:

Und hier die bilder der eltern! Welch schreckliche rahmen! Aber es war das hochzeitsgeschenk der arbeiter des vaters. Und hier der altmodische sessel. Und hier ein gestickter pantoffel, in dem man die uhr aufhängen kann: Schwester Irma's kindergartenarbeit. *Jedes möbel, jedes ding, jeder gegenstand erzählt eine geschichte, die geschichte der familie. Die wohnung war nie fertig; sie entwickelte sich mit uns und wir in ihr.*
(p.77 – my emphasis) [114]

According to Loos's view, the act of collecting creates the authentic interior. And this idea finds an echo in Benjamin's (1982, p.53) argument that 'der Sammler ist der wahre Insasse des Interieurs' ['the collector is the true inhabitant of the interior']. Moreover, this image of the interior as a collection sheds light on Loos's dialectical definition of the authentic interior. The existing collection of artefacts tells a story, embedding the interior in the past, but the nature of the collection is also ever-changing, affected both by the appropriation of new objects, and by processes of sorting and re-ordering.

Using Benjamin's analogy of the city as the interior of the collective, an analysis of the symbolic function of the artefacts and buildings of the city should reveal a similar dialectic of stability and change, based first, on the collective history represented by the city and its artefacts, and second, on the ever-changing nature of the city documented by the changing constellations of artefacts that comprise the city. Thus, applying Loos's descriptions of the nature of the interior to the city allows a model to be developed with which Loos's method of reading and writing the city can be investigated, for to inhabit the city is to explore the city as interior. However, in order to read and write the city exactly, it is necessary to suspend the distraction of the hurry and bustle of the city, and to stroll as slowly and observe as carefully as the nineteenth century *flâneurs*, whose speed of movement through the city was gauged by the turtles that accompanied them on their strolls (Benjamin 1974, pp.556-7). Similarly, Loos describes the necessity of suspending the chaos of the city in order to behold a different image of Vienna than that

contained on the surface of the street, which is all that one sees when one hurries past (Loos [1911] 1983, p.122):

Wenn man um den johannistag herum am ende der nacht in den straßen ist und sie bei hellem morgenlichte menschenleer vor einem liegen, glaubt man eine unbekannte stadt zu durchwandern. Denn zu dieser zeit brauchen wir nicht mehr auf passanten, wagen und automobile rücksicht zu nehmen und stehen erstaunt vor einer fülle an details, die uns der tag vorenthalten hat.

(Loos [1910] 1982a, p.112) [115]

In the bright midsummer's dawn, Vienna is a place without distractions which appears as an 'unknown city'. This new perspective on the city is similar to the new image of Paris contained in Eduard Devrient's *Briefe aus Paris* in which he describes walking through the empty streets of Paris at night (cited in Benjamin 1982, p.535).⁷

To return to the metaphor of the collection, these two contrasting ways of seeing the city are embodied by the Benjaminian figures of the 'profane owner' and the 'true owner'. While the 'profane owner' has only a superficial interest in the objects that he collects, the 'true owner' continually rearranges and reorders his collection, thus constantly seeing the objects in a new light and noting new correspondences (Benjamin 1982, p.274). To read the city as interior is to collect the images and artefacts of the city, and to write the city is to arrange the collection. Benjamin's (1972, pp.83-148) collection, *Einbahnstrasse* (first published in 1928), which is based on a conception of the text as street (Köhn, 1989, p.200), is a prime example of this technique of writing the city, but Loos's writing also reveals similar concerns. Indeed, the structure and mode of construction of *Das Andere* (1903) bears a striking similarity to *Einbahnstrasse*. Just as Benjamin's texts mirror the written material of the street, using forms such as signs,

⁷The difference is that Loos's Vienna is a place in which he feels secure, while the image of Paris described by Devrient contains an edge of danger, encapsulated in the comment that he had been advised to take a taxi home, was he to find himself alone in the city in the early hours of the morning. One of the markers of life in the metropolis, a sense of danger and the unknown, rather than the security of the known, is missing from Loos's Vienna.

posters, advertising walls and others (Köhn 1989, pp.200-10), so Loos's texts are also based on material which confronts him as he circulates through the city (in the case of *Das Andere*, 'Wohnungswanderungen', and 'Stadtwanderungen'), or through the exhibition site (in the case of his series of articles in the *Neue Freie Presse*).⁸ The main concern of these products of circulation lies, as a review of *Das Andere* which appeared in *Die Zeit* on 17 October 1903 recognised, in an examination of 'die Cultur der Dinge des alltäglichen Lebens' ['the culture of everyday objects'].

Loos's concern with the artefacts of everyday culture indicates that there are correspondences between the method underlying his *Kulturkritik* and Simmel's approach to sociology, since Simmel emphasises the insights to be gained through analysis of the 'mundane surface' of everyday life (Frisby 1992, p.165). Furthermore, it also suggests an affinity with the methods employed by Simmel's student, Kracauer who, expanding upon Simmel's work, has argued:

Der Ort, den eine Epoche im Geschichtsprozeß einnimmt, ist aus der Analyse ihrer unscheinbaren Oberflächenäußerungen schlagender zu bestimmen als aus den Urteilen der Epoche über sich selbst.
(Kracauer 1990b, p.57) [116]

Kracauer's analysis of surface phenomena represents a rejection of abstract philosophy and a manifesto for turning the attention of philosophy to concrete objects (Mülder 1985, p.86). However, the attention he pays to the neglected and isolated phenomena of everyday life is not an end in itself, but a means and method of tracing the contradictions and conflicts which characterise social existence, and how it has come to be constructed (p.95). Loos's emphasis on the importance of the 'mundane surface' in

⁸Indeed, teaching by walking through the city represents an important part of Loos's method both in his own *Bauschule* and also the courses which he held in the *Schwarzwaldschule* (1911/12) on the history of art, in the course of which Loos took his pupils on many excursions, visiting the *Stephansdom*, the *Haus am Michaelerplatz*, and various other apartments which he had designed (Hall 1985, p.95).

tracing the conflicts of modern life is underlined in his rejection of accusations of triviality in his answer to a question from the readership of the *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*:

Frage: Leinenunterkleidung?

Antwort: Sie üben Kritik an meinem Vortrag und kommen zu dem Schlusse, daß diese Dinge nebensächlich sind. 'In Leinwandunterhosen kann man auch glücklich sein.' Ganz richtig, wenn man die Nerven eines Menschen aus der Zeit 1780-1860 besitzt. Hat man aber unglücklicherweise die Nerven von heute, also moderne Nerven, so kann man das nicht.

(Loos [1919] 1983, p.177) [117]

The lecture to which Loos refers is one of a series of lectures which he gave in Vienna in 1918 (in the *Kleiner Konzerthausaal*) and repeated in 1919 (in the *Mittlerer Konzerthausaal*) (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.224; pp.238-9). The title of the series was 'Äußere Kultur im 20. Jahrhundert'; in other words, the focus of the lectures was on external culture, on the surface phenomena of cultural forms.⁹ Thus, like Simmel and Kracauer, Loos utilises the notion of a 'culture of things' in order to explore the nature of modernity in the city.

Moreover, although the analysis of fashion in the previous chapter exposed Loos's apparent failure to grasp the impossibility of reconciling subjective and objective culture in modernity, his analysis of a 'culture of things' functions to undermine this view. In 'Weihnachtsausstellung im österreichischen Museum', he complains that 'das Leben, das wir führen, steht mit den Gegenständen, mit denen wir uns umgeben, im Widerspruche' (Loos [1897] 1981, p.29) ['the lives we lead are at variance with the objects with which we surround ourselves' (Loos 1998, p.20)]. Juxtaposed with Simmel's ([1900] 1989,

⁹Loos ([1919] 1983, p.176) specifies that these lectures were based on earlier lectures given under the title, 'Vom Gehen, Stehen, Sitzen, Liegen, Schlafen, Essen, Trinken', in which he spoke of the cultural forms of everyday life. This comment confirms the circular nature of his textual *oeuvre* and the extent to which he used the lecture form to repeat and emphasise the same ideas time and time again. Loos first held a lecture under this title in Vienna (1911), as the guest of the *Städtischer Verband für Literatur und Musik* (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.155). See appendix 2 for details of other occasions on which Loos gave lectures under this title.

p.643) analysis of capitalist society as a world in which 'die kulturelle Steigerung der Individuen hinter der der Dinge - greifbarer wie funktioneller wie geistiger - merkwürdig zurückbleiben kann' ['curiously, the cultural growth of the individual can lag considerably behind the cultural growth of tangible as well as functional and intellectual objects' (Simmel 1990, p.463 – slightly amended)], Loos's comments suggests that Vienna, at the turn of the century, was not characterised by a balance between inner and outer culture, but rather by objective culture surging ahead of subjective culture.

The reality of the commodity world, grasped fully by both Simmel and Kracauer in their analyses of the 'culture of things', is that objective culture has become completely dissociated from subjective culture and social relations are expressed in terms of the relationship between things. In comparison, in Loos's textual *oeuvre*, the interior and by analogy, the city are depicted as a collection of things arranged by the individual, in which 'things are gathered and dwell with man' (Cacciari 1993, p.172). The dissonance between these two views of the city can be summarised as a distinction between space and place. Taking Heidegger's (1969) essay, *Die Kunst und der Raum*, as his point of departure, Cacciari traces the 'conquest of space' by the 'technico-scientific project' which he labels an act of 'Ent-ortung [dis-placement] of space' (p.167). The modern architectural project, concerned with planning, taking possession of, and dominating space represents this act of emptying space of place (p.166). In comparison, Loos's work represents a questioning of displacement and a corresponding 'search for place' which is aimed at 'showing the endless contradiction between the thought-out space of calculation, the equivalence of exteriors, and the possibility, the hope of a place' (Cacciari 1993, p.172). Cacciari is correct to identify Loos's hope of a place, in which subjective and objective culture will be reconciled, as his Utopia. However, in locating the hope of a place in the future, Cacciari fails to recognise the ultimately regressive nature of Loos's Utopia, which this study has revealed in its analyses of the figures of the Aristocrat, the Artisan and the Woman. In spatial terms, Loos reacts to the

destabilisation caused by the empty homogenous space of modernity by directing his search for place towards the stability of *Alt-Wien* ['old Vienna'].¹⁰ Just as his ideal interior is based on a dialectic of stability and change, so the city of Vienna as interior is based on a similar dialectic, articulated in terms of a tension between place and space, old and new. This dialectic of old and new is exemplified in the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition of 1898, to which we now turn our attention.

THE EXHIBITION AND THE MUSEUM

The series of articles which Loos wrote on the occasion of the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition of 1898 for the *Neue Freie Presse*¹¹ is arguably his most important textual work 'mit dem er in einem halben Jahr sein ganzes - *alle Bereiche der Alltagskultur analysierendes* - Gedankengebäude errichtete' (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.49 - my emphasis) ['with which in six months, he erected the framework for his analyses of all areas of everyday life'].¹² The articles represent the outcome of Loos's strolls through

¹⁰The term *Alt-Wien* denotes the centre of Vienna. Simultaneously, it connotes tradition and stability.

¹¹The articles appeared every Sunday from 8 May 1898 until 23 October 1898 (apart from 10 July, 21 August, 11 September, 18 September, 16 October). Until 3 July, Loos's articles appeared as the leading article in a section entitled 'Wiener Jubiläumsausstellung'. Thereafter, his reports appeared on their own. The exhibition itself, occupying 200,000 m² in the Prater, comprised seven different sections: trade, agriculture, welfare, youth, baker's, 'Urania' (adult education), and sport (Bürger 1898, p.158). It is with the trade exhibition that Loos's texts are concerned.

¹²In this context it is illuminating to quote from Loos's ([1924] 1982a, p.181) essay on Schönberg, in which Loos asserts that an artist's first work will always be 'the product of his milieu and his will'. However, 'in diesem ersten werk ist für den, der ohren hat zu hören und augen hat zu sehen, das ganze lebenswerk des künstleren enthalten' (p.181) ['for those who are willing to hear it and see it, an artist's lifework is contained in his first work']. This remark is of particular significance for Loos's textual *oeuvre* itself since a close examination of the structure of his work reveals that it is not based on the linear development of a particular theory. Instead, it is characterised by the 'eternal recurrence of the eversame,' as Loos uses repetition and reiteration to emphasise his point.

the 'exhibition city'. Focusing each week on a different group of exhibitors, he used the materials in the exhibition to present his project for cultural change and to comment upon existing forms of life in Vienna. However, his technique did not involve merely using the exhibited objects as a foil for his argument (Scheu 1909). Instead, 'diese Gegenstände bilden den wahren und eigentlichen Inhalt seiner Betrachtungen' (Scheu, cited in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.50) ['these objects represent the true and actual content of his observations']. In other words, Loos's articles represent an ethnography of the exhibition as an interior. They investigate a collection of objects which, both individually and as a result of their location in the constellation of objects that constitute the 'exhibition city' as interior, are imbued with symbolic meaning. The method developed in these articles represents the 'symbolic decoding of trivia' (Timms 1986, p.123), which allows Loos to 'draw sweeping anthropological conclusions from the cut of women's clothing, the shape of a button or the design of a salt-cellar' (p.124). In employing this method, Loos highlights the affinities between his work and that of Kraus and Ruskin who also 'excelled in this kind of cultural extrapolation' (p.123).¹³

The first article in the series, 'Die Ausstellungsstadt. Der neue Styl' (Loos [1898] 1983, pp.43-9), contains a panoramic perspective on the exhibition, providing the context and the location for the subsequent, more detailed, analyses of the individual groups of exhibitors.¹⁴ More importantly however, this article also defines the 'exhibition city' as

¹³However, Loos's focus on the exhibited objects, centring on their use value, does not recognise their commodity character which is an essential part of Benjamin's analysis of the world exhibitions: 'Die Weltausstellungen verklären den Tauschwert der Waren. Sie schaffen einen Raum, in dem ihr Gebrauchswert zurücktritt. Sie eröffnen eine Phantasmagorie, in die der Mensch eintritt, um sich zerstreuen zu lassen' (Benjamin 1982, p.50) ['The world exhibitions transfigure the exchange value of commodities. They create a space in which their use-value retreats. They open up a phantasmagoria which man enters into in order to allow himself to be distracted'].

¹⁴This panoramic view of the 'exhibition city' involves viewing the city from the outside. It provides a verbal map of the site, which functions first, as a representation of the exterior and second, to allow one to locate oneself and find one's way through the city as interior. However, this panoramic view functions to reveal a tension between the plan, as the representation of the city from the birds-eye perspective and the city as an inhabited (*erlebt*) interior. In the same way Cacciari (1993, p.183) argues that there is an

a site of modernity. Loos argues that the constellation of commodities which constitute the exhibition city as interior represents a new style suddenly forcing its way into Vienna – 'Über nacht ist er [der Styl] gekommen', proclaims Loos (p.43) at the start of the article ['The new style arrived over night']. However, at the end of the first paragraph, Loos revises his position, maintaining that the new style is still '*ante portas*' (p.43). Thus, the new style stands in relation to Vienna in the same way that Loos himself does; both are symbolically located 'draußen vor der Tür' (Borchert 1947).¹⁵

How does Loos characterise this new style whose imminent arrival he heralds? At present, it is a transitory style, a modern style which will last only as long as the exhibition (p.44). Indeed, the context of the exhibition is of paramount importance in defining the style, which desires to be nothing more than an exhibition style (p.44). However, argues Loos, the modernity of the exhibition has not succeeded in preventing architects who cannot work without a model from appropriating at random surrogate styles - a Greek temple or a mediaeval house, for example:

In dem griechischen Tempel wurde doch der Gottheit geopfert? Fehlgeschossen, Maschinen wurden darin aufgestellt. Und in dem mittelalterlichen Hause wurde wohl gar gefoltert? Schon gar nicht, die modernen Bildungsmittel kamen darin zur Ausstellung. Solche Ausstellungsbauten waren im besten Falle gute Witze, die man sich während der kurzen Zeit wohl gefallen ließ. (p.44) [118]

Nevertheless, such jokes quickly lose their appeal when continually repeated and the dedicated exhibition visitor demands novelty rather than repetition, and so the new

essential difference between seeing a house and inhabiting a house. Moreover, in 'Architektur', Loos ([1910] 1982a, p.93-4) plays on this distinction, criticising architects who reify the city through merely reading about it, writing about it, and drawing representations of it, rather than inhabiting it.

¹⁵In chapter two, it was argued that Loos, on his return from America, adopted the habitus of the stranger who, standing 'draußen vor der Tür' ['outside at the door'], has become alienated from his own culture.

style, Loos argues, must continually strive to articulate the new.¹⁶ In the present, this could be achieved, he suggests, if architects were not concerned to amuse exhibition tourists, but rather to ensure that the individual buildings articulate their purpose in the context of the exhibition (p.44).¹⁷ To achieve this, each building first, should articulate its fleeting existence; second, should artistically master the material from which it is constructed; third, should attract the attention of the masses; and '*last but not in any rate least*', its form should represent the objects exhibited within (p.45). However, the combination of these four conditions which represents the new style can, according to Loos, only be seen in a few buildings in the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition (p.45).¹⁸

At this point, it is illuminating to compare Loos's description of the 'new style' with Simmel's (1896) analysis of 'exhibition style'. The Berlin Trade Exhibition took place two years before the Kaiser Jubilee Exhibition and prompted Simmel to write an analysis of exhibitions which was published in *Die Zeit* on 25 July 1896.¹⁹ In his article, Simmel, like Loos, argues that the main point of exhibitions is to provide amusement. However, it is in Simmel's discussion of the 'exhibition style' articulated in the buildings of the exhibition, that striking parallels between Simmel's view and that of Loos reveal themselves. Simmel argues that the unique character of the 'exhibition

¹⁶Loos's analysis of the 'exhibition style' provides a neat illustration of Benjamin's (1974, p.677) view of fashion as the 'eternal recurrence of the new.' The exhibition tourist demands the new which the architects provide by recycling past styles. Thus, the exhibition mirrors the historicism which characterised much nineteenth century architecture and has its most visible monument in the shape of the Ringstraße.

¹⁷Thus, in his description of the 'new style', Loos values functionalism above historicism.

¹⁸A building which is singled out for praise by Loos is the exhibition hall for the interior designers, designed by Joze Plecnik (1872-1957), a student of Otto Wagner. He also praises Otto Wagner's design for a vitrine for the silversmith, Klinkosch, and compares its simplicity to the empty pomposity of the rococo pavilion next door (p.47). Loos's critique of the use of ornament in the exhibition echoes Hermann Bahr's views on the exhibition which he labels as an example of 'false Secession'. Bahr's article appeared in *Die Zeit* (07.05.1898: 90-91), the day before Loos's first article in his series on the exhibition.

¹⁹An English translation of this article appears in Simmel 1997, pp.255-8. The translations that appear in the text are taken from this version.

style' lies in 'eine ganz neue Proportion zwischen Festigkeit und Vergänglichkeit' (Simmel 1896, p.60) ['an entirely new proportion between permanence and transience']. This is a point which is recalled in Loos's description of the new style as a transitory style which survives only for the duration of the exhibition. Moreover, in his discussion of the use of material in exhibition architecture, which is clearly echoed by Loos two years later, Simmel notes that the fleeting 'exhibition style' is created 'aus einem Material, das doch wieder auf nicht beschränkte Dauer angelegt scheint' (p.60) ['from material that doesn't appear as if it was intended for temporary use'], and that therefore, represents the diametrical opposite to the usual architectural ideal: 'an vergänglichem Materiale die Ewigkeit der Formen zu verkörpern' (p.60) ['to use transient material to give expression to the permanent']. Thus, Loos's description of the 'new style' demonstrates an affinity with Simmel's analysis of the 'exhibition style'.

However, there are also significant differences between Loos's review of the Kaiser Jubilee Exhibition and Simmel's analysis of the Berlin Trade Exhibition, which can be traced to the differences between the exhibitions themselves. The Berlin Trade Exhibition of 1896 was regarded as signifying Berlin's rise to the status of modern metropolis and thus provided Simmel with an opportunity to describe the chaos and transitoriness of modern metropolitan life and its basis in the money economy (Frisby 1992, p.129). The Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition, on the other hand, set itself the task of depicting the achievements and changes of the fifty years of Franz Josef's reign (Bürger 1898, p.159), while also emphasising the stability and continuity which the figure of the Kaiser signified. This character of the exhibition is reflected in Loos's reports, which herald a 'new style' similar to the style of industrial capitalism contained in Simmel's article, while simultaneously embedding it in the context of traditional Viennese life. Indeed, Loos ([1898] 1983, p.43) argues it to be a good omen that these first signs of a new style have appeared in an exhibition taking place in honour of the Kaiser, who can

be regarded as the 'protector' of architecture in Vienna.²⁰ Thus, Loos's description of the 'new style' waiting to conquer Vienna is of a style simultaneously old and new. According to Scheu (1909), a sense of this simultaneity of old and new, reiterated throughout Loos's series of articles on the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition, was articulated in the contemporary reception of these articles in Vienna:

Wer war dieser dinghafte Mann, der solchen Zauber aus den gewöhnlichsten Gegenständen herausholte und soviel Glänzend-Selbstverständliches, Kindhaft-Einfaches, *Uralt-Neues* in so bestrickender Form zu sagen wußte? (Scheu, cited in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.50 - my emphasis) [119]

This question reflects the paradoxical nature of Loos's analysis, at once 'ancient' and 'new', which in turn, is a reflection of the character of the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition. Unlike the Berlin Trade Exhibition, it did not merely signify the mature money economy and the metropolis, but rather signified the tension between a capitalist mode of production and pre-capitalist structures of power, the dialectic of stability and change, which typifies Vienna as a site of modernity at the turn of the century.

Despite these basic differences between the objects of their analysis, there is another parallel between Simmel's and Loos's analyses of the exhibition, that lies in the manner in which the exhibition functions as a microcosm of the city, as an interior within the interior. In order to elaborate on this idea of the exhibition as an interior within the interior, we will now briefly leap forward in time and draw correspondences between Loos's reports on the 1898 exhibition and his report of a stroll, taken twenty years later, through the exhibitions in the newly-opened *Technisches Museum* (Loos [1918] 1983,

²⁰The centre-piece of the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition was the Kaiser's Jubilee Frieze in the *Rundgemälde-Palais*. This colossal painting comprised a life-size depiction of all the personalities that had played a role in public life during the reign of Kaiser Franz-Josef. It was divided into six parts, each of which was concerned with a different section of the Kaiser's life (Bürger 1898, pp.150-1). This imposing retrospective served to underline the stability of the long reign of Franz Josef.

pp.135-6).²¹ In a manner reminiscent of his series of articles on the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition, this text begins with a panoramic perspective of the museum, mapping out the building and its spatial context, before entering and describing the interior which, he maintains, avoids the 'panopticum effect' characteristic of many museums by being based on rooms connected by corridors rather than a group of large halls (p.136). In other words, mirroring the character of the modern city itself, an overview of this modern museum in its entirety is impossible from any one point in the interior.

Loos then commences his tour through the museum, pausing briefly to single out the exhibitions on the history of the machine and of transport – especially the prototype of an Austrian car, dating from 1875 – as the 'jewels' in the collection.²² But instead of lingering over these exhibitions, Loos moves on to the exhibition of mining which, he argues, because of its evocation of a dream world, signified by the association of the mine with the 'Wunder der Grottenbahn' ([1918] 1983, p.136) ['wonder of a ride through a fairy grotto'] will be the exhibit most popular with visitors. And here, there is a suggestion of a parallel with the *Passagenwerk*, in which Benjamin (1982, p.541) defines the city as 'die Realisierung des alten Menschheitstraumes vom Labyrinth' ['the realisation of mankind's ancient dream of the labyrinth'], thereby emphasising his argument that antiquity exists within modernity (Frisby 1985, p.209). Similarly, Loos's report of the interior of the newly-opened *Technisches Museum* – one of the new buildings in the collection of buildings and artefacts which constitute Vienna as interior – focuses on the 'sinnverwirrende Labyrinth der Stollen' (Loos [1918] 1983, p.136) ['labyrinth of tunnels which confuses the senses'], which characterises the exhibition on

²¹Loos begins his review with the remark that although the museum did not open until 1918, the building had been completed some years before. And indeed, Baedeker's (1913, p.100) guide to Vienna remarks that the building by Hans Schneider was nearing completion and due to open in 1914.

²²In his expression of a fascination for new technology, Loos demonstrates a marked departure from his concerns twenty years earlier. In his report of transport in the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition, Loos neglects the car in favour of a description of horse-drawn carriages of varying types, even though both 'Benzin-Phäetons' and an 'Elektrocoupe' were among the exhibits (Bürger 1898, p.109).

mining. In other words, located within the modern interior of Loos's Vienna, there exist fantastic ancient structures. Juxtaposed with Benjamin's analysis of the Parisian arcades, this suggests that the dream world of the exhibition is paralleled by the dream world of the city of Vienna.²³ And indeed, over eighty years after Loos's report of the exhibition in the *Technisches Museum* was published in the *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, Gerhard Roth (1991) published *Eine Reise in das Innere von Wien*, a collection of essays which, in Benjaminian fashion, explores the underground labyrinthine structures of *Alt-Wien*, revealing correspondences with the present.²⁴

Drawing explicit connections between the museum and the trade exhibition, Benjamin (1982, p.513) notes:

Mit diesem Durst nach Vergangenheit hat es meine Analyse als mit ihrem Hauptgegenstand zu tun. Das Innere des Museums erscheint in ihrem Lichte als ein ins Gewaltige gesteigertes Interieur. Zwischen 1850-1890 treten an die Stelle der Museen die Ausstellungen. Vergleich zwischen der ideologischen Basis der beiden. [120]

Investigating the nature of this 'ideological basis', Benjamin (1982, p.522) identifies a strong similarity between the museum and the department store, mediated by the bazaar. This parallel between the department store and the museum is extended to the trade exhibitions, which represent 'die hohe Schule, in der die vom Konsum abgedrängten

²³In the context of an investigation into Freud and the construction of modernity, Ferguson (1997) has recently explored the characteristics of Vienna as a dream city (pp.26-7) and the relationship between the dream and modernity (see especially pp.194-226).

²⁴In 'Die zweite Stadt', the point of departure for Roth's (1991, p.15) exploration of underground Vienna is the discovery of the skeleton of a man who had been buried alive under the *Minoritenkirche*. From here, he deconstructs the myth of an underground passage stretching from the *Hofburg* in the first district to the palace of Schönbrunn in the thirteenth, but affirms that the legendary labyrinth under Vienna had existed, dating back to the Turkish Sieges of 1529 and 1683. Then he turns to present-day Vienna, exploring the vast underground stores of the *Nationalbibliothek* (stretching from the Albertinaplatz to the Heldenplatz), as well as other cellars of the *Hofburg*, of the *Naturhistorisches Museum* and the *Kapuzinergruft*, the resting place of the Habsburgs.

Massen die Einführung in den Tauschwert lernten. "Alles ansehen. Nichts anfassen" (p.267) [the advanced school in which the masses, blown off course by processes of consumption, receive their introduction to exchange value. "Look, but don't touch"]. A hint of awareness of Benjamin's analysis of these correspondences between the museum and the exhibition, which are based on the commodity form, can be found in the section on museums in Loos's *Richtlinien für ein Kunstmuseum* (1919). Under the heading, 'New Museums', he proposes that 'local museums' should be erected which would be charged with collecting the 'trivia of history', the *Hausrat* of both the city-dweller and the country-dweller, and, highlighting the commodity character of the artefacts, he argues that the collections of these local museums should include anything which would otherwise be consumed by the antique trade (Loos [1919] 1983, p.154).

However, while Benjamin suggests that trade exhibitions and department stores have come to replace the museum, Loos's focus is on the transformation of the museum from a temple of high culture to a temple of the culture of things.²⁵ Benjamin's analysis is of a modernity characterised by the sense of flux signified by the circulation of commodities, while Loos focuses on the sense of stability signified by a collection of symbolic artefacts removed from the world of commodities. Indeed in *Das Andere*, Loos had already plead for the *Musealisierung* of city and its everyday artefacts, arguing that rather than being forgotten, the doorway to an artisan's shop soon to be pulled down should be preserved in the city museum, in the same way that in Berlin, the last market stall of the old market can now be gazed upon in the city museum (Loos 1903b, p.2).²⁶ Labyrinth-like, the interior of the museum encases the interiors of the individual house and the interior of the city, underlining the view of the city as a 'culture of things'.

²⁵Furthermore, in conceiving of the 'new museum' in terms of vernacular history and the presentation of the present, Loos is turning the 'gaze' from high culture, to the 'culture of things' some fifty years before the advent of Urry's (1990, pp.128-34) 'postmodern museum' in the 1960s.

²⁶Thus it is perhaps fitting that the interior of Loos's living room is now on permanent exhibition in the Historical Museum in Vienna as an interior within the interior.

Both the museum and the exhibition embody the representation of the city as a 'culture of things', as an interior (Benjamin 1982, p.514). However, whereas the exhibition focuses on the present, and is characterised by a sense of fleetingness, since it is supposed to last only a few months (Eco 1997b, p.204), the museum focuses on history, and is characterised by a sense of continuity. The paradox is that through documenting change, the museum connotes permanence and continuity, while the exhibition articulates change through its appearance as a snapshot of the city, frozen in time, with neither past nor future. Loos's Vienna as interior is both museum and exhibition, expressed in the tension between stability and change contained in his textual *oeuvre*. This dialectic, which characterises the nature of modernity in Vienna, is captured in Loos's ([1898] 1983, p.27) description of the poster designed for the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition, that was itself predicated, as we have seen, on a dialectic of stability and change:

Eine Aufzählung aller der Objecte, die im verhältnismäßig kleinen Raum neben, über, unter und aufeinander Platz gefunden haben, ergibt folgende Liste: Inschriften: *Viribus unitis*. 1848-1898. Figurales: Eine Austria. Heraldisches: Der Reichsadler, die Wappen von Habsburg-Lothringen, Nieder-Oesterreich und der Stadt Wien, die Kaiserkrone, das Reichszepter. Decoratives: Eine mächtige Lamperie, etliche Lorbeerfestons, ein laufender Hund, ein Mäander. Embleme: Die Embleme des Ackerbaues, der Industrie, des Handels, des Obstbaues und der Wissenschaft. [...] Landschaften: Eine Vogelperspective von Alt-Wien und eine solche von Neu-Wien. [121]

In the same article, Loos maintains that the modernity of the montage principle used to create this poster is in keeping with the mood of the exhibition which it advertises, an exhibition 'devoted to progress' (p.28) (see fig. 21).

And yet despite its modernity, attributed to the new constellation of these various signifiers, the poster is also a tribute to stability, for the individual signifiers, including the dates signifying the fifty years of Kaiser Franz Joseph's reign, the coat of arms of the



Fig. 21. Poster for the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition (1898).
(Courtesy of the Historisches Museum, Vienna)

Habsburgs, and the *Reichsadler*, connote continuity and permanence. The panoramas of both *Alt-Wien* and *Neu-Wien* are perhaps the most legible symbol of the dialectic of stability and change which characterises Loos's Vienna. However, reading the poster itself throws Loos's modernity further into question, for *Neu-Wien* is not, as one would expect, represented by a panorama of the new suburbs incorporated during the expansion of the city boundaries in 1890.²⁷ Instead, it is represented by a view of the Ringstraße, the visible symbol of the rise of the liberal bourgeoisie in the 1860s and the target of modernists' critique by 1898, ostensibly including Loos ([1898] 1983, pp.55-8) himself.²⁸ A curious image of modernity, the poster for the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition confirms our analysis that Loos's textual *oeuvre* articulates a structure of feeling often distinctly pre-modern.

***DAS ANDERE* (1903)**

In *Das Andere*, Loos uses a similar technique to the one he employed in his series of articles on the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition. Strolling through Vienna and collecting fragments of modern life, he comments on themes such as the contradictory nature of the prevailing distaste for economic questions ('How the State cares for us'), analysis of the commodity form ('What we are sold'), critique of the ideology of individual action ('What we read'), and the analysis of popular culture ('What we hear and see'). Just as his analysis of the function of the museum turned the spotlight from high culture to the world of everyday things, so in *Das Andere*, he focuses on new bourgeois forms of

²⁷As part of a series of articles on the architecture of Vienna, Ludwig Abels (1898, pp.57-8) published a critique of 'Das neue Wien' in *Die Zeit*.

²⁸As we shall see, however, Loos's critique of the historicism of the Ringstraße is a partial critique which focuses on residential buildings, leaving the representational buildings largely unscathed.

entertainment, as opposed to the established *Hofburgtheater*.²⁹ He tours the sites of variety theatre in Vienna – the *Colosseum*, the *Theater an der Wien*, and the *Ronacher* theatre – observing and commenting on the revues. Variety theatre, whose programmes were characterised by constant turnover and a continual search for the new, has been characterised as an archetypal site of modernity, reflecting the continuous flux and circulation typical of the structure of the metropolis (Nenno 1997, pp.148-9).³⁰ Thus, in comparison to the stability and permanence signified by the *Musealisierung* of the city, the focus of *Das Andere* appears to be the processes of circularity and change typical of the modern metropolis.

Indeed, Loos's reports of the variety theatres in Vienna, often focusing on dance, suggest a parallel between his work and Kracauer's analysis of the relationship between modern dance and the modernity of the city. Although in the first issue of *Das Andere*, Loos restricts himself, in truly bourgeois fashion, to criticising the overtly sexual tone of the performance of a troupe of dancing girls, which he characterises as 'eine ordinäre leg show' (Loos 1903a, p.7 – English is used in the original), the second issue of the journal hints at a different view. In his review of the programme on offer at the *Ronacher* theatre, Loos launches into a discussion of the cake walk, focusing on the performance of the comedian, Josef Modl:³¹

Hätten sich doch die Herrschaften, die im Theater an der Wien zu ihrem Vergnügen cake walk tanzen, den früher angesehen. Dann hätten sie auch

²⁹At this time in Vienna, the rebuilt and extended *Hofburgtheater* and Opera House represented the coalition between the aristocracy and the upwardly-mobile bourgeoisie (Ehalt 1986, p.328).

³⁰Ehalt (1986, p.332) provides a grotesque example of the continual search for the new which characterises the form of the revue. In January 1918, when the war was all but lost and Austria was suffering badly from its effects, the programme in the *Ronacher* theatre brought to the stage the air attacks on Batavia and a submarine battle which Austria had won. Moreover, there was praise from the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* for the 'lavish decor and costumes' used in the revue.

³¹In volume six of the *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon*, Josef Modl (1863-1915) is described as one of the most popular performers in the *Ronacher*. He was a permanent employee of the theatre from 1889.

gesehen, daß man das auch zum Vergnügen, ja zum hellen Jubel des Publikums tun kann. Wenn eine Dame cake walk tanzt, muß man über ihre Grazie entzückt sein, tut es ein Komiker, so muß man aus vollem Halse lachen können. Das Wort cake walk, oder das Bewußtsein des Publikums, die oder der tanzt cake walk, tut's noch nicht. (Loos 1903b, p.8) [122]

In this passage, Loos argues that although the Viennese dancers of the Cake Walk may still believe that this dance form is imbued with the same meaning as earlier forms of dance, which underlined the dominant form of social intercourse (Bie 1905), Modl demonstrates the lack of cultural meaning signified by a dance which is now a comic spectacle.³² In other words, this passage demonstrates a correspondence between Loos's reports of variety theatre in Vienna and Kracauer's analysis of the lack of meaning which characterises modern dance, contained in 'Die Reise und der Tanz' (first published in 1925):

Statt daß [der moderne Gesellschaftanz] bestimmte Gehalte in der Zeit zum Ausdruck brächte, ist diese selber sein eigentlicher Gehalt. War in Epochen des Beginns der Tanz eine Handlung des Kultus, so ist er heute ein Kult der Bewegung, war früher der Rhythmus eine erotisch-seelische Bekundung, so möchte heute der sich selbst genügende Rhythmus die Bedeutung aus sich erst entlassen. Tempo, das nichts will als sich allein: dies die geheime Intention der Jazz-Weisen, wie negerplastisch ihre Herkunft auch sei. (Kracauer 1990a, p.290) [123]

Modern dance has departed from its earlier position as movement which holds meaning and become movement that is solely self-referential. It is illuminating to note that Loos makes a similar point in 'Ornament und Verbrechen' when discussing the status of ornament in modern society:

Da das Ornament nicht mehr organisch mit unserer kultur zusammenhängt, ist es auch nicht mehr der ausdrück unserer kultur. Das ornament, das heute

³²The Cake Walk became popular in various European cities at the turn of the century. It represented the first introduction of Afro-American dance into Europe, quickly becoming a popular social dance in high society (Calendoli 1986, p.246).

geschaffen wird, hat keinen zusammenhang mit uns, hat überhaupt keine menschlichen zusammenhänge, keinen zusammenhang mit der weltordnung. (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.84) [124]

Thus, his critique of modern ornament is tied up with its loss of meaning and its status as an empty signifier. It therefore explicitly articulates the sense of modernity hinted at in Loos's earlier reviews of dance.

Loos's interest in dance, first documented in *Das Andere*, continued throughout his lifetime. He was known as a talented dancer and indeed, in 1919, he even gave dance lessons at the prestigious Elmayer dance school in Vienna (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.268). In 1926, he gave a lecture in Berlin on the socio-cultural difference between the Charleston and Blackbottom, in which, according to a report that appeared in *Die literarische Welt* (Dolbin 1926, p.11), he argued that the steps of the Charleston, unlike those of the Blackbottom, represented cultural progress. Unfortunately, Dolbin's report is short and we learn little more about this lecture, apart from the fact that Loos gracefully demonstrated his point with the assistance of a number of beautiful women. However, an investigation into the form of the dances allows us to surmise the import of Loos's lecture. Both the Charleston and the Blackbottom were imported to Europe from North America. The difference between the dances lies in the steps themselves. The Charleston, characterised by lifting the lower leg quickly upwards and sideways while keeping the knees together, and based on a staccato rhythm, gives an impression of lightness and speed. In comparison, the basic step of the Blackbottom involves a stamping rhythm, which lends the dance a slow and clumsy appearance (Schneider 1985). If the Charleston signified a graceful increase in tempo, while the Blackbottom was characterised by awkwardness of movement, then it becomes clear why Loos, who constantly equated modernity with an increase in tempo (for example, Loos [1898] 1981, p.115), favoured the Charleston above the Blackbottom.

It is likely that Loos's interest in the Charleston stemmed from his fascination with Josephine Baker, at whose hand he once claimed to have learned the steps of the dance (Claire Loos, cited in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.323) (see fig. 22).³³ His analysis of the modernity of the Charleston and his fascination with Baker is typical of the modern European avant-garde's preoccupation with others and, in particular, with the primitive (Nenno 1997, pp.153-5).³⁴ In the eyes of her Berlin audiences, Baker was both an American, and therefore modern, and also a woman with coloured skin, and therefore, a symbol of the primitive Other. Her ambivalent status and her immense popularity meant that her performances 'negotiated discourses about the relationship of the primitive and modernity' (Nenno, 1997, p.146). However, well before Baker's appearance on the European cultural scene, in Vienna at the turn of the century, dance already functioned as a signifier of the Other within. Thus, in his sketch of 'gay Vienna', Schnitzler (1954, p.112) cites a visitor from Germany who described Strauss's waltzes as 'African and hot-blooded, crazy with life'.

Moreover, dance was not the only form of entertainment in Vienna to be concerned with the Other within. In *Das Andere*, Loos's analysis of popular culture includes a report of the amusement park, 'Venice in Vienna' (*Venedig in Wien*), the name of which alone mirrors the notion of the Other ('Venice') within ('Vienna').³⁵ This characteristic of *Venedig in Wien* is articulated in Kraus's satirical description:

Nach Venedig führt uns ein direkter Omnibus vom Stephansplatz für 10 Kreuzer. [...] 'Venedig in Wien' ist sozusagen ein populärer Leitfaden des

³³From 1924, Loos lived in Paris which represented the centre of European jazz reception. Indeed, Hill (1996, p.228) describes Montmartre as 'a trans-Atlantic reflection of Harlem'. Josephine Baker's European debut took place in Paris in 1925, and 'the way she flung her arms and legs in the Charleston signified liberty, freedom and the throwing off of old restraints' (pp.236-7). However, as the Charleston and other dances became Europeanised they became more athletic and less sensual (p.239)

³⁴Documenting the avant-garde's fascination with the primitive, Nenno (1997, p.153) cites Yvan Goll's remark that, 'Negros dance with their senses. (While Europeans can only dance with their minds).'

³⁵Rubey and Schönwald (1996) provide a detailed historical account of *Venedig in Wien*.

I am grateful to Jill Steward for bringing the significance of *Venedig in Wien* to my attention.



Fig. 22. Caricature of Josephine Baker performing the charleston.

(Nenno 1997)

echten Venedig, der alle Vorstellungen, die man sich von der Lagunenstadt machen kann, in leicht faßlicher Kürze und sehr anschaulicher Darstellung behandelt, eine Ausgabe für Minderbemittelte. (Kraus 1987c, p.256) [125]

What was the character of this 'popular introduction to the real Venice'? Helga Malmberg, Peter Altenberg's long-suffering companion, provides us with a more detailed description of *Venedig in Wien*:

Man hatte einen Teil des Terrains [im 'Nobelprater'] künstlich zu einer italienischen Landschaft umgewandelt. In den blühenden Gebüschchen hingen elektrische Lampions. Ein riesiges Restaurant mit Terrassen und farbigen Plachen lag an einem künstlichen Canale grande, der die Hauptattraktion bildete. Wenn es dunkel wurde und die Lampions aufstrahlten, fuhren auf wimpelgeschmückten Gondeln italienisch gekleidete Gondolieri und sangen in dieser magischen Beleuchtung das unvermeidliche, entsetzlich abgesungene 'Santa Lucia'.

(Malmberg, cited in Altenberg 1974, pp.40-1) [126]

To create this elaborate illusion of *Venedig in Wien*, the theatre director, Gabor Steiner, commissioned the architect, Oskar Marmorek (1863-1909) and the painter, Ferdinand Moser, to recreate a selection of old Venetian buildings, as well as to design a canal system which faithfully reproduced the Viennese system (Kristan 1996, pp.186-91) (see fig. 23). The result was 'keine Copie eines bestimmten Platzes, sondern gleichsam eine Paraphrase von Venedig' (Marmorek, cited in Kristan 1996, p.187) ['not a copy of a specific place, but rather, so to speak, a paraphrase of Venice']. The location for this grand illusion was the Prater, the former Royal park gifted to the people of Vienna by Joseph II (which had also provided the location for the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition). Originally a Royal playground, the Prater is a significant element of *Alt-Wien* and therefore, the ideal location for an amusement park designed to resuscitate *Alt-Wien*, which was modelled on the representation of Old Edinburgh that formed part of the 1886 exhibition in Edinburgh (Marmorek, cited in Kristan 1996, p.186). The amusement park, which was opened on 22 May 1895, included restaurants, bars, shops



Fig. 23. Venedig in Wien.
(Rubey and Schoenwald 1996)

selling Italian glassware and furniture, band stands and theatres, all housed in the Venetian buildings (pp.188-90) and on the Venetian *campi*. One particular attraction, which illustrates the complex nature of the illusion upon which *Venedig in Wien* was built, was the restaurant 'Vienna a Venezia' situated on the 'Campo Zobenico', which Kristan (1996, p.188) describes as representing 'a piece of Viennese cultural life in the middle of Venice'. A further attraction was a ride in one of the specially-made gondolas, imported from Venice and manned by gondoliers in 'authentic' costume (Rubey and Schoenwald 1996, p.44). Throughout the summer, there were concerts and theatre performances in the specially-built theatres. Moreover, in 1896, Thomas Edison's newest inventions were displayed in 'Venezia Murano' (Kristan 1996, p.188). The popularity of *Venedig in Wien* is documented by the number of tourists it attracted; in its first year alone, it had 2 million visitors (p.191).

However, Kristan (1996, p.191) notes that by 1901, 'Venice' had disappeared from the Prater, having been replaced by Egyptian, Spanish and Japanese buildings and squares. The Venetian elements may have disappeared, but the name at least remained. Thus, in his analysis of *Venedig in Wien* that appeared in the second issue of *Das Andere*, Loos (1903b, p.7) bemoans the deterioration of this summer event which, he argues, represents Vienna's only saving grace in the summer evenings. However, having ascertained that *Venedig in Wien* has deteriorated, Loos then warns against attempts to rid it of scandalous elements. Pointing to the example of Ostende, a city 'cleaned up' by the State and never again popular with the nobility, Loos drives to the heart of the Other within, which is dangerous and scandalous but at the same time, necessary. Thus, his report of *Venedig in Wien* echoes Bakhtin's (1984) description of the 'carnavalesque'. Like Bakhtin, Loos suggests that carnival allows liberation from inscribed logonomic systems:

Venedig in Wien, die Karnevale in den ehrsamten deutschen Städten, Ostende, Monte Carlo, die Opernredouten, alle diese Stätten und Veranstaltungen sind aus dem tiefen Bedürfnisse entstanden, sich an der Möglichkeit einer freien Lebensauffassung zu berauschen.

(Loos 1903b, p.7) [127]

However, Loos's evocation of the signifier remains in the domain of the Other within. Whereas Bakhtin's analysis focuses on the subversive nature of carnival, Loos's description suggests that such attractions as *Venedig in Wien* allow a voyeuristic glimpse into another world too threatening to be fully embraced. In this way, 'carnival' loses its subversive potential to a 'safety valve' function, sanctioned by official culture. Moreover, while Bakhtin emphasises the popular nature of the carnival, Loos's article on *Venedig in Wien* emphasises its function as a tourist attraction for the 'wirklich feine, vornehme und reiche Leute' (Loos 1903b, p.7) ['the truly noble, refined and rich']. This comment suggests that despite the rhetoric of the advertising brochure for 'Venice in Vienna' (1896), which maintained that 'alle Schichten der Gesellschaft fühlten sich hier alsbald zu Hause' (Kristan 1996, p.191) ['members of all social classes quickly felt at home here'], and despite Gabor Steiner's specially discounted prices on Wednesdays (Ehalt 1986, p.333), *Venedig in Wien* remained largely the preserve of the middle and upper classes.

However, Loos's exploration of Vienna contained in *Das Andere* does not remain completely within the bounds of bourgeois life, but also takes him into other areas of the city which represent the Other, satisfying the voyeuristic appetites which he identifies in his account of *Venedig in Wien*. Under the rubric 'Wie der Staat für uns sorgt' ['How the State provides for us'], Loos discusses children selling cheap newspapers in the Prater, and then traces these newspaper sellers to their locations outside the Prater. This leads him to an analysis of the proletarian interior and of the accommodation for the homeless provided in Vienna. His provocative description of proletarian life, couched in terms which recall Kraus's (1987a) 'Sittlichkeit und Kriminalität' (Cacciari 1993, p.160), aims

at subverting the moral panic associated with the hostels for the homeless, by comparing them favourably to the situation in the proletarian private sphere:

Die Gefahren der Straße - Kinder gehören in die Familie.

Sehen wir uns diese Familie näher an. Vater, Mutter und so und so viel Kinder. In dem Zimmer wird gekocht, gegessen und geschlafen. Abends und im Laufe der Nacht kommen die Schlafburschen und die Schlafmädels. [...] Ich weiß nicht, ob es angeht, die Ärzte zu verhalten, jede geschlechtliche Krankheit an Patienten unter 14 Jahren zur Anzeige zu bringen. Ein Jahr solcher Statistik würde den stumpfsinnigen Ruf, daß das Kind in die Familie gehöre, bald zum Schweigen zu bringen. *Es gibt keine Gefahr der Straße.* Die steht unter dem Schutze der Öffentlichkeit. *Es gibt nur eine Gefahr der Familie.*

(Loos 1903a, p.3 – my emphasis) [128]

In this passage, Loos points specifically to the threat of the Other within, contrasting polemically the threat of sexuality within the family to the relative safety of the street. In other words, the usual connotation of the street – 'danger' – is subverted and the meaning is imputed to a different signifier, the family. In this view, as Loos points out in *Das Andere*, he is close to the ideas of playwright, Frank Wedekind (1919), expressed in *Frühlings Erwachen*. Thus, Loos's texts attempt to rewrite the cultural meaning of 'family'.³⁶

However, Loos's brief reportage on proletarian life in Vienna in 1903, highlighting the 'danger of the family' and refusing to enter into the moral panic on the state of hostel

³⁶In *Das Andere*, Loos (1903b, p.5) wrote of *Frühlings Erwachen*: 'Eine Kindertragödie. Hat man die ersten Seiten gelesen, so sagt man sich: Aha, ein pornographisches Buch. Kinder, die sich über sexuelle Probleme unterhalten. Aber man liest weiter und weiter. Das Buch behält den Ton dabei. Es wird immer "ärger" und "ärger". Und wenn man das Buch zuklappt, dann sitzt man erschüttert da. Wenn dieses Buch doch jeder Vater, jede Mutter, jeder Lehrer lesen würde!' ['a childhood tragedy. After reading the first pages, you say to yourself, "Ah yes, a pornographic book. Children talking about their sexual experiences." But you read on. The book maintains the same tone. It becomes "worse" and "worse". And when you finally close the book, you sit there in shock. If only every father, every mother, every teacher would read this book!']

accommodation for the homeless, exposes the extent of his ignorance about the realities of the dark side of Viennese modernity lurking in its back courts. First, his snapshot of urban proletarian life in Vienna, focusing on the 'dangers of the family', although certainly a fitting description of some families, cannot hope to express the actual differentiation in the lifestyles of the Viennese proletariat at the turn of the century, documented by Sieder (1986). Second, his corresponding idealisation of the hostels for homeless youngsters³⁷ reveals a lack of knowledge of the actual problem of homelessness in Vienna at the turn of the century. For the single working-class person, the only alternative to accommodation as a *Bettgeher* (simply renting a bed) in overcrowded small apartments was to seek a place in a hostel or refuge (John 1986, p.174). The hostels however, far from the ideal expressed in *Das Andere* of a clean place to sleep and to eat, were crowded and dirty; their only advantages were that they were cheap and centrally situated (p.174).³⁸

Despite its serious shortcomings, the brief description of the urban proletariat contained in *Das Andere* does represent an isolated occasion in Loos's early texts in which his analysis of Vienna moves from the city centre to the suburbs. And it is significant that the place in which he first comes into contact with members of the proletariat in this early period is in the Prater. The former Royal park, opened to the people of Vienna by Joseph II, represented, as Edward Crankshaw recognises ([1938] 1976, p.38) in his travelogue of Vienna, a location in which people of all classes could mingle:

³⁷Loos may well have first come into contact with the idea of hostels for youngsters at the Chicago World Exhibition. According to the *English-German Guide* to the exhibition, at the Congress for Moral and Social Reform held concurrently with the trade exhibition, the desirability of founding hostels for newspaper boys in American cities was discussed under the heading of 'indirect charity' (Cornely 1892, p.106). In *Das Andere*, Loos (1903b, p.4) explicitly refers to such hostels in America as an example which could be followed in Vienna.

³⁸The men's hostel in the Meldemannstraße 25-27 in Brigittenau, which was opened in 1905, has since achieved notoriety as the erstwhile (from 1909 to 1913) abode of Adolf Hitler, and has been ironically labelled the 'Hitlervilla' (Roth 1991, p.89).

There is one place above all others which shows a full cross-section of the populace. It has offered that same section [...] for the last century and more. This is the astonishing park called the Prater, *where rich and poor can both mingle and cultivate their own preserves*. (my emphasis)

However, as Loos's ignorance of the actual conditions of the Viennese proletariat suggests, and Crankshaw's remark about the preservation of difference reiterates, the Prater, although representing a place in which all classes mingled, did not represent a place in which they interacted. In other words, despite its status as a location of amusements and leisure pursuits in which it can be safely assumed, to paraphrase Barthes (1986, p.96), that ludic forces met and erupted, the Prater does not represent the same possibilities for meeting the Other that are contained in the empty homogenous space of the modern city centre. Instead, the Prater represents a microcosm of Vienna itself, mirroring the social difference which characterised the city at the turn of the century and expressing it in geographical divisions; while the Hauptallee was the place of display of the upper classes (Zweig [1944] 1970), and *Venedig in Wien*, the playground of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie (Rubey and Schoenwald 1996), the dream world of the *Wurstelprater* was the place occupied by the proletariat (Salten 1911).³⁹

These geographical divisions in the Prater are brought most sharply into focus in the moment in which they are transgressed. On 1 May 1890, the first worker's marches took place in Vienna and in all, on the day in which the workers in Vienna demonstrated to the world 'wie man ein proletarisches Klassenfest zu feiern hat' (Engels, cited in Fricke 1990, p.278) ['how the proletariat should celebrate'], sixty workers' meetings

³⁹Throughout his description of the *Wurstelprater* and the social types circulating there, Salten (1911) plays with the notion of illusion. On the one hand, the *Wurstelprater* is the site of an adventure which suspends the realities of everyday life, on the other hand, its grotesque illusions, such as the 'woman without legs' (*Dame ohne Unterleib*), suggest that there are realities worse than those of everyday life. Salten's physiognomy of the *Wurstelprater* constitutes a description of an interior within the interior that is the Prater.

were held throughout Vienna (Fricke 1990, p.278). As part of their demonstrations, the workers marched into the Prater and along the Hauptallee, the preserve of the upper classes. In *Die Welt von Gestern*, Zweig ([1944] 1970, pp.79-80) recalls the symbolic force of this transgression of boundaries:

Die Arbeiter hatten [...] beschlossen, in geschlossenem Zuge in den Prater zu ziehen, und zwar in die Hauptallee, wo sonst an diesem Tage nur die Wagen und Equipagen der Aristokratie und der reichen Bürgerschaft in der schönen, breiten Kastanienallee ihren Korso hielten. Entsetzen lähmte bei dieser Ankündigung die gute liberale Bürgerschaft. [129]

The horror of the upper classes at the workers' appropriation of a location they regarded as their own demonstrates that although ostensibly a meeting place with the Other, the social divisions that characterised Vienna were not suspended in the Prater.

The Viennese workers' symbolic transgression of existing social boundaries by marching along the Hauptallee in the Prater was an echo of the worker's demonstrations that took place in 1886 in Hyde Park, London's equivalent to the Prater, and specifically in Rotten Row, Hyde Park's equivalent of the Hauptallee (Williams 1980, p.4).⁴⁰ As a result of these demonstrations, the right of meeting and speaking in Hyde Park was introduced (p.5). Since then, linked inextricably to the image of Speakers' Corner, 'Hyde Park' has signified a bourgeois public sphere in which everyone has the right to participate.⁴¹ However, in the context of *Das Andere*, 'Hyde Park' functions as a more complex signifier. Representing the centre of Western culture (Loos 1903a, p.8), it

⁴⁰Like the Prater, Hyde Park was originally a Royal park later presented to the public. The similarities between the two parks was highlighted in the *Builder* which described the Prater as 'par excellence, the Hyde Park of Vienna' (cited in Olsen 1986, p.245).

⁴¹In a satirical description of his visit to Hyde Park, Karel Capek (1925, p.37) focuses on the varied opinions on offer in Speaker's Corner: 'I [...] listened to a sermon on Socialism and to the gospel of a Metropolitan Secular Society; I stood for a while by some tiny debating groups; one extremely tattered gentleman was vindicating the conservative principles of society [...]. His adversary was an evolutionary socialist who had every appearance of being a superior bank clerk.'

provides the geographical location for the figure of the English Gentleman and indeed, mirrors the fusion of bourgeois and aristocratic elements signified by this figure. While Speakers' Corner represents the democratic impulse of the modern bourgeois public sphere, Rotten Row signifies the power located in the aristocracy – the 'beste Gesellschaft' of Loos's analysis. Thus, in the context of *Das Andere*, 'Hyde Park' functions to emphasise the dialectic of old and new. Similarly the Prater, like Hyde Park, originally the preserve of royalty but more recently, the site of struggles for democracy, also signifies the interaction of old and new.

At the outset of this section it was suggested that in *Das Andere*, Loos's focus on the empty rhythm of modern dance and the circular form of the revue served to emphasise an image of Vienna as a modern metropolis. However, a more detailed analysis of the journal has demonstrated that an awareness of the circularity of modernity is undermined by the hierarchical structure of *Alt-Wien* which pervades the forms of entertainment located in the Prater. The illusion of *Venedig in Wien* does not only work by recreating another city within the city. It also provides an illusion of the new in the heart of *Alt-Wien*, illustrated in the exhibition of Edison's latest inventions and the transformation of 'Venetian' into 'Egyptian, Spanish and Japanese' buildings. Like the Kaiser's Jubilee Exhibition, the presentation of the new is firmly located in the old. Indeed, it ultimately serves to maintain and strengthen the old.

WOHNUNGSWANDERUNGEN (1907)

Loos's 'tour of homes' ('Wohnungswanderungen') of 1907 represent another example of his method of strolling through, gazing on, and commenting upon Vienna. However, in comparison to *Das Andere* which documents Loos's solitary and to an extent, arbitrary movements through the city, the 'Wohnungswanderungen' were conceived as a tour

through his Vienna – in the dual sense of the Vienna which he inhabited and the Vienna which he had designed – to present his work to an audience.⁴² While in *Das Andere*, he had metaphorically described himself as a 'Fremdenführer für Kulturfremde' ['tourist guide for strangers to culture'], the 'Wohnungswanderungen' find him embodying this role. The collection of objects that formed the basis for Loos's 'Wohnungswanderungen' is recorded in a privately-published brochure (Loos [1907] 1983, pp.107-15). On 8 December 1907, an article based on the brochure appeared in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, advertising the tour which was planned for the 10-11 December.⁴³ However, no equivalent advertisements appeared in the Viennese press (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.109). Unfortunately, there are no reports of the tours which would offer clues about how many interested parties Loos had, or about their identity. However, Loos's brochure contains pointers towards the participants that he anticipated:

Ich rechne vor allem damit, daß diejenigen sich an den Wanderungen beteiligen werden, die berufen sind, uns Wohnungen zu schaffen. Das sind unsere Tischler, Tapezierer und Dekorateure. Aber eine Berufsklasse ist ausgeschlossen: Das sind die Architekten!
(p.110)⁴⁴ [130]

⁴²Loos consistently refused to have his architectural work photographed and published in architectural journals. His 'Wohnungswanderungen', maintaining a belief in the aura of the original, represent a rejection of what Colomina (1994) has termed 'architecture as mass media'.

⁴³The article was given the title 'Wohnungsmoden' and appeared with an editorial comment, distancing the editors from the views expressed in the essay (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.110).

⁴⁴The back cover of the brochure also states clearly that 'Ausführungen von Wohnungen werden nur von solchen Bestellern entgegengenommen, die das tiefste Bedürfnis dazu treibt. Snobs sind ausgeschlossen. Die Zimmer werden nicht in den Kunstzeitungen publiziert und Wanderungen nicht mehr veranstaltet' (Loos [1907] 1988, p.115) ['Commissions will only be accepted from those who are driven by the deepest need. Snobs are barred. The rooms will not be published in art journals and tours will not take place again']. There is a clear echo of his tale of the 'poor rich man' in this disclaimer; people who, like the poor rich man, want to increase their own profile through having their homes decorated in the most modern fashion and then publishing the results, are dismissed by Loos as 'Snobs'. This also recalls his criticism of the Parvenu (chapter 4), as well as of the Gigerl (chapter 5).

Moreover, the tour has a prehistory, contained in an article by the art critic, Ludwig Hevesi⁴⁵ ([1909] 1986, pp.284-8), that originally appeared in the *Fremdenblatt* on 22 November 1907, which provides us with an insight into the nature of these tours. In his article, Hevesi describes how, over a matter of weeks, he had been escorted by Loos through a variety of apartments which Loos had worked on throughout Vienna. Hevesi's description of Loos as 'tour guide' through his Vienna is illuminating:

Wer ihm so nachschreiben könnte, wenn er so halblaut vor sich hin monologisiert; was er dann für Dialog hält. In lauter zwei Zentimeter langen Satzteilen; nie ein Punkt, lauter Strichpunkte gleichsam. Manches schlagende Epigramm und einleuchtende Gleichnis darunter.

(Hevesi [1909] 1986, p.286) [131]

This passage allows a number of insights into Loos's *oeuvre*. First, Hevesi's use of the subjunctive points to the difficulty of translating the spoken word, the oral form of communication which Loos prized, into a written form. Second, Hevesi's final sentence points to the importance of interpretation of Loos's texts which contain some 'striking epigrams and lucid allegories', but by implication, also contain much to be sifted through and discarded. Finally, Hevesi hints at the tales through which Loos, the Storyteller, comments on his Vienna.

Although the brochure is entitled '*Wohnungswanderungen*' (my emphasis), the first building encountered on the tour is the business premises of Goldman & Salatsch in the Graben, and the third, the business premises of Sigmund Steiner in the Kärntnerstraße.

Despite Loos's insistence that the tours would not be repeated, there is evidence, in the shape of a newspaper article which appeared in the *Neues Wiener Journal* on 5 March 1916, to suggest that similar tours through interiors designed by Loos took place that year.

⁴⁵Hevesi had already published critiques of Loos's work, including two articles dating to 1899 which concern themselves with Loos's first architectural project in Vienna, the Cafe Museum (Hevesi [1906] 1984, pp.174-5; [1899] 1985, pp.10-12).

Hevesi's account of his personal tour of Vienna in the company of Loos also begins with a description of this 'Schmuckfedernladen' in the Kärntnerstraße – comparing the interior to Loos's personal appearance and thereby underlining Loos's comment that there is a curious correspondence between the appearance of people and the appearance of buildings. Hevesi's article continues by examining the interior of the tailor's shop, Goldman & Salatsch, before coming to a standstill in front of the bureau de change opposite the *Stock-im-Eisen*, and proclaiming that '[Loos] ist der geborene Wechselstubenarchitekt' (Hevesi [1907] 1988, p.16) ['Loos is a born bureau de change architect']. This comment highlights the sense of circulation which represents the underlying characteristic linking the first buildings encountered on the 'Wohnungswanderungen'. Loos's tour begins in modern capitalist Vienna, signified by the bureau de change, an important site of the circulatory nature of the money economy, and emphasised by the world of fashion, represented by Goldman & Salatsch and Steiner. However, the juxtaposition of the bureau de change with the *Stock-im-Eisen*, an uprooted pine stump studded with nails which is the ancient emblem of Vienna (Baedeker 1913, p.28), serves to signify the close spatial link between *Neu-Wien* and *Alt-Wien*.

In the course of the 'Wohnungswanderungen', Loos does not remain in the public sphere of central Vienna. Instead, he moves into the private sphere, touring a variety of apartments and houses upon which he had worked. However, within the individual houses, it is often the 'public rooms', such as the dining room, or the reception room, that represent the object of the tourists' gaze. For example, in the case of Josefstädterstraße 68, attention is drawn to the dining room, which later became the private-public site of Eugenia Schwarzwald's salon.⁴⁶ As we saw in the tale of the poor rich man, Loos regards the interior as the preserve of the individual and not of the

⁴⁶For a more detailed account of Loos's work on 'Das Haus Schwarzwald' see Deichmann and Worbs 1984. At the time of the 'Wohnungswanderungen', the house was not yet occupied by the Schwarzwalds, who moved there in 1909 (Deichmann and Worbs 1984, p.30).

architect. However, in the context of an article on the interior that appeared in 1898, Loos ([1898] 1981, p.78) distinguishes between rooms in a private house which fulfil a public function, such as the dining room, the reception room, and also the kitchen and the bathroom, and private rooms such as the bedroom. While the latter, representing what Colomina (1990) has termed 'intimate space', are the sanctum of the individual, the former represent public space within the interior and therefore, are the domain of the architect. In this distinction between public and private space within the interior, Loos negates any simple mapping of public/interior and private/exterior. Instead, his view of the 'dialectic of the interior' (Cacciari 1993, p.171) serves to emphasise the complex structure of the city as interior, within which there are interiors, within which there is a further set of interiors. Thus, Loos's Vienna resembles the complexity of the labyrinth.

Using Kracauer's (1969, p.122) method of moving between the close-up and the big picture, and stepping back to observe Loos's Vienna from the outside, tracing his 'Wohnungswanderungen' on a map of Vienna, one can see the circular route that is taken. On the first day, the route leads from the first district to the fourth and back to the first, while on the next day, the tour begins in the 8th district, then returns, via the 10th district, back to the centre.⁴⁷ The emphasis on the centre of Vienna, illustrated by the route of Loos's 'Wohnungswanderungen', which both starts and finishes there, is reiterated in his answers to an *enquete* in the *Fremdenblatt* (Loos [1906] 1982a, pp.62-3). Asked to identify the most beautiful Viennese interior, palace, decaying building, new building, and walk, Loos answers with the *Stephansdom*, the *Palais Liechtenstein*, the old *Kriegsministerium*, an 'unassuming' building on the *Kärntnerstraße*, and the *Beethovengang* in the noble suburb of Heiligenstadt. Significantly, all belong symbolically to *Alt-Wien*; even the most beautiful new building is located in the city

⁴⁷Indeed, it is not surprising that Loos's tour remains in the more affluent areas of Vienna, since his work as an architect in the pre-war period was, of necessity, all carried out for private clients. And these clients, of course, represent an important set of social circles in which Loos circulated (Rukschcio 1985c), thus underlining Loos's personal location in the city centre.

centre on the Kärntnerstraße.⁴⁸ However, in comparison to the beauty of old buildings such as the *Stephansdom*, whose effect, according to Loos, is stronger than that of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, and the *Palais Liechtenstein*, from which 'uns die machtvolle sprache Roms entgegen [tönt], ohne die schnarrenden nebengeräusche eines deutschen grammophons' (p.62) ['the powerful language of Rome sounds out, without the rasping sound of a German gramophone'], the beauty of the new building lies in its ability to blend in, silently and anonymously, with the buildings of the old inner city. The new building is described in terms reminiscent of the figure of the English Gentleman ('bescheiden, ruhig, vornehm' (p.63) ['modest, quiet, refined']) and indeed, located in the centre of *Alt-Wien*, the new building signifies Loos's view of modernity predicated on a dialectic of old and new.

The dialectic of old and new is invoked explicitly in Loos's definition of the interior of the *Stephansdom* as the most beautiful interior in Vienna:

das ist kein totes inventarstück, das wir von unseren vätern übernommen haben. Diese räume erzählen uns unsere geschichte. Alle generationen haben daran gearbeitet, alle in ihrer sprache.

(Loos [1906] 1982a, p.62)⁴⁹ [132]

The echo of Loos's earlier argument on the character and function of the interior of peoples' homes, illustrated with reference to his own family house, is unmistakable. Thus, his analysis of the interior of the *Stephansdom* displays correspondences with Benjamin's (1982, p.533) definition of the city as the home of the collective. Furthermore, there are parallels with the idea of the *Musealisierung* of the city; the interiors which comprise the city as interior represent a museum, telling the story of the

⁴⁸Moreover, the first three signify the important locations of power in *Alt-Wien*: the *Stephansdom* signifies the Catholic Church; the *Palais Liechtenstein* (1701-12) signifies the aristocracy; and the old *Kriegsministerium* signifies the military.

⁴⁹Otto Wagner (1902, p.42) makes a similar point in a sketch of the history of the exterior of the *Stephansdom* in the context of an article criticising the renovation of the cathedral.

collective. And indeed, a similar view of the *Stephansdom* is contained in Crankshaw's ([1938] 1976, p.79) observations of Vienna:

But St. Stephen's, though Baedeker can make it interesting enough, is in some ways *more a manifestation of the people of Vienna than of the history of kings and statesmen*. Partly, perhaps because coronations did not take place there but in the Augustinerkirche; partly, perhaps, because kings and princes do not rest there [...] but in the Kapuchinerkirche [*sic*]. (My emphasis)

However, the *Stephansdom*, as Crankshaw notes, is situated in the 'dead centre' of Vienna (p.70). Whether Crankshaw intended any irony in this remark is doubtful, but the questions that it raises remain: If the *Stephansdom* is a 'manifestation of the people of Vienna', then who are these people? Is there a relationship between the 'dead centre' of Vienna, which also represents the focus of Loos's Vienna, and the suburbs? In this connection, it is illuminating to juxtapose views such as those of Loos and Crankshaw, which prize the *Stephansdom* as the centre and representation of Vienna, with Bodzenta's (1986, p.203) tale of interviewing a woman from the working-class suburb of Favoriten who, in 1955, had never seen the *Stephansdom*. It could certainly not be claimed that the *Stephansdom* represented the centre of *her* Vienna. Thus, the subjectivity of Loos's Vienna is revealed. In 'Wohnungswanderungen', the focus is on the habitat of the English Gentleman, on the *Vornehmheit* of the city centre. Loos experiences the city centre as a place which confirms the compatibility of *Alt-Wien* and *Neu-Wien*, symbolised most poignantly in the juxtaposition of the bureau de change and the *Stock-im-Eisen*.

STADTWANDERUNGEN (1913/14)

From the 'Wohnungswanderungen', Loos's textual *oeuvre* moves on to the city tours ('Stadtwanderungen') which formed part of the programme for his private *Bauschule* (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.187). Unlike his 'Wohnungswanderungen', the 'Stadtwanderungen' were not organised in order to present his work to the public and therefore, there is no publication directly associated with Loos's tour. Instead, his route and comments can be discerned from an anonymous set of notes taken by one of his students, which indicate that altogether five 'Stadtwanderungen' were held in the winter of 1913/14 (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.187).⁵⁰ While the 'Wohnungswanderungen' of 1907 led the reader through Loos's Vienna in the dual sense of the Vienna which he had designed and the Vienna which he inhabited, the 'Stadtwanderungen' (with the exception of the *Haus am Michaelerplatz*) present the reader with a collection of architecturally important buildings not designed by Loos himself. However, the subjective nature of this collection is revealed in references to Loos's personal life contained in the set of notes relating to his 'Stadtwanderungen'. One of the buildings visited was the *Kreuzherrenhof* built by Karl Mayreder, in whose office Loos had worked, while another was the apartment block (*Zinshaus*) built by Palffy in the Wohllebengasse 3-5, where Loos had lived in 1898 (p.190). These personal

⁵⁰Unfortunately, this set of notes and another, relating to the lectures which Loos held in his *Bauschule* and dealing, apparently, mainly with hotels and coffee-houses, belong to that part of the Loos papers not available to the researcher. Thus, the researcher is limited to an analysis of the fragments of the notes which Rukschcio and Schachel (1982, pp.186-90) have quoted, and the two articles which appear in *Die Potemkin'sche Stadt*, entitled 'Adolf Loos über Wiener Gebäude' (Loos 1983, pp.124-5) and 'Hotel Friedrichstrasse' (pp.128-9). Both sources are problematic: Rukschcio and Schachel, because the researcher is forced to work with a set of selected quotations, thus losing the overall context, and 'Adolf Loos über Wiener Gebäude' and 'Hotel Friedrichstrasse', because these represent texts based on the notes of a participant in the lectures in Loos's *Bauschule* without indication to the extent of Opel's input in editing these texts.

recollections, typical of the technique of the Storyteller, highlight the nature of Vienna as the place that Loos not only observed, but also inhabited.

Like the 'Wohnungswanderungen', the 'Stadtwanderungen' concentrate on the city defined in the narrow sense of the first district (with a diversion via the *Karlskirche* into the fourth district on the last tour). And indeed, in 'Wiener Architekturfragen' ([1910] 1982a, pp.111-5), Loos underlines the spatial divisions between *Alt-Wien* and the suburbs when he describes the location of the suburbs as being: 'fünf minuten von Wien entfernt nach überschreitung des glacis, des heutigen ringes' (p.112) ['five minutes away from Vienna, after crossing the *glacis*, today's Ringstraße']. 'Vienna' signifies the inner city, which Loos credits with a historically different function and style than the inner suburbs.⁵¹ The objects of Loos's gaze in his 'Stadtwanderungen' are mainly public buildings, singled out because of their functional-representational value, in the case of the bank at the Schottentor (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.188), or their exhibition value, in the case of the museums and the *Hofburg* (p.187). In other words, this is a collection of buildings located in the centre of Vienna, which reflects the dialectic of stability and change upon which Loos's Vienna is constructed. While stability is signified by the monumental character of the *Hofburg*, representing the history of Habsburg rule, change is signified by the inclusion of buildings such as banks, which are an integral part of the sphere of circulation that characterises modern society. Thus, just as, according to Loos, the collection of artefacts which comprises the domestic interior articulates both the history and development of its inhabitants, so the city as interior articulates the dialectic of stability and change that represents the experience of its inhabitants.

The juxtaposition of change and stability at the level of the street forms the focus for many of Loos's comments on his *Haus am Michaelerplatz*. The notes taken whilst

⁵¹This restricted view of the 'city' survives to some extent in Vienna today. Thus, the underground station for the *Stephansdom* is named 'Stephansplatz. City'.

accompanying Loos on his city tour record that Loos presented an old house in the Herrengasse, with its plain upper storeys and flat roof, as the model for his *Haus am Michaelerplatz*. The scandal and uproar associated with Loos's building has been documented in detail by Czech and Mistelbauer (1984), who have shown that much of the often fierce criticism of the building was focused on its location directly opposite the imperial palace. Loos's opponents read the plain facade of his building as a polemic against the ornamented monumental style of the *Hofburg*. Loos's answer to this criticism is clear:

Früher traten die Häuser, in deren Mitte ein Monumentalbau stand, im Stile und in ihrer Art bescheiden zurück. Es waren schmucklose Bürgerhäuser. Eines sprach, die anderen schwiegen. Jetzt aber schreien alle diese protzigen Bauten durcheinander und man hört keinen.

(Loos [1911] 1983, p.123) [133]

His building, in comparison to other 'modern' buildings, was designed to silently stand by and allow the imperial palace to tell its story undisturbed.⁵² Moreover, argues Loos, his building was designed through a process of strolling through Vienna, reading the existing buildings and listening to their tales. This method of design means that in his eyes, his design is modern and yet, it also uses the same grammar as the surrounding buildings and so speaks the same language as they do. As we have seen, in 1906, Loos defined the most beautiful new building in Vienna in terms of the manner in which it sounded like a continuation of the old inner city (Loos [1906] 1982a, p.63). His *Haus am Michaelerplatz*, built four years later, was designed to sound like this too, emphasising its function in continuing tradition, rather than breaking with tradition. As Cacciari (1993, p.161) has noted, Loos's 'quest to insinuate tradition [...] into the urban fabric and into language, is for the sake of *permanence*.' This quest for permanence forms an important part of Loos's definition of modernity, focusing on the eternal in

⁵²Loos's experience of the city is once more related in terms of listening as well as sight, underlining the continuation of an oral tradition (storytelling) in the city.

Baudelaire's definition of modernité, rather than on the transitory and the fleeting (Baudelaire 1964, p.13).

However, despite the fact that the *Haus am Michaelerplatz* has been designed to communicate with the older buildings that surround it, Loos maintains that it also represents a prime example of metropolitan architecture which would not be at home in anything less than a metropolis (*Millionenstadt*) ([1912] 1982a, p.124). This view is echoed by Cacciari (1993, p.112) who asserts that

the Cafe Nihilismus and the Nihilismus house on the Michaelerplatz are necessarily situated in the Nihilismus city, the Metropolis where all the social circles of the Gemeinschaft have been shattered.

However, there is an underlying tension between this passage, which emphasises the sense of flux that is characteristic of accounts of life in the metropolis, and Cacciari's above-mentioned assertion that the *Haus am Michaelerplatz* reveals Loos's 'quest for permanence'. Mirroring this tension between two opposing positions, in 'Wiener Architekturfragen' ([1910] 1982a, p.114), Loos describes his building as a gateway, which should *mediate* between the Imperial Palace and the commercial shopping area represented by the Graben, the Kärntnerstraße and the Kohlmarkt.

Reiterating the function of the most beautiful new building of 1906, the *Haus am Michaelerplatz* is not only the location in which the English Gentleman can purchase his clothing, but also assumes a position which corresponds directly to the English Gentleman's location at the intersection between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie. The polarity of opinions towards the *Haus am Michaelerplatz*, summarised in the following two quotations, lies in this act of mediation:

Und in diesem wahne wurde ich noch durch den ausspruch eines mir feindlich gesinnten modernen künstlers bestärkt, der sagte: das will ein moderner architekt sein und baut ein haus wie die alten wiener häuser!
(Loos [1910] 1982a, p.111) [134]

Aber gerade darauf, nein, nur darauf kommt es an: auf die ernste Visage. Das zwanzigste Jahrhundert wird auch für Wien nicht mehr das Zeitalter der 'Hetz' sein. Das vorige hatte es noch: Hetz, Gaudi, Gschnasfeste. Dieses hat eine ernste Visage. [...] Und so ist dieses Haus und so trägt es seine Zeit und so wird es späterhin für sie zeugen.

(Zoff [1912] 1985, p.56)⁵³ [135]

Not modern enough for some, too modern for others, both nihilistic and conveying a sense of stability and permanence, the *Haus am Michaelerplatz* functions as a signifier of the ambivalence of Loos's Vienna, and the tension of the dialectic of change and stability which characterises his experience of the city.

As well as signifying a dialectic of stability and change, the *Haus am Michaelerplatz* also reveals a related tension between space and place. Whereas Cacciari has described the building in terms of its location in the empty homogenous space of the modern metropolis, in the context of a discussion of the *Haus am Michaelerplatz*, Loos clearly describes his Vienna as a place, distinct from other cities. In 'Wiener Architekturfragen', he maintains that

es ist etwas besonderes um den baucharakter einer stadt. Jede hat ihren eigenen. Was für die eine Stadt schön und reizvoll ist, kann für eine andere häßlich und abscheulich sein. Die danziger ziegelrohbauten verlören sofort ihre schönheit, wenn man sie in den wiener boden versetzen wollte.

(Loos [1910] 1982a, p.111) [136]

Just as he argued that each home should represent the individual style of its inhabitants, so Loos also credits each city with an individual style. And just as vernacular interior decoration must be carried out by the inhabitants themselves in order to have symbolic meaning, so Loos, in 'Heimatkunst' ([1912] 1982a, p.124), is critical of architects and

⁵³The first of these quotations is taken from 'Wiener Architekturfragen', and the second from a report of the lecture that Loos gave on the *Haus am Michaelerplatz* (1911), in which he cited a newspaper article that had described the building as having a 'serious appearance'.

planners who attempt to import styles from Magdeburg or Essen to Vienna as though styles were interchangeable without regard to place. For example, Loos argues, the vertical division characteristic of Berlin architecture is not appropriate for the short streets of Vienna which instead require a horizontal division.

However, Loos's rejection of the wholesale importation of a homogenous international style by does not represent an endorsement of the communitarian values embraced by the *Heimatkunst* movement.⁵⁴ Indeed, the thrust of his 1912 lecture is to lay bare the 'lüge von der heimatkunst' ([1912] 1982a, p.125) ['falsity of *Heimatkunst*'], pointing to the absurdity of 'diese naivtuerei, dieses absichtliche zurückschrauben auf einen anderen kulturzustand' (p.126) ['this false naivety, this intentional process of regression to a different cultural level'] which, he maintains polemically, will culminate in the image of a city in which shops, houses, theatres and concert halls are roofed with shingles and straw (p.127). In his desire to expose the falsity of *Heimatkunst*, he maintains that many of the buildings in Vienna prized as examples of a vernacular style of construction have, in fact, no real connection to any specifically Viennese regional style. Instead, he argues that this 'tohuwabohu von rokokoschnörkeln, balkonen, neckischen ecklösungen, erkern, giebeln, türmen, dächern und wetterfahnen' ['mish-mash of rococo flourishes, balconies, amusing solutions to the problem posed by corners, bay windows, gables, towers, roofs and weather vanes'] which has been 'auf die landschaft losgelassen' ['let loose on the landscape'] (p.128) has been inspired by pictures of the American wild west and illustrations in *The Studio*. This polemical assertion represents an exaggerated form of Loos's critique which is directed towards the creation of a global 'Heimat' style. In his opinion, such a style is a nonsense, and moreover, the product of a process of

⁵⁴Considered abstractly, *Heimat* represents the real, the feeling of being 'at home' which is opposed to the modern feeling of 'Unbehagen' (Lipp 1986, p.334). The sentimentalisation, romanticisation and ideologisation of the concept is a function of the economic, social and cultural changes brought about by the rise of the bourgeoisie (p.335). It is within the context of sentimentalisation and romanticising of the term *Heimat* that Loos locates the modern *Heimatkunst* movement which, as we have seen, he fiercely criticises.

reading magazines and adopting the styles seen there, rather than a process of reading the city itself.

Had these architects who attempted to artificially create *Heimatkunst* wandered through the suburbs, observing the city from the street, then they would have discovered that there is a true Viennese *Heimatkunst*. Loos, the practised observer of Vienna, discovers 'authentic' *Heimatkunst* in an old house in the suburb of Hietzing which is to be torn down to make room for the new Park Hotel in Schönbrunn. He laments the passing of the house and the loss of 'authentic' *Heimatkunst*: 'Welche kultur war in diesem hause, welche vornehmheit! Wie wienerisch, wie österreichisch, wie menschlich! Und daher: wie hietzingerisch!' (Loos [1912] 1982a, p.128) ['What culture was contained in this house, what refinement! How Viennese, how Austrian, how human! And therefore, how typical of Hietzing!']. This house which, according to Loos, represents the perfect example of 'Hietzinger style', forms a possible model for new buildings in the suburbs. However, the house in Hietzing cannot represent a model for building in the city, defined in the narrow sense of the city centre. As Loos argues in 'Wiener Architekturfragen' ([1910] 1982a, p.112), the suburbs and the inner city are of different socio-cultural and therefore, architectural character.

Loos's rejection of the blanket importation of international style and his affirmation of an authentic *Heimatkunst* which, he maintains, can be discovered through observing the interior of the city does not constitute a sense of a city that is architecturally hermetically sealed. Indeed, his Vienna shows traces of those who, in passing through, have left their mark – for example, in the 'italienische grösse und monumentalität' (Loos [1910] 1982a, p.113) ['Italian splendour and monumentality'] of the city. Authentic *Heimatkunst*, argues Loos, will not be disturbed when strangers build in a country, as long as they are truly masters of their trade and take time to read the city in which they are building (Loos [1912] 1982a, p.126). Thus, there is room in Loos's Vienna for intercultural influence; just as the home as interior has doors through which people can

leave and enter, so the city (originally through its gates, later through, for example, its railway stations) is also open to strangers.⁵⁵ And just as visitors to the home often leave traces, even if they only inhabit the interior fleetingly, so strangers to the city will, to paraphrase Simmel ([1908] 1992b, p.764), arrive today and read the city, and then build tomorrow, in a manner fitting to the place in which they find themselves. Thus, we arrive at a definition of the form of *Heimatkunst* advocated by Loos. Although critical of the parochial and regressive nature of much contemporary *Heimatkunst*, Loos emphasises the need to build in harmony with the structure of feeling of a place. His ideal of *Heimatkunst* represents the articulation of the result of his search for place in the empty space of the metropolis. The structure of feeling expressed by this ideal is intimately linked to a sense of stability, which creates the preconditions for intercultural interaction. In this sense, Loos's Vienna represents the intersection between the local and the global.⁵⁶

In his lecture on 'Heimatkunst', Loos employs his version of *Heimatkunst*, defined as the interaction between the local and the global, as a basis from which to criticise part of the Ringstraße. He argues that while most of the Ringstraße belongs in the metropolis, the Stubenring is representative of a false sense of the vernacular (see fig. 24):

In Wien verschandeln die architekten die stadt, ohne von der polizei dazu veranlaßt zu werden. Aus freien stücken. Alle gröÙe ist aus der stadt verschwunden. Wenn ich mich bei der Oper aufstelle und zum

⁵⁵Simmel (1957, pp.3-4) has demonstrated the sociological significance of the door, arguing that 'dadurch, daß die Tür gleichsam ein Gelenk zwischen den Raum des Menschen und alles, was außerhalb desselben ist, setzt, hebt sie die Trennung zwischen dem Innen und dem Außen auf' ['By virtue of the fact that the door forms, as it were, a linkage between the space of human beings and everything that remains outside it, it transcends the separation between the inner and the outer']. In other words, the door represents the paradoxical nature of mankind, which is 'das Grenzwesen, das keine Grenze hat' (p.6) ['the bordering creature who has no border']. An English version of this essay is contained in Simmel 1997, pp.170-4. The translations are taken from this version.

⁵⁶Similarly, Schwarzer (1995, p.163) has argued that although Loos rejected uniform internationalism, he 'constituted architecture from the point of view of both international contacts and local traditions'.



Opernring



Stubenring

Fig. 24. The Opernring and the Stubenring. Slides used by Loos to illustrate his lecture

'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' (1911).

(Rukschcio 1985b)

schwarzenbergplatz hinunterblicke, so habe ich das intensive gefühl: Wien!
Wien, die millionenstadt, Wien die metropole eines großen reiches. Wenn
ich aber die zinshäuser am stubenring betrachte, so habe ich nur ein gefühl:
fünf-stöckiges Mährisch-Ostrau. (Loos [1912] 1982a, p.123)⁵⁷ [137]

In order to elaborate on Loos's comments, it is necessary to consider the character of the Stubenring. This was the last part of the Ringstraße to be developed (Lichtenberger 1969, p.20), and includes the imposing new *Kriegsministerium* (1909-12)⁵⁸ and Otto Wagner's *Postsparkasse* (1904-6). As Schorske (1981, p.87) argues, these two projects were simultaneously modern, since they fulfilled the needs of the modern bureaucracy, and archaic, since the army and the Catholic Church were once more represented on the Ringstraße.⁵⁹ Both the *Kriegsministerium* and the tenement blocks surrounding Otto Wagner's *Postsparkasse*, show *Jugendstil* characteristics (Lichtenberger 1969, p.20). Moreover, the *Akademie für angewandte Kunst* is also situated on the Stubenring, next to the *Kriegsministerium*. In other words, the 'Stubenring' functions as a signifier denoting a number of objects of Loos's critique - the

⁵⁷Illustrating the repetition which structures Loos's textual *oeuvre*, a critique of the Stubenring, couched in strikingly similar terms, also forms part of his lecture, 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' (Loos [1911] 1985, p.xiii): 'Ich weiß, daß vor 40 Jahren als die Wiener mehr Empfindung für Monumentalität besaßen, damals als die Ringstraße noch so gebaut wurde, kein Sturm der Entrüstung sich erhoben hätte. Wäre aber die Ringstraße in den letzten 10 Jahren gebaut worden, so besäßen wir heute keine Ringstraße, sondern ein architektonisches Unglück. Dieses Bild ist Wien, die Kaiserstadt, die Millionstadt. Aber der Stubenring ist fünfstöckiges Mährisch-Ostrau.' ['I know that forty years ago, when the Viennese possessed more feeling for monumentality and the Ringstraße was built accordingly, there would have been no storm of indignation. But if the Ringstraße had been built in the last ten years, then we would have an architectural misfortune rather than a Ringstraße. This picture is Vienna, the imperial city, the metropolis. But the Stubenring represents Mährisch-Ostrau piled five floors high'].

According to Baedeker (1913, p.357), Mährisch-Ostrau was an industrial Moravian town with about 38,000 inhabitants, of whom more than half were Czech. Its main industries were iron and coal.

⁵⁸The design of this building was the subject of an architecture competition for which Loos himself submitted an unsuccessful entry (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.454).

⁵⁹Tracing the history of the *Postsparkasse*, and documenting its relationship to the anti-Semitic Christian Socialist party, Schorske (1981, p.90) demonstrates how it signified 'the revitalization of the old religious forces in new social guises.'

Kriegsministerium, Jugendstil and applied arts. And in both 'Heimatkunst' and 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz', Loos criticises the Stubenring, (in chronological terms, the most modern part of the Ringstraße) for signifying the anti-modern impulse of the *Art Nouveau* movement. This anti-modern impulse manifests itself in the architectural articulation of a yearning for the small town and the village which is, however, fully out of place in the metropolis (Loos [1912] 1982a, p.123).

This critique is an extension and indeed, to an extent, a reworking of the critique contained in Loos's early essay, 'Die Potemkin'sche Stadt' ([1898] 1983, pp.55-8) which was published in *Ver Sacrum*, the journal of the Secession. It contains a critique of the parvenu, and of their penchant for composing their interiors, and by extension, their city from a collection of objects which no longer hold symbolic meaning.⁶⁰ 'Heimatkunst' and 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' represent a shift in focus from a critique of the historicism of the parvenu to a rejection of the stylisation of nature and the use of ornament characteristic of the *Jugendstil* movement.⁶¹ Nevertheless, despite this shift in focus, all three texts are closely linked in their critique of the illusion of the 'tattooed city' which 'hides the true metropolitan relations' (Cacciari 1993, p.113). A critique of the tattooed city is a rejection of regressive movements which would yearn for a return to *Gemeinschaft*. Tattoo, in Cacciari's view, is a form of disguise. But, in comparison

⁶⁰Such interiors are described in an article written by Friedell ([1920/21] 1985, p.78) on the occasion of Loos's 50th birthday: 'Es herrschte ein völliges Durcheinander aller möglichen Stile, eine absolute Barbarei der Geschmacksmischungen. Die Teppiche waren aus Persien, die Nippes aus dem achtzehnten Jahrhundert, der Salon im Empire, das Speisezimmer in Renaissance, das Schlafzimmer in Gotik. [...] Das waren keine Wohnungen, sondern Leihhäuser und Antiquätenläden' ['There was a complete chaos of many different styles. The mixture of tastes was barbaric. The carpets were from Persia, the knick-knacks from the eighteenth century, the reception room in Empire style, the dining room in Renaissance and the bedroom in Gothic [...]. These were not homes, they were pawnbrokers' and antique shops'].

⁶¹And this critique of the stylisation of nature resounds in Benjamin's critique of history as a 'discarded fetish [...], so hollowed out of life that only the imprint of the material shell remains' (Buck-Morss 1989, p.160), that is expressed in the form of petrified nature.

to the mask, it is form of disguise based on display.⁶² Loos's critique of tattoo, contained in 'Ornament und Verbrechen', is intimately linked to his recognition of the falsity of ornament in modernity. Devoid of symbolic meaning, it displays only the emptiness of modern life. And this is, ultimately, the point of intersection between Loos's critiques of historicism and of *Jugendstil*, for they are both grounded in the play of empty signifiers which disguise and distort the economy of metropolitan life.

However, Loos's critique of the historicism of the Ringstraße reveals itself to be a partial critique. In 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz' and 'Heimatkunst', Loos initially distances himself from the architecture of the Ringstraße which, he admits in 'Heimatkunst', represents no 'architektonisches Heldenstück' ([1912] 1982a, p.124) ['architectural epic']. However, he then compares the tenement blocks of the Opernring favourably with those of the Stubenring, while in 'Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz', he maintains that the monumental buildings of the Ringstraße are in accordance with the image of Vienna as imperial city and capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This point recalls the analysis of Loos's critique of *Tracht* contained in the previous chapter which revealed that he considered the display of difference to be legitimate in the context of the display of power. Similarly, in these key lectures, held in Vienna and taking the city as their object, Loos's Vienna is revealed to be a city in which the centre is partly constructed from the display of power located in monumental public buildings. Loos's critique of the historicism of the Ringstraße style is not the radical critique of Otto Wagner ([1896] 1988), but rather depends on context. It represents a critique of the false imitation of old aristocratic lifestyles in the private sphere, but also an affirmation of the representative value of historicism in the public sphere.

⁶²Cacciari (1993, p.113) distinguishes between the tattooed city which represents Loos's critique of decadent Vienna, and the masked city, where the 'mask is a "category of the spirit" that belongs [...] to Simmel's Venice'. Simmel's Venice is, for Cacciari (p.95), 'a perfect mask that hides being, or rather, reveals the loss, the absence of being,' and so negates any attempts at synthesis. In other words, while the tattooed city is regressive in its outlook, the masked city is the endpoint of modernity, the location of adventure which allows the endless play of difference beneath a veneer of homogeneity.

Located between the monumental public buildings and the bourgeois apartment houses, Loos's 'Hotel Friedrichstraße' project⁶³ contains the description of a building both public and private, that provides a location in which many of the paradoxes revealed so far in this journey through Loos's Vienna are recalled. He describes a hotel lobby, designed according to English and American models:

Sie ist eine Verlängerung der Straße, da geht es nicht elegant zu; man nimmt den Hut nicht ab, wenn man sie betritt; Menschen laufen hin und her, Koffer werden aufgestapelt, Leute von der Straße stehen herum [...]. Es gibt dort Blumengeschäfte, Trafiken, Bücherläden, Kartenbüros nebeneinander wie in den südlichen Staaten. Das Ganze sieht aus wie eine Bahnhofshalle.
(Loos [1913/14] 1983, p.128) [138]

The hotel lobby is an extension of the street, signified by the fact that one follows the rules of etiquette appropriate in the exterior and does not remove one's hat. Simultaneously however, the lobby, with its Southern characteristics, also represents the exotic Other, the interior, which stands in opposition to the street. Both home and abroad, the hotel lobby is compared to the interstitial space of the railway hall.⁶⁴ This

⁶³Around 1906, Loos submitted an entry for an architecture competition to design a building for the Friedrichstrasse/ Kärntnerstrasse/ Elisabethstrasse/ Operngasse. His entry was the 'Hotel Friedrichstrasse' (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.446-7). Rukschcio and Schachel (1982, p.186) mention a 50-page anonymous set of notes taken during Loos's lectures in his Bauschule in 1913/14 which is mainly concerned with hotels and coffeehouses. They later quote the description of the 'Hotel Friedrichstrasse' project from these notes (pp.446-7). The text entitled 'Hotel Friedrichstrasse' which appears in *Die Potemkin'sche Stadt* (Loos 1983, pp.128-9) without bibliographical details, is a copy of this passage. The full set of notes is, unfortunately, not available to the researcher, but would be of great importance for a full view of Loos's Vienna, given the importance of such public-private spaces as hotels and coffeehouses in facilitating the circulation of individuals in the city.

⁶⁴Kracauer (1971, pp.131-2) underlines the interstitial nature of the hotel lobby by arguing that the individuals gathered there exist in a relationship of equality which 'gründet sich [...] auf das Verhältnis zum Nichts. [...] Es ist die formale Übereinstimmung der Figuren, die in der Hotelhalle sich darstellt' ['is based [...] on a relation to the nothing [...] what is presented in the hotel lobby is the formal similarity of the figures, an equivalence that signifies not fulfilment but evacuation']

juxtaposition of hotel lobby, bazaar and railway station suggests a correspondence with Benjamin's (1982, p.511) *Passagenwerk*, in which he describes the connection between these locations in terms of their function as 'housing for the dreaming collective.' Furthermore, the comparison of the hotel lobby with the railway station, intensified by Loos's description of the circulation of individuals, and in the image of suitcases being stacked upon each other, indicates a description of the function of the hotel close to Kracauer's (1971, p.128) later detailed analysis contained in 'Hotelhalle':⁶⁵

so dient die Hotelhalle allen, die sich in ihr zu niemandem begeben. Sie ist der Schauplatz derer, die den stetig Gesuchten nicht suchen noch finden und darum gleichsam im Raume an sich zu Gäste sind, im Raume, der sie umfängt und diesem Umfangen allein zugeeignet ist. [139]

In relation to Loos's images of Vienna discussed so far, his snapshot of the hotel lobby differs in the important respect that it represents the chaos and the anonymity of the metropolis. In this short passage, not written by Loos, but based on notes relating to one of his lectures, the buildings and artefacts which comprise the interior of his Vienna are juxtaposed with the people that inhabit the metropolis and the result is an illustration of Loos's ([1898] 1981, p.115) earlier analyses of the increasing tempo of modern life. Moreover, the hotel lobby, both exterior and interior, public and private, represents a meeting place with the Other. However, the possibility of meeting the Other is restricted spatially. Just as in his 'Wohnungswanderungen', Loos's 'Stadtwanderungen' also focus on the city centre, and the interaction of old and new which it represents. Moreover, the images of the new that Loos encounters in his Vienna – the bureau de change, the banks, the hotel lobby – are all representative of the sphere of consumption

⁶⁵Kracauer's 'Hotelhalle' was first published in his collection *Das Ornament der Masse* (1963). However, the essay formed part of his 'philosophical treatise' on the detective novel which was written in 1922-25 but remained unpublished until the publication of his collected works from which this passage is quoted. It has been translated into English as 'Hotel Lobby' in *The Mass Ornament* (Kracauer 1995, pp.173-85). The translations used here are taken from this version.

and circulation. At this point, there is no place in Loos's textual *oeuvre* for the industrial sphere located in the outer suburbs. However, in the aftermath of the First World War, this situation changed.

THE THREAT FROM THE SUBURBS (1920s)

The downfall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the First World War provided Loos with a new context in which to continue his project of introducing Western culture into Vienna. This new context is marked by his spatial progression into the working-class suburbs of Vienna which, apart from a brief flirt in *Das Andere*, are conspicuously absent from his Vienna in the pre-First World War period. After the war, Loos became involved with the Settlers' Movement (*Siedlungsbewegung*) and therefore, came into direct contact with the working class suburbs and their inhabitants.⁶⁶ In 1921, through the influence of Gustav Scheu (1875-1935), Loos was appointed chief architect to the Settlements Department (*Siedlungsamt*) of the Viennese municipal council (Worbs 1982b, p.7). In the course of his work for the *Siedlungsamt*, Loos planned settlements (*Siedlungen*) in the Lainzer Tiergarten, Hirschstetten, Laaerberg and Heuberg, and also designed houses which were built in Lainz, Hirschstetten and Heuberg (pp.6-7) (see fig. 25). Moreover, he was also involved in the education of the settlers (*Siedler*), giving a course in the Settlers' School (*Siedlerschule*) on 'Das Siedlerhaus als Erzieher' (Novy and Förster 1991, p.38), and lecturing to *Siedlers'*

⁶⁶In the aftermath of the war, the most pressing problems facing Austria were food and housing shortages. In order to try to alleviate their problems, people began to appropriate ground on the peripheries of the city on which to attempt to grow food and find shelter. After the first municipal elections in Vienna, the municipal council's housing department, headed by Gustav Scheu (1875-1935) began a process of rationalisation of these 'wild settlements'. Novy and Förster (1991) provide a detailed analysis of the genesis and history of the *Siedlungsbewegung* in Vienna, following traces back into the suburbs and exploring its socio-cultural meaning.

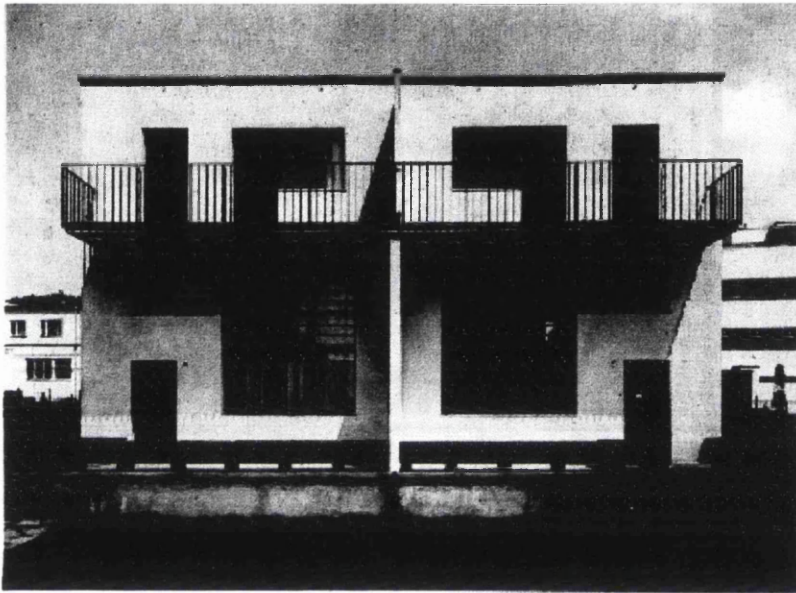


Fig. 25. *Siedlungshäuser* designed by Loos in the *Wiener Werkbundsiedlung* (1932).

(Rukschcio and Schachel 1982)

associations in the suburbs (Worbs 1981, p.1898). In other words, both his architectural work and his cultural criticism experienced a spatial shift in the 1920s from the centre to the periphery.

However, Loos's involvement with the *Siedlungsbewegung* did not signify his relocation to the suburbs. According to Grethe Schütte-Lihotsky's (1981, pp.1877-81) memories of working with Loos in the context of the *Siedlungsbewegung*, Loos himself remained very much an inhabitant of the city centre. And indeed, Loos's life-style was typical of the modern metropolitan experience. Since 1903, he had occupied an apartment in the Giselastraße (now Bösendorferstraße) located in the centre of Vienna, between the Ringstraße and Karlsplatz. From 1910, his lecturing career had allowed him to participate in the circulation of individuals between European cities. And in the mid-1920s, frustrated by problems facing the *Siedlungsamt*,⁶⁷ Loos exchanged his residence in the centre of Vienna for a similar life-style in the centre of Paris. This ability to exchange one city for another without experiencing a qualitative change in life-style was, according to the founder of *Das neue Frankfurt*, Ernst May (1926, p.145), a central feature of the modern metropolitan existence located in the symbolic emptiness of modern city centres. In an analysis echoed by Kracauer's (1990a, pp.401-3) 'Analyse eines Stadtplans' (also written in 1926),⁶⁸ May argues that the inhabitants of these interchangeable centres seek to compensate for the symbolic emptiness of the city by

⁶⁷The political situation in Vienna in the 1920s made it increasingly difficult to carry out the projects envisaged by the *Siedlungsbewegung*. In 1923, the municipal council announced a house-building programme which favoured high-rise apartment complexes (*Massenmiethäuser*) over the *Siedlungen* (Worbs 1982b, p.7). Although Social Democrats such as Otto Bauer (cited in *Das Kleine Blatt* on 7 March 1927) spoke out in favour of the *Siedlungen*, this form of housing came to be identified with the Christian Socialists, while the *Massenmiethäuser* were seen as the Social Democrat alternative (Weihsmann 1985). See also Novy 1983.

⁶⁸Kracauer's (1990a, p.403) analysis of the increasing interchangeability of city centres is underlined by the unique character of the crowd which inhabits it: 'Nicht Zweck noch Stunde nötigt sie [die Menge] zu ihrem Umlauf; sie rieselt zeitlos' (p.402) ['Neither a purpose nor the hour compels them to circulate; they trickle about aimlessly' (Kracauer 1995, p.42)].

constantly seeking new stimuli for their dulled nerves in cinemas, revues and dancehalls. In marked contrast to his prescriptive descriptions of the austere realities of life on the *Siedlungen* on the outskirts of Vienna, Loos embodied May's metropolitan man. His fascination with dance and with the revue form has already been documented. In the 1920s, film was also added to this list, and one of Loos's most descriptive analyses of the modern metropolitan city centre is provided in his review of *L'Inhumaine* (1924) (see fig. 26).⁶⁹ In his article, he presents a different view of the city from that expressed elsewhere in his textual *oeuvre*. Indeed, the city centre in question is no longer that of Vienna, but of Paris. However, in a world characterised by circulation and exchange, in which the modernity of the city image is linked to the inhuman, to death, to madness, and to the anonymous crowd (Loos [1924] 1983, pp.200-3), this fact is of no consequence. The city centre has become dis-located from a sense of place.

The image of Vienna contained in Loos's texts from the 1920s is characterised by a sharp polarisation. On the one hand, there is the empty space of the anonymous city centre, no longer uniquely represented by the interaction of local and global, old and

⁶⁹*L'Inhumaine* (1924), directed by Marcel L'Herbier (a representative of the 'impressionist group' of film makers who helped to establish the quality of cinema with other arts), was 'an ambitious film which failed completely' (Bawden 1976, p.419). However, this film, with a set-design by Mallet-Stevens, can be regarded as a reaction to the 'nice decors' of films such as *Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari* (Manvel 1972, p.161). Focusing on the film's use of architecture, Loos ([1924] 1983, p.203) writes, 'Der Architekt [...] hat hier mit dem Filmkünstler atemberaubende Bilder gestellt, eine hohes Lied auf die Monumentalität der modernen und - utopischen Technik. [...] Hier [...] kommt die grenzenlose Tiefe des Raumes, der wechselnde Schauplatz und das an Wahnsinn grenzende Treiben des Ingenieurs und seiner Helfer dazu' ['Together with the film-maker, the architect has put together breathtaking images, high praise for the monumentality of the modern – and for utopian techniques. This is combined with the unbounded depths, the ever-changing location, and also the actions of the engineer and his helper, which border on insanity']. The tension between the human and the inhuman is reflected in the tension which Loos identifies in the architecture which is at once monumental, modern and utopian. It is this tension, and the corresponding dialectic of the subjective and the objective, that characterises the modernity of the film in Loos's view.

extrait d'un article de la Neue Freie Presse concernant

"l'inhumaine"

histoire féerique vue par marcel l'herbier:

«qu'il soit d'a-
bord bien é-
tabli que le
modernisme
de "caligari"
et celui de "
l'inhumaine"
sont absolu-
ment diffé-
rents. pour
marcel l'her-
bier-
le cubisme
n'est pas le
rêve d'un fou
c'est le résul-
tat d'une pen-
sée bien nette
— ce meilleur
en scène a é-
tabli dans "
l'inhumaine"
des images
qui vous en-
lèvent la res-
piration —



cest une chanson
éclatante sur
la grandeur de
la technique mo-
derne. toute cel-
le réalisation
visuelle tend
vers la musique
et le cri de —
Tristan
devient vrai
j'entends —
la lumière —
les dernières
images de "
l'inhumaine"
dépassent l'ima-
gination. en
sortant de la
voir on a l'im-
pression d'avoir
vécu l'heure
de la naissance
d'un nouvel art
adolf loos —

Fig. 26. Poster for *L'Inhumaine*, including Loos's review of the film which appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* (1924).

(Rukschoj and Schachel 1992)

new, which characterised his earlier descriptions of the centre of Vienna, but rather directly exchangeable with other city centres. Although Loos's earlier texts contained hints of the processes of circulation which characterise the modern metropolis, they were always juxtaposed with images of *Alt-Wien*. The experience of the flux of the new was countered by the certainty of the old. In the 1920s, the old has been swept away in the revolution of 1918 resulting, to paraphrase Cacciari (1993), in the displacement of the centre. On the other hand however, the outer suburbs represent the hope of place diametrically opposed to the empty space of the centre. No longer is Loos's gaze fixed upon the city in the narrow sense of Vienna's first district; instead, it is turned to the suburbs where there is a possibility of articulating difference. A new *Neu-Wien* exists as a possibility '*ante portas*', to return to Loos's 1898 description of the 'new style' located in the exhibition. And just as in 'Heimatkunst', Loos ([1912] 1982a, p.142) looks to the Other in the shape of youth to bring about cultural change, so in the 1920s, he appears to place his hope in the Other in the shape of the *Siedler* and the outer suburbs.⁷⁰

So what is the character of this new 'new style'? In 'Wohnen Lernen!' Loos describes the *Siedler* as 'neue Menschen. Menschen, die [...] moderne Nerven besitzen' (Loos [1921] 1982a, p.165) ['new men. Men who possess modern nerves']. Elaborating on this comment, Loos maintains that the figure of the *Siedler* represents the transcendence of the barrier between the city and the country (p.165), the existence of which has long held Austria back in its cultural development (Loos 1903a, p.1; [1898] 1981 p.87). Despite his use of rhetorical phrases such as 'die Zuflucht zur Mutter Natur' (Loos [1921] 1982a, p.161) ['the escape to Mother Nature'], it would be mistaken to regard Loos's *Siedler* as signifying the idea of a simple return to nature. And despite a reference to

⁷⁰In 'Heimatkunst', Loos ([1912] 1982a, p.142) maintains that 'alles was modern ist, kommt von der Jugend. Es wird in die Mannesjahre hinüberschleppt: Hosenträger und Meistersinger, Schnürschuhe und Rodin, kurze Hosen und Peter Altenberg. Die Jugend hat immer recht.' ['everything that is modern comes from youth. It is then dragged into manhood: braces and meistersingers, lacing shoes and Rodin, short trousers and Peter Altenberg. Youth is always right'].

Rousseau (Loos [1926] 1982a, p.186), the communitarian ideal expressed in Loos's later lectures, in which he states that 'der Moderne Geist ist ein sozialer Geist' (Loos [1927] 1983, p.224) ['the modern spirit is social'], is no mere Rousseauian nature idyll. Instead, Loos maintains that the barriers between city and country will fall as the culture of the worker gains ascendancy, and the city-dweller and the country-dweller recognise their common bond in terms of work. Thus, the figure of the *Siedler* does not represent a denial of industrial capitalism, but rather a sublation of the illusory opposition between city and country typical of capitalism. This suggests a correspondence with the *Kommunistisches Manifest* (Marx 1964), as pointed out in the Graz-based newspaper, *Arbeiterwille* on 6 November 1923:

Siedlungen bringen Land und Stadt näher, ganz im Sinne des *Kommunistischen Manifestes*, in dem Marx und Engels gefordert haben, es solle der Unterschied zwischen Stadt und Land ausgeglichen, industrielle und landwirtschaftliche Arbeit miteinander vereinigt werden. [140]

Rejecting any attempt to create a village within the city, in the context of his work with the *Siedlungsbewegung*, Loos develops the truly modern house described in his patent for the 'Haus mit einer Mauer' ([1921] 1983, pp.180-4). This house is designed to be mass-produced and suitable for a range of purposes, and therein lies its modernity.⁷¹ Moreover, just as the individual *Siedlungshaus* is to be rationally produced, so the *Siedlung* itself must be planned according to economic rather than aesthetic considerations. In his directive for the *Siedlungen* in the Lainzer Tiergarten, Loos ([1921] 1983, pp.189-93) argues that houses must be positioned rationally to allow for the best possible use of light in the gardens and in order to allow for easy and direct access from the entrance to the *Siedlung*. This represents the epitome of Loos's rational

⁷¹Matejka ([1961] 1990, p.109) points out that Loos's pioneering work in the area of pre-fabricated houses was finally recognised in a series of lectures held by Dr. Roland Reiner, Professor of City Planning in Vienna. It was not until 1961 that the Viennese municipal council built a factory in which ready-made components for house-building could be manufactured.

architecture, his version of functionalism. It would appear to be far removed from the glass and steel creations with which, in 'Erfahrung und Armut', Benjamin (1972a, p.316), associates Loos, and also Paul Scheerbart and Le Corbusier. However, the idea with which Benjamin associates glass architecture is the destruction of the 'aura' of place characteristic of modernity. And herein, as Benjamin himself is aware, lies the correspondence with Loos, for the work of the *Siedler* is essentially destructive (Loos [1926] 1982a, p.184).

In 'Die moderne Siedlung' (1926), Loos argues that human labour can be split into two parts – destruction and reconstruction. He then makes the curious statement: 'Und je größer der anteil der zerstörung ist, ja, wenn die menschliche arbeit nur aus der zerstörung besteht, dann ist es wirklich menschliche, natürliche, edle arbeit' (Loos [1926] 1982a, p.184) ['And the greater the contribution of destruction is, indeed if human work only consists in destruction, then it is truly human, natural and noble work']. To illustrate the primacy of destructive work, he points to the significance of the figure of the miner in German-language literature. Then, to emphasise that a concern with destructive work is not merely a German phenomenon, he recalls the fact that at the funeral of the French socialist, Jean Jaurès (1853-1914), it was the miners who carried the *catfalque* (p.184).⁷² Providing further evidence for the importance of destructive work, Loos argues that the work of the miner is valued above that of the tailor or the shoe-maker. Thus, their free creative work, once at the centre of Loos's Utopia signified by the figure of the Artisan, has now been devalued. In his notes on Karl Kraus, Benjamin (1977, p.1111) quotes from Loos's lecture on 'Die Moderne Siedlung', before remarking:

⁷²Jaurès, an advocate of improving relations between Germany and France, was murdered in Paris, just before the outbreak of the First World War, by the fanatical nationalist, Villain (Brand 1973). Loos claims to have been in Paris at the time and to have seen the funeral parade, but this is probably another instance of Loos's technique of storytelling; by adding a personal note, he lends his tale an aura of authenticity.

Das Aufbauende also wird hier schlechtweg entwürdigt. Man muß sich nur Rechenschaft geben, was alles damit getroffen wird. Bestimmt und vor allem, die Innerlichkeit, der schöpferische Impuls im Gegensatz zum zivilisatorischen wie er in seiner Urform bei den Neulingen, den Kolonisatoren und Farmern erscheint, die den Ort ihres künftigen Daseins durch die Zerstörung, durch das Urbarmachen, einweihen. Dieser Ort aber ist der unserer heutigen Kultur in allem, worin sie noch humanistisch bestimmt ist. [141]

Illuminating the circularity of Loos's textual *oeuvre*, Benjamin's juxtaposition of the destructive character of the *Siedler* with colonisers and farmers reveals the direct correspondence between the figure of the *Siedler* and that of the Pioneer in Loos's early texts. In 1898, Loos (1981, p.125) concluded his discussion of shoemakers with a quotation from Walt Whitman's poem, 'Pioneers! O Pioneers!', invoking the Pioneer's march towards the Western frontier to illustrate his call for the introduction of Western culture into Austria. In 1926, Loos's *Siedler* is a figure fighting on two fronts, characterised by the twin processes of urbanisation (*Urbanisierung*) and reclamation (*Urbarisierung*). With his gaze turned to the outside, the *Siedler's* role is to extend the city boundaries through a process of *Urbanisierung*, but with his gaze turned inwards, the *Siedler* threatens to reclaim and destroy the urban city centre, to make it *urbar*. In 'Analyse eines Stadtplans' (written in 1926), Kracauer (1990a, pp.401-3) analyses the destructive potential of the masses in the Parisian *faubourgs*, the 'Riesenasyle der kleinen Leute' (p.401) ['giant asylums for ordinary people']. Kracauer contrasts these masses of 'ordinary people' with the crowd which inhabits the city centre, arguing that in comparison to the centre, there are still traces of humanity to be found in the suburbs. However, these traces of humanity discernible in the *faubourgs* do not lie in the remnants of ties to nature, but in their imminent destruction (p.41). Significantly (and perhaps prophetically), he concludes this article by commenting that broad avenues lead directly from the suburbs to the centre – roads which must be trodden (p.403).

And at precisely this historical moment, the inhabitants of the suburbs, the *Siedler*, begin to encroach on the centre of Loos's Vienna, at once representing the hope of

regeneration from outside and the threat to the very existence of the centre. This ambivalence is encapsulated in the notion of *Urbarisierung*. On 3 April 1921, 30,000 *Siedler* demonstrated in the centre of Vienna, prompting Loos to publish 'Der Tag der Siedler' in the *Neue Freie Presse*, in which he reiterates the demands of the *Siedler* for more public money ([1921] 1982a, pp.161-4). In the course of this article, Loos makes a rare reference to industry, and it is significant that as the *Siedler* march into the centre of Vienna, Loos finally acknowledges the presence of an urban proletariat located in an industrial landscape in his Vienna. But according to Loos, this section of the urban proletariat has already completed a 'velvet revolution' against the barrack-like confinement of the factory (p.161). However, despite this revolutionary rhetoric, the rationale behind the *Siedlungsbewegung*, from the standpoint of its bourgeois apologists, was to avoid the danger of a revolution. The form of life of the *Siedler* represents a manifestation of the dream world, which offers only an illusory escape from the alienation of capitalist wage-labour. The *Siedlungen* represent a method of containing the threat of the masses and upholding existing property relations, as is made clear in an early article on the Garden City Movement which focuses on its anti-revolutionary nature, regarding the promise of the union of city and country life as 'eine künftige Reform, die in friedlicher Weise ohne die Verletzung oder Beseitigung bestehender Eigentumsverhältnisse vollzogen werden soll' (Paetow 1900, p.180) ['a future process of reform which will be completed peacefully without damaging or eliminating existing property relations']. However, the *Siedlungen* also hold the threat of opening up new possibilities for the masses, as Loos recognises in his lecture on the 'Moderne Siedlung' given in Stuttgart in 1926:

Wer revolutionen vermeiden will, wie ich, wer evolutionist ist, soll ständig daran denken: der besitz eines gartens beim einzelnen muß aufreizend wirken, und wer da nicht schritt hält, ist für jede kommende revolution oder jeden krieg verantwortlich. (Loos [1926] 1982a, p.186) [142]

Indeed, Loos's warning was timely; in the late 1920s, the masses were not easily contained. The threat to the centre of Vienna from the outer suburbs was, to an extent, realised in the destruction of the *Justizpalast* in the fire of 15 July 1927.⁷³ To reveal the significance of this symbolic destruction of the centre of Loos's Vienna, it is necessary to elaborate on the events surrounding the destruction of the *Justizpalast*. On 30 January 1927, two Social Democrat demonstrators were shot from behind by members of the local right-wing *Frontkämpfer* organisation in Schattendorf (Burgenland). The accused were brought to jury trial but were defended by a national socialist lawyer and acquitted on 14th July 1927, leading to angry reactions from within the Austrian Social Democrat Party (SDAPÖ). However, the leadership of the party was reluctant to act against the result of a jury trial. In protest at its inaction, members of the party decided to hold an hour-long traffic strike and a demonstration outside the parliament on 15 July. This demonstration was joined spontaneously by many others from the outer suburbs. Finding the university locked and the parliament too well-guarded, the crowd stormed the *Justizpalast*, setting it on fire and destroying documents, including a major part of the Viennese register of title deeds (*Grundbuch*). In reply, the police opened fire on the demonstrators, resulting in 89 deaths and over 1,000 casualties (Stieg 1990, pp.25-7).

The symbolic casualties of the fire were the Austrian justice system, signified by the destruction of the *Justizpalast* itself, and existing property relations, signified by the destruction of much of the Viennese *Grundbuch* (Stieg 1990, p.32). The extent to which the fire assumed symbolic meaning in the following years is illustrated in election posters from 1930, in which the fire is used by the Communists to symbolise the hope of a revolution, while the Christian Socialists use it to signify the spectre of revolution (see fig. 27). Since the fire quickly assumed symbolic meaning, the discussion revolving around the question of the reconstruction of the *Justizpalast* was also of

⁷³Ironically, in the context of his lecture on the 'Moderne Siedlung', Loos ([1926] 1982a, p.194) uses the image of fire to symbolise the destructive work of the *Siedler*.

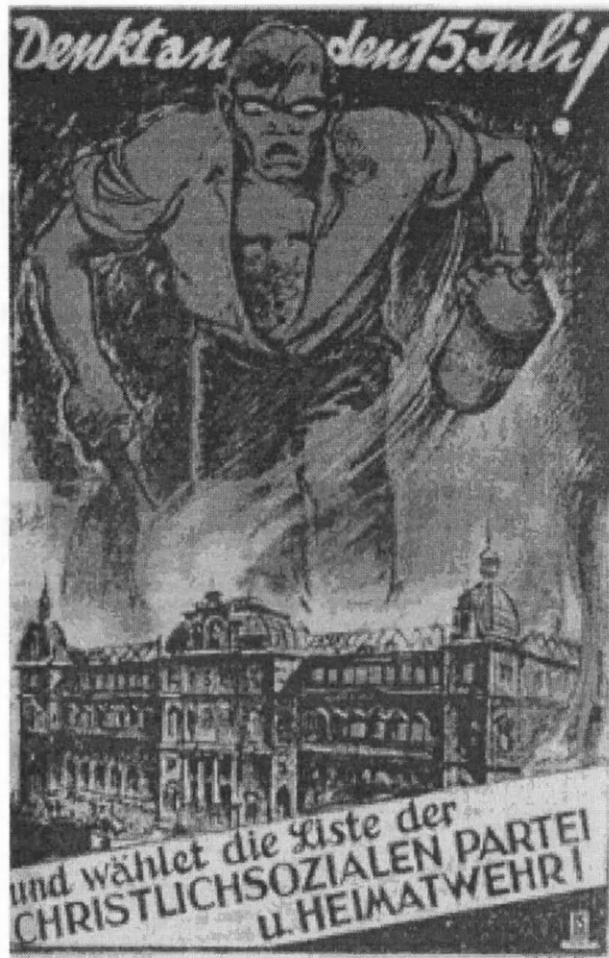


Fig. 27. Christian Socialist Election Poster (1930).

(Stieg 1990)

political importance. Loos, in common with other Austrian architects, spoke out against a reconstruction of the original building (Tietze 1928) and presented the case against reconstruction of the *Justizpalast* in an interview with the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* (Loos [1927] 1983, pp.225-6). Among other reasons for rejecting reconstruction, he argues that the *Justizpalast* had been built in the style of the German Renaissance and therefore, had always been out of place (*ein Fremdkörper*) in Vienna.⁷⁴ Loos's arguments highlight the third symbolic casualty of the fire; along with the system of justice and existing property relations, the fire also served to bring German nationalism to the fore. In arguing that the *Justizpalast* was German in style and therefore unsuited to Vienna, Loos was merely reiterating his constant critique of German culture, explored in detail in chapter three, and yet the sustained anti-German strain in Loos's textual *oeuvre* takes on a new dimension in the political climate of the late 1920s.

In Loos's later texts, then, the outer suburbs represent a dialectic of destruction and reconstruction encapsulated in the concept of *Urbarisierung*. The figure of the *Siedler* represents the recognition that social change cannot be achieved without the destruction of existing structures and social relations. The idea of the destruction of the city centre marks a radical departure from Loos's earlier texts which focus on the continuity and stability of the city as museum, and the symbolic meaning of its artefacts and buildings. And indeed, the destructive ideal represents a thought ultimately too radical for Loos to embrace. In the same lecture in which he outlines the destructive character of the *Siedler*, he identifies himself as an 'evolutionist' who is, ultimately, concerned to avoid revolutions (Loos [1926] 1982a, p.186).

Although Vienna at the turn of the century has been claimed as a site of modernity, this exploration of Loos's Vienna from 1898 to 1927 has demonstrated that this was a 'special kind of modernity' (Steinert 1993, p.11) characterised by non-contemporaneous

⁷⁴Located on the south side of the Schmerling-Platz near the *Parlament*, the *Justizpalast* was built in German renaissance style by A. v. Wielemans (1874-81) (Baedeker 1913, p.47).

paradoxes and contradictions. Until the advent of the First World War, the stage upon which these struggles were played out was located in the city centre and involved a dialectic of old and new, a constant tension between continuity and change. In other words, Loos's 'Vienna' can be summed up as 'eines der Kennworte für die Koexistenz der Widersprüche in der alten Ordnung mit dem Widerspruchsgeist der neuen' (Hrachovec 1985, p.377) ['one of signifiers of the co-existence of the contradictions of the old regime with the contradictory spirit of the new']. However, the destruction of the old brought about at the end of the war transformed the nature of this dialectic, although not the dialectical model itself. From this time on, the struggles were not primarily temporal (between old and new), but spatial (between the centre and the periphery). Nonetheless, it is the constant presence of such tensions which reveals that the paradoxical nature of Loos's textual *oeuvre* is a reflection of the paradoxical nature of his Vienna.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

THE NON-CONTEMPORANEITY OF LOOS'S CRITIQUE

Meine Lebensaufgabe ist die vorherige (vor uns) Epoche nachzukonstruieren und auf ihr weiter zu machen ([...] wir müssen basieren auf das Vorherige, aber es war nichts da).
(Loos, cited in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.172) [143]

Das wahre Bild der Vergangenheit *huscht* vorbei. Nur als Bild, das auf Nimmerwiedersehen im Augenblick seiner Erkennbarkeit eben aufblitzt, ist die Vergangenheit festzuhalten.
(Benjamin 1974, p.593) [144]

Excavating Loos's *Kulturkritik*, deconstructing the book form, collecting the cultural signifiers circulating through his textual *oeuvre* and reconstructing his critique of culture, has exposed two distinct, yet interrelated moments of his thought. His texts and lectures were the vehicles through which he hoped to achieve his bourgeois project of introducing 'Western culture' to Austria, and yet they also contain a compelling analysis of the cultural forms of turn-of-the-century Vienna. Embracing both a yearning for cultural homogeneity and an awareness of cultural heterogeneity, Loos's textual *oeuvre* is explicitly predicated on a prescriptive view of modern Western culture. However, this is subverted by the more complex description of the ambivalence of Viennese modernity articulated in his writings.

Loos's prescriptive view of the modern locates his critique firmly in the bounds of bourgeois *Kulturkritik*. Indeed Adorno (1977, p.380), in 'Funktionalismus heute', a lecture delivered to the *Deutscher Werkbund* on 23 October 1965, emphasises the bourgeois nature of Loos's critique, arguing that 'man trifft bei Loos, dem geschworenen Feind der Wiener Backhendlkultur, auf erstaunlich Bürgerliches' ['In Loos, the sworn enemy of Viennese petty-bourgeois culture, one comes across astonishingly bourgeois sentiments']. In his own discussion of bourgeois *Kulturkritik* contained in 'Kulturkritik

und Gesellschaft', Adorno (1977, p.7) argues that the paradoxical position of the critic of culture is predicated on the fact that he is required to reject the very culture of which he is a part, while simultaneously holding fast to an isolated, unquestioned, and dogmatic ideal of culture. Revealing the close relationship between the critique of culture, culture, and the machinations of the market, Adorno diagnoses two inter-related control mechanisms which ensure that *Kulturkritik* serves to uphold the cultural structures which ostensibly form the object of its critique. First, the products of the *Kulturkritiker* are commodities – in both the lecture form and the feuilleton form, Loos's critique was designed for consumption in the market-place – and therefore, subject to the controls of the cycle of production and consumption. Second, the ideology of free speech has its own dialectic which ensures, through anonymous mechanisms, that the critique functions within certain limits. Thus, the *Kulturkritiker* objectively affirms existing structures even when not subjectively appearing as a commodity and Adorno concludes – with a passing reference to Marx – that '[die Kritiker] weben mit am Schleier' (p.9). Although not explicitly discussing Loos's work in this essay, Adorno's use of the metaphor of the veil is entirely appropriate in the context of an examination of Loos's *Kulturkritik*, in which fashion plays a central role. Indeed, the clothing of the English Gentleman functions in part as a signifier of Loos's self-proclaimed modernity in his textual *oeuvre*. Moreover, the present investigation into the figure of the English Gentleman has exposed the manner in which Loos rejects the culture of turn-of-the-century Vienna to which he belongs, while holding fast to a dogmatic and unquestioned ideal of culture, articulated in the ideal of *Vornehmheit* and signified by the English Gentleman. Thus, the figure of the English Gentleman, ostensibly the representative of Loos's prescriptive view of the modern, actually serves to illuminate the putative aristocratic-bourgeois nature of Loos's anti-bourgeois critique.

Nevertheless, as the inscription on Simmel's (1904, p.130) old Flemish house read: 'There is more within me'. While Loos's prescriptive critique of culture is astonishingly bourgeois and his self-proclaimed modernity is located in an aristocratic-bourgeois

ideal, his texts subvert their intended meaning to reveal a sustained description of the paradoxical nature of modernity in Vienna. This dimension of Loos's critique serves to illuminate the affinities between *Kulturkritik* and a strand of sociology. Indeed, the complexity of Loos's textual *oeuvre* suggests that to label Loos's discourse 'anti-sociological' (Torrance 1976) is to ignore an aspect of his critique which could be regarded as 'proto-sociological'. However, while sociologists of modernity such as Simmel, Benjamin and Kracauer explicitly set out to provide a diagnosis of the present, collecting the traces and clues contained in the everyday fragments of modernity, Loos sets out to impose a particular view of the modern on Vienna; his diagnosis of the times is the by-product of this aim. The new method of approaching Loos's textual *oeuvre* developed in the first part of this study has enabled the researcher to perform a process of excavation and expose this 'new', hitherto hidden aspect of Loos's critique. Applying this method and exploring the intertextuality of his texts has revealed that both the form and the content of Loos's textual *oeuvre* articulate the experience of being torn between modernity and antiquity, modernism and traditionalism, change and stability, *Neu-Wien* and *Alt-Wien*, old and new, global and local, city and country, exterior and interior, public and private, centre and periphery, heterogeneity and homogeneity, display and disguise, destruction and reconstruction.

Loos's critique reveals its radical edge in this dialectic of destruction and reconstruction, which suggests affinities with Benjamin's project of historical materialism outlined in the first chapter of the present study. In his essay on Eduard Fuchs, Benjamin (1977, p.46) argues that it is 'das destruktive Moment, das das dialektische Denken wie die Erfahrung des Dialektikers als authentische sicherstellt' ['the destructive moment which establishes the authenticity of dialectical thought and of the experience of the dialectical thinker']. Indeed, Benjamin's analysis of Loos, contained in his essay on Karl Kraus (1977, p.336), in the notes for this essay (1977, p.1111-2), and in 'Erfahrung und Armut' (1974, p.216), focuses on the destructive moment of Loos's critique embodied in the figure of the *Siedler*. While Benjamin explicitly draws attention to the destructive

aspect of Loos's thought, the reconstructive impulse in Loos's critique also demonstrates correspondences with Benjamin. In *Über den Begriff der Geschichte*, Benjamin (1974) describes history as 'Gegenstand einer Konstruktion, deren Ort nicht die homogene und leere Zeit, sondern die von Jetztzeit erfüllte bildete' ['the subject of a structure whose site is not homogenous, empty time, but time filled by the presence of the now' (Benjamin 1968, p.261)]. Basing his argument on the importance of ancient Rome for the French Revolution, he argues that the present can evoke the past just as fashion evokes past costumes. In a similar manner, Loos (cited in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.172) has argued that his task is to evoke and reconstruct the preceding age. Focusing on the beginning of the nineteenth century, Loos's critique denies suggestions that the unique nature of Viennese modernity is characterised by its close affinities with the Baroque (Lash 1990). Moreover, Loos makes the curious statement: 'Wir müssen basieren auf das Vorherige, aber es war nichts da' ['We have to orientate ourselves on that which has gone before, but there was nothing there']. And indeed, the period at the beginning of the nineteenth century, caught between the sweeping reforms which had been achieved in the late eighteenth century under Joseph II (Bodi 1995) and Metternich's repressive regime, was one of liminality. Putting a new perspective on the notion of *Ins leere gesprochen*, this period represents a void which could be radically reconstructed. It subverts Loos's own definition of the continuity and stability signified by the figure and clothing of the English Gentleman and attributed to the beginning of the nineteenth century, suggesting that this was an illusion. However, it was an illusion necessary to provide a hold in the increasingly giddy maelstrom of the new.

Moreover, it was an illusion that Loos was not able to shake off, and which refutes the radical edge of his critique contained in the dialectic of destruction and reconstruction. Unable to identify with the figure of the *Siedler* who ultimately threatened to destroy everything he held dear, Loos recoils from the radical consequences of his own modernity. Similarly, he ignores the repercussions of his critique of ornament, which demonstrates that the aspects of industrialised society usually experienced as negative

actually represent its positive nature (Adorno 1977, p.381). In its emphasis on the pre-modern life-style of the English Gentleman, the form of Viennese modernity expressed in Loos's texts demonstrates direct affinities with the experience of modernity in the nineteenth century in general, which Berman (1983, p.17) describes as 'an inner dichotomy, this sense of living in two worlds'. These two worlds, one of which is structured on the feeling of living in a revolutionary time, the other, on the memory of living in a world which was not at all modern, encapsulate the view of modernity articulated in Loos's critique, in which his proclamation of modernity is juxtaposed with the eschatological hope of a pre-modern Utopia. In his textual *oeuvre*, the ideal of cultural homogeneity, signified by a lack of ornament, directly contradicts the yearning for the endless play of difference. Although Loos's ([1910] 1982a, p.91) ideal of culture is based on the balance between man's interior and his exterior, his solution to the modern dichotomy between interior and exterior – signified by the figures of the English Gentleman, the Artisan, the Aristocrat and the Woman – is no solution, since it is dependent on pre-modern social relations.

Thus, not only does Loos's textual *oeuvre* contain a critique of the non-contemporaneity of social life in Vienna at the turn of the century, but also his critique and analysis of modernity is itself located in non-contemporaneous structures. To reiterate Bloch's (1969) distinction, the paradoxes upon which Loos's *Kulturkritik* is predicated are not the contemporaneous paradoxes of the capitalist mode of production, but are grounded in the subjective non-contemporaneity of the petty-bourgeoisie. In harking back to the nineteenth century, Loos's critique demonstrates affinities with the petty-bourgeois political structures of turn-of-the-century Vienna. This suggests correspondences between Loos's thought and Lueger's popular politics, since Lueger's Christian Socialism was firmly located in nineteenth century structures and concerns (Boyer 1981). And indeed, on the occasion of Lueger's death, Loos ([1910] 1982a) published 'Aufruf an die Wiener' in *Die Fackel*, praising Lueger's architectural visions. The non-contemporaneity of Loos's critique means that implicitly, the modern 'tragedy of culture'

(Simmel [1911] 1996) is articulated in his textual *oeuvre*, for he counters the impossibility of reconciling interior and exterior, subjective and objective culture with a regressive Utopia.

(Simmel [1911] 1996) is articulated in his textual *oeuvre*, for he counters the impossibility of reconciling interior and exterior, subjective and objective culture with a regressive Utopia.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

LOOS'S TEXTS

1. SINGLE AUTHORED TEXTS AND COLLECTIONS

- *Das Andere. Eine Zeitschrift zur Einführung der abendländischen Kultur in Österreich.* Vienna: Verlag 'Kunst', 1903.
- *Wohnungswanderungen.* Privatdruck, 1907.
- *Richtlinien für ein Kunstamt.* Vienna: Richard Lanyi, 1919.
- *Ins leere gesprochen.* Paris: Editions Georges Crés, 1921.
- *Ins leere gesprochen.* Innsbruck: Brenner Verlag, 1932.
- *Trotzdem.* Innsbruck: Brenner Verlag, 1931.
- *Trotzdem.* 2nd extended edition. Innsbruck: Brenner Verlag, 1931
- *Sämtliche Schriften.* Vol. 1., edited by Franz Glück. Vienna: Herold Verlag, 1962. [*Ins leere gesprochen* and *Trotzdem.*]
- *Ins leere gesprochen,* edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Georg Pracher, 1981.
- *Trotzdem,* edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Georg Prachner, 1982.
- *Die Potemkin'sche Stadt,* edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Georg Prachner, 1983.
- *Kontroversen. Im Spiegel der Zeitgenossen,* edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Georg Prachner, 1985.
- *Konfrontationen. Schriften von und über Adolf Loos,* edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Georg Prachner, 1988
- *Über Architektur,* edited by Adolf Opel. Vienna: Georg Prachner, 1995.

2. ARTICLES IN NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS (published during Loos's lifetime)

1897

- Unsere Kunstgewerbeschule. In *Die Zeit*, 30.10.1897: 73-4 [ILG].¹
- Eine Concurrenz der Stadt Wien. In *Die Zeit*, 06.11.1897: 90-1 [PS].
- [Kunst und Leben]. In *Die Zeit*, 27.11.1897: 143.
- Weihnachtsausstellung im österreichischen Museum. In *Die Zeit*, 18.12.1897: 186-7 [ILG].

¹If an article is included in one of the published collections, then it has been keyed to that publication using the following abbreviations:

Ins leere gesprochen (ILG); *Trotzdem* (T); *Die potemkin'sche Stadt* (PS); *Kontroversen* (KO); *Konfrontationen* (KF).

1898

- Die alte und die neue Richtung in der Baukunst. In *Der Architekt*, 1898: 31-2 [PS].
- Myrbach Ausstellung. In *Die Wage*, 02.04.1898: 229 [PS].
- Das Placat der Kaiser-Jubiläums-Ausstellung. In *Die Wage*, 02.04.1898: 37 [PS].
- Der Fall Scala. In *Die Zeit*, 09.04.1898: 26-7 [PS].
- Die Ausstellungsstadt. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 08.05.1898: 16 [PS].
- Der Silberhof und seine Nachbarschaft. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 15.05.1898: 16 [ILG].
- Die Herrenmode. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 22.05.1898: 16 [ILG].
- Der neue Stil und die Bronzeindustrie. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 29.05.1898: 18 [ILG].
- Interieurs. Ein Präludium. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 05.06.1898: 16 [ILG].
- Die Interieurs in der Rotunde. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 12.06.1898: 16 [ILG].
- Das Sitzmöbel. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 19.06.1898: 16 [ILG].
- Glas und Ton. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 26.06.1898: 16 [ILG].
- Die Potemkin'sche Stadt. In *Ver Sacrum*, (July) 1898: 15-17 [PS].
- Unseren jungen Architekten. In *Ver Sacrum*, (July) 1898, 19-21 [PS].
- Das Luxusfuhrwerk. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 03.07.1898: 16 [ILG].
- Die Plumber. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 17.07.1898: 7 [ILG].
- Die Herrenhüte. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 24.07.1898: 6-7 [ILG].
- Die Herrenhüte. Erwiderung und Antwort. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 31.07.1898: 10-11.
- Aus der Wagner-Schule. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 31.07.1898: 12 [PS].
- Die Fußbekleidung. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 07.08.1898: 6-7 [ILG].
- Die Schuhmacher. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 14.08.1898: 7 [ILG].
- Die Baumaterialien. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 28.08.1898: 6 [ILG].
- Das Prinzip der Bekleidung. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 04.09.1898: 6 [ILG].
- Wäsche. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 25.09.1898: 7-8 [ILG].
- Kunstgewerbliche Rundschau I. In *Die Wage*, 01.10.1898: 664-6 [ILG].
- Möbel. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 02.10.1898: 6 [ILG].
- Die Möbel aus dem Jahre 1898. In: *Neue Freie Presse*, 09.10.1898: 7 [ILG].
- Buchdrucker. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 23.10.1898: 6 [ILG].
- Ein Wiener Architekt. In *Dekorative Kunst*, 11 (1898):227 [PS].
- Die Wiener Jubiläumsausstellung. In *Dekorative Kunst*, 11 (1898).
- Die Frau und das Haus. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 03.11.1898 [PS].
- Das Scala-Theater in Wien. In *Die Wage*, 05.11.1898: 749 [ILG].
- Winterausstellung des österreichischen Museums. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 13.11.1898: 9 [ILG].
- Kunstgewerbliche Rundschau II. In *Die Wage*, 26.11.1898: 793-5 [ILG].
- Wanderungen im österreichischen Museum. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 27.11.1898: 9 [ILG].

- Wanderungen durch die Winterausstellung des österreichischen Museums. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 11.12.1898: 7 [PS].

1899

- Die englischen Schulen im österreichischen Museum. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 29.01.1899: 3 [ILG].
- Ein Epilog zur Winterausstellung. In *Die Zeit*, 18.02.1899: 103-4 [PS].
- Englische Kunst auf der Schulbank. In *Wiener Rundschau*, 3/6: 150-1 [PS].

1900

- Mein Auftreten mit der Melba. In *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 20.01.1900: 1-3 [ILG].
- Vom armen, reichen Manne. In *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 26.04.1900: 1-2 [ILG].

1901

1902

- Damenmode. In *Documente der Frauen*, 01.03.1902: 60-4 [ILG].

1903

1904

- Keramika. In *Die Zukunft*, 13.02.1904: 366 [T].
- Das Leben. Ein Blatt zur Einführung abendländischer Kultur in Österreich. In *Die Zukunft*, 01.01.1904 [KO].

1905

1906

1907

- Der schönste Innenraum. In *Fremdenblatt*, 07.04.1907: 6 [T].
- Wohnungsmoden. *Frankfurterzeitung*, 08.12.1907: 1.

1908

- Kultur, *März*, 01.10.1908: 34-6 [T].
- Die Überflüssigen, *März*, 03.07.1908: 85-7 [T].
- Lob der Gegenwart, *März*, 18.08.1908: 10-12. [PS]

1909

1910

- Vom armen reichen Manne. In *Der Sturm*, 1/1: 4 [reprint from 1900].
- Der Sattelmester. In *Der Sturm*, 1/3: 20 [reprint from *Das Andere*].
- An den Ulk. In *Der Sturm*, 1/6: 44 [T].
- Aufruf an die Wiener. In *Die Fackel*, 09.04.1910, 300:p.?. [T].
- Damenmode. In *Der Sturm*, 1/22: 171-2 [reprint from 1902].
- Tristan in Wien. In *Der Sturm*, 1/27: 216. [reprint from *Das Andere*].
- Die beanständete Fassade des Baues am Michaelerplatz. In *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 30.09.1910: 7 [PS].
- Wiener Architekturfragen. In *Reichspost*, 1.10.1910: [T].
- Mein erstes Haus. In *Der Morgen*, 03.10.1910: 1 [T].
- Eine Zuschrift. In: *Neue Freie Presse*, 06.12.1910: 9 [T].
- Über Architektur. In *Der Sturm*, 1/42: 334 [partial reprint of lecture held in the *Verein für Kunst*].

1911

- Otto Wagner. In *Reichspost*, 13.07.1911: 1-2 [KF].
- Wiener Architekturfragen. In *Reichspost*, 01.10.1911: 1-2 [T].
- Vom Gehen, Stehen, Setzen, Sitzen, Liegen, Schlafen, Essen, Trinken'. In *Der Sturm*, 2/87:691-2. [partial reprint of lecture held in *Verein für Kunst*]

1912

- Mein Auftreten mit der Melba. In *Der Ruf*, 1 (February) [reprint from 1900].
- Das Mysterium der Akustik. In *Der Merker*, (January): 9-10. [T]
- L'Architecture et le Style moderne. In *Cahiers d'Aujourd'hui*. 2 (December): 829-30 [translated by Marcel Ray].

1913

- Regeln für den, der in den Bergen baut. In *Jahrbuch der schwarzwald'schen Schulanstalten*, 1913: 25-6 [T].
- Ornament und Verbrechen. *Cahiers d'aujourd'hui*, 01.06.1913 [in French].
- Die fünf besten Bücher der fünf letzten Jahre. In *Wiener Kunst- und Buchschau. Eine Monatsschrift für Bücherfreunde*. 8/5 (July).
- Meine Bauschule. In *Der Architekt*, 14 (October): 70-1 [T].
- Karl Kraus. In *Der Brenner*, 3/18 (June): 841 [T].
- Regeln für den, der in den Bergen baut. In *Der Brenner*, 4 (1913/14): 40-1 [reprint].
- 'Keramika', *Der Brenner*, 4 (1913/14): 224-30 [reprint from 1904].

1914

- Anmerkung. In *Der Brenner*, 4/8 (May): 683.

1915

- Adolf Loos. Architekt (Selbstdarstellung). In *Meister-Archiv. Galerie von Zeitgenossen Deutschlands*, 1915 [KO].

1916

1917

1918

- Die Frühjahrsausstellung des Künstlerhauses. In *Neues Acht-Uhr Blatt*, 19.04.1918: 3 [PS].
- Sezession. In *Neues Acht-Uhr Blatt*, 23.04.1918: 3 [PS].
- Eröffnung des technischen Museums. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 02.05.1918: 2 [PS].
- Bewegung. In *Neues Acht-Uhr Blatt*, 10.06.1918: 2 [PS].
- Stadt und Land. In *Neues Acht-Uhr Blatt*, 12.10.1918: 2 [PS].
- Möbel für Neuvermählte. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 11.12.1918: 3 [PS].

1919

- Abschied von Peter Altenberg. In *Der Morgen*, 08.01.1919 [T].
- Nationalökonomie. In *Neues Acht-Uhr Blatt*, 24.02.1919: 2 [PS].
- Die englische Uniform. In *Neues Acht-Uhr Blatt*, 24.03.1919: 3 [PS].
- Richtlinien für ein Kunstamt. In *Der Friede* (Beilage), 29.03.1919 [PS].
- Die Kranken Ohren Beethovens. In *Der Friede* (Beilage), 29.03.1919 [T].
- Konfiskation der Schlösser. In: *Neues Acht-Uhr Blatt*, 23.04.1919: 2 [PS].
- Antworten auf Fragen aus dem Publikum. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 07.06.1919: 3.
- Was halten Sie von amerikanischen Schuhen? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 14.06.1919: 3 [T].
- Wie hat ein Sportanzug beschaffen zu sein? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 14.06.1919: 3 [T].
- Warum heißen die Sporthosen Knickerbockers? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 21.06.1919: 3 [PS].
- Warum trägt man Gamaschen?. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 21.06.1919: 3 [T].
- Antworten: -. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 28.06.1919: 3 [T].
- Der Mann ohne Hut? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 05.07.1919: 3 [T].
- Was ist ein Overall? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 19.07.1919: 3 [T].
- Batik? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 26.07.1919: 3 [T].
- Lange Hose, Kurze Hose. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 02.08.1919: 3 [T].

- Der schiefe Überschwing und die Flinslersterne. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 09.08.1919: 3 [PS].
- Das Ende des englischen Schnurrbarts. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 16.08.1919: 3 [PS].
- Hohe Hut und Würde. In *Neues Acht-Uhr Blatt*, 23.08.1919: 3 [PS].
- Hat die Arbeiterzeitung in Bezug auf die Modeausstellung recht? In *Neues Acht-Uhr Blatt*, 30.08.1919: 3 [T].
- Kunst und Handwerk?. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 06.09.1919: 3 [T].
- Freiheit und Kleidung? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 13.09.1919: 3 [T].
- Uniform und Zivil? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 20.09.1919: 3 [T].
- Wen wünsche ich mir als Zuhörer für meine Vorlesungen? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 20.09.1919: 3 [PS].
- Monokel? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 27.09.1919: 3 [T].
- Steht die letzte Herrenmode (kurzer englischer Rock) in irgendwelcher Beziehung mit dem König von England? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 04.10.1919: 3 [PS].
- Meine Vorträge. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 04.10.1919: 3 [PS].
- Stadtpelz. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 11.10.1919: 3 [T].
- Nationale Eigenart? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 18.10.1919: 3 [T].
- Leinenunterkleidung? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 18.10.1919: 3 [PS].
- Weitere Vorträge. In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 18.10.1919: 3.
- Vom Kammerdienerdeutsch. In *Neues Acht-Uhr Blatt* 25.10.1919: 3 [incomplete in T].
- Antworten: -. In *Neues Acht-Uhr Blatt*, 25.10.1919: 3.
- Warum trägt man zum modernen Überzieher einen Gürtel? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 01.11.1919: 3 [T].
- Abschaffung der Weste? In *Neues 8-Uhr Blatt*, 01.11.1919: 3 [T].

1920

- Art e Architecture. In *Astion - Cahiers indi et d'Art*, (October) [translated by Claire Goll]

1921

- Der Tag der Siedler. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 03.04.1921: 10-11 [T].
- Wohnen Lernen. In *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 15.05.1921: 8 [T].
- Wohnen Lernen. In *Der Siedler*, 03.06.1921: 46. [reprint]

1922

1923

- Das Grand-Hotel Babylon. In *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 20.12.1923 [PS].

- The Chicago Tribune Column. In *Zeitschrift des österreichischen Ingenieur- und Architekten-Vereins*, 3/4 (1923) [PS].

1924

- Die Abschaffung der Möbel. In *Die Neue Wirtschaft*, 14.02.1924 [T].
- Das Grand-Hotel Babylon. In *Das Kunstblatt*, 4:97-9 [reprint from 1923].
- 'L'Inhumaine'. Histoire Féérique. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 29.07.1924: 9 [PS].
- Arnold Schönberg. *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, (Aug-Sept 1924): 271-2 [T].
- Ornament und Verbrechen. In *Nas smer*, 10/7 (1923/24): 169-73 [in Czech].
- Ornament und Erziehung. In *Nas smer*, 11/3-4 (1924/25): 49-52 [in Czech and in German].
- Von der Sparsamkeit. In *Wohnungskultur*, 2/3 (1924): 17-19 [this article was written by Bohumil Markalous as a summary of his discussions with Loos; PS].
- Ornament und Erziehung. In *Wohnungskultur*, (1924/25): 81 [reprint in German; T].

1925

- Von der Sparsamkeit. In *Die Baugilde* 7/7 (1925) [reprint from 1924].
- Beauté de la destruction ou destruction de la beauté. In *Paris Soir*, 05.04.1925 [in French].

1926

1927

- Die moderne Siedlung. In *Für Bauplatz und Werkstatt*, 22/1:1-8 [this article was constructed from notes taken by Gustav Schleicher at a lecture given by Loos in Stuttgart (1926); T].
- Die moderne Siedlung. In *Der Sturm*, 17 (February):161-76 [reprint].
- Der Überfall auf das Wiener Kunstgewerbe. In *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. 05.05.1927: 1. [KO]

1928

- Kurze Haare. In *Neue Freie Presse*, 15.04.1928: 34 [T].
- Skizzen zum Siedlerhaus. In *Der Sturm*, 18 (April): 167.
- Das Wiener Weh (Entgegnung von Adolf Loos). In *Vossische Zeitung*, 15.05.1927 [KF].

1929

- Josef Veillich. In *Frankfurter Zeitung* (Express Abendblatt), 21.03.1929: 1-2 [T].

- Und noch einmal zum Thema: 'Der Stuhl'. In *Frankfurter Zeitung* (Abendblatt), 29.04.1929: 1.
- Möbel und Menschen. In *Frankfurter Zeitung* (Literaturblatt), 25.08.1929: 5 [T].
- Ornament und Verbrechen. In *Frankfurter Zeitung* (Abendblatt), 24.10.1929: 1 [T].

1930

- Ornament und Verbrechen. In *Die neue Zeit*, 13.03.1930 [reprint with an introduction by Heinrich Kulka].

1931

- Oskar Kokoschka. In *Ausstellungskatalog zur Ausstellung der städtischen Kunsthalle*, Mannheim, 1931. [T/PS]
- Adolf Loos über Josef Hoffmann. In *Das neue Frankfurt*, (February) [KF].
- Projet de Sauvetage d'une Pinède. In *L'architecture d'aujourd'hui*, (October).
- Aus meinem Leben. In *Trotzdem* [first publication; T].
- Kulturentartung. In *Trotzdem* [first publication; T].
- Kleines Intermezzo. In *Trotzdem* [first publication; T].
- Hands Off! In *Trotzdem* [first publication; T].
- Heimatkunst. In *Trotzdem* [first publication - lecture first held in 1912; T]

1932

1933

- Vom Nachsalzen. In *Der Adler*, 16.07.1933: 7 [PS].

3. MANUSCRIPTS AND TYPESCRIPTS ACCESSIBLE AT PRESENT

- Unseren jungen Architekten. 1898. ALA.
- Untitled fragment [Die Fauteuill des Frauenclubs]. 1906. Handschriftensammlung. Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek.
- Carrara. January 1906. Handschriftensammlung. Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek.
- Aufruf an die Wiener. Handschriftensammlung. Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek.

4. MANUSCRIPTS AND TYPESCRIPTS NOT ACCESSIBLE AT PRESENT²

- Myrbach-Ausstellung. Typescript, 02.04.1898 (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.666) [PS].
- Die Frau und das Haus. Manuscript, 1898 (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.666) [PS]
- Der Wiener Frauenklub. Typescript fragment, 1903 (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.666).
- Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen an der Bauschule Adolf Loos, 1912 (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.668).
- Anonyme Aufzeichnungen zu den Stadtwanderungen 1913/14 (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.665).
- Anonyme Vorlesungsmitschrift aus der Adolf Loos Bauschule (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.665).
- Aufruf an die Soldaten mit Extrauniformen. Manuscript. (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.669).
- Antwort auf eine anonyme Zuschrift. Vienna, 13.12.1918 (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.670).
- Die englische Uniform. Manuscript. (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.669) [PS].
- Nacktheit. Typescript. 06.04.1923 (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.665).
- Über die moderne Kleidung. Typescript, 1925 (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.306).
- An einen großen Möbelfabrikanten in Deutschland. Offener [?] Brief, 1929 (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.667) [PS].
- Unbezeichnetes Manuskript (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.665).
- Undatiertes Manuskriptfragment. (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.666).
- Die Emanzipation des Judentums. Undated typescript (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.666) [KF].
- Kunstförderung. Unpublished manuscript (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.667) [PS].
- Letter to Prof. Fr. Mokry. Paris, 22.08.1924. [Published as preface to 'Ornament und Erziehung'] (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982, p.670) [T].
- Ornament und Verbrechen. Lecture manuscript (Rukschcio 1985a, p.68) [T].
- Mein Haus am Michaelerplatz. Lecture manuscript (Rukschcio 1985b) [T].

²This only refers to manuscripts and typescripts of essays and lectures, most of which are either mentioned or printed in part in Rukschcio and Schachel 1982. Letters and other papers (which may likewise shed new light on Loos's textual oeuvre) have not been included in this list.

5. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF LOOS'S TEXTS³

- *Spoken into the Void*, translated by Jane O. Newman and John H. Smith. Oppositions Books. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982.
- Selected Writings of Adolf Loos. In *The Architecture of Adolf Loos*, edited by John Summerson. London : The Arts Council, 1985.
('Kultur', 'Kulturentartung', 'Ornament und Verbrechen', 'Architektur', 'Karl Kraus', 'Heimatkunst', 'Arnold Schönberg' and 'Oskar Kokoschka'.)
- *Ornament and Crime. Selected Essays*, edited by Adolf Opel and translated by Michael Mitchell. Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press, 1998.
(Most of the essays from *Ins leere gesprochen*, as well as 'Die Überflüssigen', 'Lob der Gegenwart', 'Kultur', 'Kulturentartung', 'Ornament und Verbrechen', 'Kleines Intermezzo', 'Die kranken Ohren Beethovens', 'Hands Off!', 'Ornament und Erziehung', 'Kurze Haare', 'Oskar Kokoschka', and 'Über Josef Hofmann'.)

³This deals with translations in book form and does not give details of single articles that have been translated.

APPENDIX 2 LOOS'S LECTURES

Key:

ALA: Adolf Loos Archive, Albertina.

LW: *Adolf Loos: Leben und Werk* (Rukschcio and Schachel 1982)

ILG: *Ins leere gesprochen* (Loos 1981)

KO: *Kontroversen* (Opel 1985)

KF: *Konfrontationen* (Opel 1988)

PS: *Die Potemkin'sche Stadt* (Loos 1983)

T: *Trotzdem* (Loos 1982)

RW: *Raumplan und Wohnungsbau* (Worbs 1983b)

DATE ¹	TITLE / SUBJECT	ORGANISER	PLACE	SOURCE(S) ²	PUBLISHED TEXT
1898	Lectures as part of course for tailors' apprentices.	Technisches Gewerbemuseum.	Vienna.	LW, p.61; T, p.64.	—
03.1905	Kunstförderung.	Enquete zum Thema: Kunstförderung.	Vienna.	LW, p.102.	PS, pp.99-101.
1910	Über Architektur.	Verein für Kunst.	Hannover.	LW, p.154.	T, pp.90-104.

¹Where possible, the exact date of a lecture has been given. If only the month and year, or only the year have been noted, then further details have not yet been traced.

²Where possible, at least two sources have been given – one referring to a primary sources, the other to secondary literature. If, as was often the case, there are more references available, these have been left out unless they contain extra relevant information.

DATE	TITLE / SUBJECT	ORGANISER	PLACE	SOURCE(S)	PUBLISHED TEXT
21.01.10	Ornament und Verbrechen.	Akademischer Verband für Literature und Musik.	Vienna.	Rukschcio 1985a, p.58; KF, pp.37-9; LW, p.147.	T, pp.78-88.
03.03.10	Ornament und Verbrechen.	Verein für Kunst.	Berlin: Salon Cassirer, Viktoriastr. 35.	<i>Der Sturm</i> 1/1: 8; RW, p.7.	T, pp.78-88.
08.12.10	Über Architektur.	Verein für Kunst.	Berlin: Architektenhaus (Hagensaal) Wilhelmstr. 92/93.	<i>Der Sturm</i> 1/41: 330; <i>Der Democrat</i> 2/51; RW, p.7; LW, p.152.	<i>Der Sturm</i> 1/42: 334; T, pp.90-104 (these are not identical).
1911	Series of lectures on Kunstgeschichte.	Schwarzwald-schule: Fortbildungskurs - 1911/12.	Vienna.	Schwarzwald 1912, p.103; LW, p.159-60.	—
1911	Ornament und Verbrechen.	Neuer Verein.	Munich.	Cutting from <i>Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten</i> (No. 591) in ALA.	T, pp.78-88.
17.03.11	Ornament und Verbrechen.	Deutsch-polytechnischer Verein.	Prague: Hörsaal der Technischen Hochschule.	<i>Prager Tagblatt</i> , 18.03.11; KO, pp.47-8; LW, p.154, p.174.	T, pp.78-88.

DATE	TITLE / SUBJECT	ORGANISER	PLACE	SOURCE(S)	PUBLISHED TEXT
18.03.11	Vom Gehen, Stehen, Essen und Trinken.	Städtischer Verband für Literatur und Musik.	Vienna: Elektrotechnisches Institut.	<i>Neues Wiener Journal</i> , 19.03.11; <i>Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt</i> , 25.3.11; LW, p.155.	—
04.04.11	Meine Kämpfe.	Volksbildungsverein: Part of lecture series entitled 'Aus eigener Werkstatt'.	Vienna: Festsaal des Niederösterreichischen Gewerbevereins.	Wiener Volksbildungsverein 1912, p.27; <i>Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung</i> , 04.04.11; LW, p.157.	—
25.11.11	Vom Gehen, Stehen, Sitzen, Liegen, Schlafen, Essen, Trinken.	Verein für Kunst.	Berlin: Architektenhaus, Wilhelmstr.92/93, Berlin.	<i>Der Sturm</i> , 2/83: 665; LW, p.161; RW, p.7.	<i>Der Sturm</i> , 2/87: 691-2 (section on 'Trinken' only).
11.12.11	Mein Haus am Michalerplatz. Ein Scheusal von einem Haus.	Akademischer Verband für Literatur und Musik.	Vienna: Sophiensaal.	Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien (poster); Czech and Mistelbauer 1984.	Rukschcio 1985b, pp.II-XIV; KF, pp.55-71.
1912	Ornament und Verbrechen.	—	—	Rukschcio 1985a, p.58.	T, pp.78-88.

DATE	TITLE / SUBJECT	ORGANISER	PLACE	SOURCE(S)	PUBLISHED TEXT
10.1912	Rechtshänder und Linksgeher.	Bauschule Adolf Loos.	Vienna.	<i>Arbeiterzeitung</i> , 25.10.12 [AK].	—
20.11.12	Heimatkunst.	Akademischer Architektenverein.	Vienna: Sophiensaal.	ALA (poster); LW, p.177.	T, pp.122-30.
1913	Über wichtige künstlerische Fragen.	(through Paul Engelmann).	Ölmutz.	Slapeta 1983, p.125.	—
22.02.13	Ornament und Verbrechen.	Akademischer Architektenverein.	Vienna.	ALA (poster); <i>Neues Wiener Tagblatt</i> , 21.02.13: 12; Rukschcio 1985a, p.58; LW, p.179.	T, pp.78-88.
03.03.13	Der Mensch mit den modernen Nerven.	(through Willy Haas).	Prague: Hotel Palace.	<i>Prager Tagblatt</i> , 05.03.13; Haas 1933 (reprinted in Claire Loos 1985, pp.56*-60*); Slapeta 1983, p.125; LW, p.170.	—
05.04.13	Ornament und Verbrechen.	—	Copenhagen.	LW, p.182; Worbs 1982a, p.528.	T, pp.78-88.

DATE	TITLE / SUBJECT	ORGANISER	PLACE	SOURCE(S)	PUBLISHED TEXT
04.02.14	Vom Stehen, Gehen, Sitzen, Schlafen, Essen und Trinken.	Bauschule Adolf Loos.	Vienna: Großer Musikvereinssaal.	ALA ('Vorträge Loos', 'Schleicher'); <i>Neues Wiener Abendblatt</i> , 04.02.14: 12; LW, p.192.	—
05.11.15	Die Schönheit im Dienste des Kaufmannes.	—	Vienna.	Kraus 1974, p.213; LW, p.204.	—
15.10.16	Über Fragen des äußeren Lebens für Männer und Frauen.	—	Vienna: Schwarzwaldschule.	<i>Neue Freie Presse</i> , 15.10.16 (Schwarzwald-Archiv).	—
12.06.18	Die Kranken Ohren Beethovens.	Rehearsal for a Schönberg concert.	Vienna: Kleiner Konzerthausaal.	Letter from Alban Berg to Helene Berg, dated 13.06.18 (Berg 1965, p.354); LW, p.222.	T, p.118.
01.10.18	Äußere Kultur im 20. Jahrhundert.	—	Vienna: Kleiner Konzerthausaal.	ALA (Vorträge Loos); LW, p.224	—

DATE	TITLE / SUBJECT	ORGANISER	PLACE	SOURCE(S)	PUBLISHED TEXT
1919	Richtlinien für ein Kunstamt.	—	Vienna: Mittlerer Konzerthausaal.	ALA (Zeitungartikel von Loos); LW, p.235.	<i>Der Friede</i> 29.03.1919; Vienna: Richard Lanyi, 1919; PS, pp.148-66 (partial reprint).
01.10.19	Vortragszyklus - Die äußere Kultur des 20. Jahrhunderts. (series of 6 lectures).	—	Vienna: Mittlerer Konzerthausaal.	<i>Neues 8 Uhr Blatt</i> , 20.09.19: 4; 30.09.19: 2 and 4.10.19: 3; LW, pp.238-9.	—
01.11.19	Wie richte ich meine Wohnung ein?	—	Vienna: Mittlerer Konzerthausaal.	<i>Neues 8 Uhr Blatt</i> , 18.10.19: 3.	—
02.11.19	Wie richte ich meine Wohnung ein?	—	Vienna: Mittlerer Konzerthausaal.	<i>Neues 8 Uhr Blatt</i> , 18.10.19: 3.	—
12.09.20	Gartensiedlung (Vortrag mit Lichtbilder).	Siedlungskomitee der Zweigstelle 'Heimkehrer'.	Vienna: Arbeiterheim, Laaerberg.	Novy and Förster 1991, p.59.	—

DATE	TITLE / SUBJECT	ORGANISER	PLACE	SOURCE(S)	PUBLISHED TEXT
1921	Wohnen Lernen!	—	Stuttgart.	LW, p.257.	T, pp.165-9 (article that appeared in <i>Neues Wiener Tagblatt</i> , 15.05.1921).
19.21	Die moderne Siedlung (6-hour course).	Siedlungsamt.	Vienna.	ALA ('Vorträge Loos'); LW, pp.258; 320.	—
Winter semester 1921	Das Siedlerhaus als Erzieher.	Siedlerschule.	Vienna: Volksbildungshaus.	<i>Der Siedler</i> , 1: 125; Novy and Förster 1991, pp.38; 79.	—
14.10.21	Probleme der Arbeitersiedlung.	—	Prague	LW, p.267. Slapeta 1989, p.45.	—
03.22	—	—	London: Garden Cities Conference.	Worbs 1982a, p.528.	—
29.11.22	Die technische, künstlerische und kulturelle Bedeutung der Arbeitssparsamkeit.	Verein Deutscher oesterreicher Ingenieure.	Vienna: Kleiner Konzerthausaal.	<i>Arbeiterzeitung</i> , 28.11.22; <i>Neues 8 Uhr Blatt</i> , 02.12.22: 4; <i>Neue Freie Presse</i> , (Abendbl.) 5.12.22; LW, p.278 (wrongly dated as December).	—

DATE	TITLE / SUBJECT	ORGANISER	PLACE	SOURCE(S)	PUBLISHED TEXT
26.10.23	Über die Gestaltung des Siedlungsbaues.	Vierte österreichische Wohnungs- und Siedlungskonferenz.	Vienna: Handelskammer.	<i>Der Tag</i> , 23.10.23: 5.	—
28.01.25	Über Sparsamkeit.	UP Möbelwerke together with the Klub der Architekten (as part of a series of lectures entitled 'Für eine neue Architektur' that included Le Corbusier and Gropius).	Brünn: Kunstgewerbe-museum.	Slapeta 1983, p.126 LW, p.305	—
30.01.25	Über Ökonomie in der Architektur.	UP Möbelwerke together with the Klub der Architekten.	Prague: Mozarteum.	Slapeta 1983, p.126; LW, p.305.	—
05.02.25	Die moderne Siedlung.	Lese- und Redehalle deutscher Studenten.	Brünn: Kunstgewerbemuseum	<i>Die Wohnungskultur</i> , 1/10 (1924/5); Slapeta 1989, p.48.	—
01.01.26	Architektur und Ornament.	—	Paris: Montmartre.	Lang 1926, p.447	—

DATE	TITLE / SUBJECT	ORGANISER	PLACE	SOURCE(S)	PUBLISHED TEXT
17.02.26 (also 22.02.26, 25.02.26 and 08.03.26).	Der Mensch mit den modernen Nerven. Vom Gehen, Stehen, Sitzen, Liegen, Schlafen, Wohnen, Essen und Sich- Kleiden.	Societe pour la Propogation des Langues Etrangeres en France.	Paris: Sorbonne.	<i>Neues Wiener Journal</i> , 21.02.27; KF, p.107; LW, pp.314-5.	PS, p.219 (short section quoted in report of lecture).
12.11.26	Über die moderne Siedlung.	—	Stuttgart: Haus des Deutschtums.	ALA ('Vorträge Loos' folder) Rukschcio, pp.258; 320.	T, pp.183-206 (report according to Gustav Schleicher's notes).
12.26	Charleston und Black- Bottom.	<i>Sturm</i> .	Berlin.	Dolbin 1926, p.11; Worbs 1983, p.8 [wrongly dated as 25.02.27]. LW, p.328.	—
11.02.27	—	—	Zurich.	—	—
15.02.27	Die Geburt der Form.	—	Vienna: Festsaal des Niederösterreichischen Gewerbevereins, Eschenbachg. 11.	<i>Arbeiterzeitung</i> 12.02.27.	—

DATE	TITLE / SUBJECT	ORGANISER	PLACE	SOURCE(S)	PUBLISHED TEXT
19.02.27	Die Wiener Küche.	—	Vienna.	<i>Neue Freie Presse</i> 20.02.27: 9. <i>Neues Wiener Tagblatt</i> 04.03.1927:7.	—
27.02.27	Herrenmode.	—	Berlin: Renaissance Theater.	Lang 1927; <i>Die literarische Welt</i> , 3/10: 2; KO, p.87.	—
02.03.27	Wohnhausbau.	—	Dessau: Tivoli - SPD Partei Lokal.	KO, p.87; Worbs 1982a, p.96.	—
20.04.27	Das Wiener Weh (Eine Abrechnung) bzw. (Eine Erledigung).	—	Vienna: Grosser Musikvereinsaal.	ALA (poster); LW, p.329; (see also KO, pp.89- 112 and KF, pp.106- 120).	—
06.11.27	Der soziale Mensch und seine Architektur.	—	Graz: Sezession.	KO, p.115; LW, p.333.	—
10.12.30	—	Celebrations for Loos's 60th birthday organised by Bohumil Markalous.	Prague: Gesellschaftsclub 'Am Graben'.	Slapeta 1989, pp.49- 50.	—

APPENDIX 3: TRANSLATIONS

INTRODUCTION

1. Adolf Loos, who will be celebrated by later generations as a great benefactor of humanity in his time [...] will be sixty in December. [...] We call on all those who are able to feel the beauty of the unadorned and who are able to grasp the great social idea which lies in the eradication of ornament, to contribute a building block to the future Loos School of Architecture.

2. Since it is likely that Adolf Loos, the Viennese 'architect and writer, artist and thinker' as Meier-Graeffe has described him, is only known by a small part of our readership, it seems appropriate to include a few remarks about the man, so that our readers do not think that they are dealing with an ordinary rowdy. [...] If he has now decided to speak out once more, then he certainly deserves to be heard.

3. This contribution introduces a new man to Berlin. In Vienna, his own home, Adolf Loos is well-known. In his history of modern art, Julius Meier-Graeffe has described him as an artist and architect, writer and thinker. Fourteen years ago, just as the modern ornamental movement arose, Loos spoke out as its most vehement opponent. At the outset, he was made fun of and laughed at, but soon the representatives of the Viennese applied arts movement adopted his ideas as their own.

CHAPTER ONE

4. The historical materialist must expose history's epic element. For him, history becomes a construction located not in empty time, but in the specific epoch, the specific life, the specific work. He blasts the epoch out of the reification of 'historical continuity', and so also the life out of the epoch, and the work out of the lifework. However, as a result of this construction, the lifework is both preserved and sublated in the work, and similarly, the epoch in the lifework and in the epoch, the course of history. (Benjamin)

5. After clearing away the rank growth, the rubble which has covered the foundations and traces of Loos's work, thought and feelings will have to be sifted through.
(Schachel)

6. Seeking. We begin with little more than nothing. That spurs us on, want to seek further. Looks around for it, gropes and grasps. But the sense of feeling still floats between the exterior and the interior, that which has been felt is not conclusive. Remains vague and loose, drifts as in a dream. This all only occurs at first within.
(Bloch)

7. Finding. We begin vaguely, with ourselves. We only begin to exist when we seek and think. Seeking begins with itself, it does not yet have anything else. And yet everything that it finds and feels precedes its detection. The seeker finds himself as one who is always already there, that which has been found appears as an occurring exterior here. This exterior disappears, reappears, is in flux or remains still. This all still occurs chaotically, at this point, one must choose or take up position.
(Bloch)

8. Montage finds its content in some improvisation, which would have been arbitrary, in some emphasised interruption which would merely have been an unimportant disturbance; it finds drastic means in despised or suspect forms and in forms which are always second-hand. And also in the rubble of meanings of great works now decayed, and in the thicket of material which is no longer smoothly arranged.
(Bloch)

9. And he who only makes an inventory of the find without being able to show in today's ground the place in which he preserves the ancient cheats himself. True memories must not so much report as pinpoint exactly the location in which the researcher got hold of them. In the strictest sense epic and rhapsodic, true memory must therefore present an image of he who remembers, just as a good archaeological report does not only have to indicate the layers from which the finds come, but also, and above all, those layers which had first to be broken through.
(Benjamin)

10. One should know that in the eyes of the collector, the world is present and ordered in every one of his objects. However, it is ordered according to an unexpected context which is, indeed, incomprehensible to the profane owner. (Benjamin)

11. Anyone who owns plans, sketches, photographs, reports, letters and other documents relating to Adolf Loos or who has written memories of him are asked to take up contact with Dr. Ludwig Münz, Vienna, 4th District, Goldeggasse 2 or Dr. Franz Glück, Vienna, 3rd District, Landstraßerhauptstraße 140. An archive will be set up in which all this material will be compiled and ordered with Loos's estate.
It is planned to then stage a large exhibition which will allow access to the contents of Loos's estate which are of interest to a wider audience, and also to publish his architectural and textual papers. Any material sent in will be treated conscientiously and with great discretion. However it is important that we include everything, and we therefore ask that Loos's friends make their possessions available to the archive without exception. The way in which these documents are utilised will of course be discussed with their owners. Copies of the material will be retained in the archive, while the originals will be quickly returned to their owners. (Wiener Zeitung – my emphasis)
12. Letters, manuscripts and papers belonging to Austrian authors must be protected from fragmentation and under the protection of the State, be made available to scholars through an agency. An archive will be set up for documents of literary value. An inventory of manuscript collections in private ownership or in the possession of local authorities is to be drawn up. (Loos)
13. The crux of the matter is the disgraceful and indefensible situation, in which plans and texts are being withheld from and made inaccessible to the public (and above all, to scholars!). [...] Finally, Loos scholars should not be content to accuse each other of unscholarly work, obstruction, and greed for money and fame; [...] instead, everyone should concern themselves with the intellectual heritage of the man who regarded his work to be part of the public domain and bitterly condemned any hindrance of this. (Weingraber)

CHAPTER TWO

14. Had Loos lived in ancient times, he would probably have become an itinerant philosopher delivering his pearls of wisdom in the town square. In the middle ages, he would perhaps have become a preaching mendicant, moving from place to place. (Friedell)

15. The storyteller: he is the man who could let the wick of his life be consumed completely by the gentle flame of his story. (Benjamin 1992, p.107)
16. The purpose of the journal is to make my professional work easier. You see, I design domestic interiors. But I can only design for people who possess Western culture. I was lucky enough to spend three years in America and to become acquainted with Western cultural forms. Since I am convinced of their superiority, I would regard it as a weakness of character to – subjectively speaking – descend to the Austrian level. This causes struggles. And I am on my own in these struggles.
17. Question: Who would I like in the audience for my lectures? Answer: [...] All the gentlemen of the government and those who would like to become members, social politicians, educators and doctors.
18. It is always a very appealing social event when Adolf Loos converses with his audience about current everyday matters. There is no other way to describe the manner in which he assumes the role of compere and takes up position at the front of the stage. 'Vortrag' is a word much too serious to express the playful carelessness of his art of conversation which has as little in common with planned structure and rhetoric as it does with schoolmasterly self-importance. It is the art of improvisation full of brilliant wit which, in plain Viennese, teases, mocks, curses temperamentally, and also praises and honours what was held dear and holy in times gone by, which admiringly salutes the utilitarian and which sends blazing rockets of maliciousness to explode against the senselessness of artificially ornamented use-objects. [. . .] To cause astonishment and immediately afterwards to be convincing - that is the appealing secret of Adolf Loos's characteristic art of public speaking. (L.K.)
19. in this way, we construct from the individual elements of life, out of which every being has been socially constructed or *woven*, that which we call subjectivity [...], the personality which combines the elements of culture in an individual manner. [...] When the individual as moral personality moves from an established position in one circle to *a position at the intersection of many circles*, this leads to the formation of quite new certainties, but also new challenges. (Simmel – my emphasis)
20. Did I not once coin the phrase, 'he who is clothed in a modern fashion, is he who is most inconspicuous'. That sounded paradoxical. But there were some good people out there who carefully stored away this paradox, and so many of my other

paradoxes, and had them reprinted. This happened so often, that people finally took them to be true. (Loos)

21. Soon the first disturbances were heard. A voice shouted, 'That's not true.' Vigorous hissing ensued, which was almost immediately drowned out by applause. It was a couple of minutes before Loos could continue. [...] There were many noisy interruptions, each lasting a few minutes. (*Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*)
22. Rigidly sticking to the rule that nouns should be capitalised has led to the state of negligence in which our language finds itself. This in turn is due to the fact that Germans create for themselves a great divide between the written and the spoken word.
23. AL read aloud the 'Tulips' by Peter Altenberg.
'Wonderful!' rang out from the enthusiastic choir.
(Altenberg)
24. an intermediary form between the performance on a stage and that performance on the inner stage, which is actually not a performance, but rather an internal process of listening to language becoming sound. (Gadamer)
25. In a truly amusing manner, he portrays the man from the previous century, describing how the position of his feet distinguishes him completely from the man of our century. He demonstrates how old Fritz's army marched past with their feet rigidly pointing to the outside. He then illustrates the way that the modern man walks, showing that his toes always point straightforward. Is it perhaps the case that this is linked to the increased tempo, that the foot, the carrier of the body, instinctively strives directly towards its destination? Are not all arbitrary gestures today interpreted as containing a deeper purpose, does not the analyst seek to discover the essential in the apparently trivial? Perched on the edge of his chair, Herr Loos imitates the modest underling, highlighting the strange fact that people always believe they are showing their opposite number deep respect and deference when they make themselves as uncomfortable as possible in their seats. (Godwin)
26. Adolf Loos has wormed his way into my journal in the *most perfidious fashion*, he has got my editor on his side by finding *advertisers* and has, behind my back, put me out of action, *ousted me!* A world of malice, treachery and meanness! Curses and shame upon Adolf Loos and his 'American culture!' (Altenberg)

27. People will find some of my ideas disconcerting. This is because I view the exhibition not in the Viennese perspective, but as it is seen from abroad. Deliberately. (Loos 1998, p.45)
28. It is not the object of the story to convey a happening per se, which is the purpose of information; rather it embeds it in the life of the storyteller in order to pass it on as experience to those listening. (Benjamin 1973, p.113).
29. Loos provides illumination in the presence of a few people who are quick to become enthusiastic, but even quicker to forget and who can only understand ideas when they are presented in the form of an accessible joke, world history when it is told in the form of stories, and bitter knowledge when it is packaged as a sweet, in the form of an anecdote. (Ehrenstein)
30. Today, the stimulus provided by his essays is undiminished and they are as controversial as they were back then. It is not without justified resignation that they speak 'into the void' and 'nevertheless'. Speidel praised Voltaire's language for being 'beautifully tasteless, like cold spring water'. This praise can also be applied to the racy and technically exact, concise, oral and informal style of Loos's essays. (Stoessl)

CHAPTER THREE

31. Once one has seen something of the world, one's evaluation of home products changes. Gods are overthrown, pygmies raised aloft. (Mitchell, p.33).
32. Somewhere an American philosopher says, 'A young man can count himself rich if he has a brain in his head and a decent suit in his wardrobe.' That is a philosopher who knows the world. He knows people. What use is a brain if one doesn't have the decent clothes to set it off? (Loos 1998, p.32)
33. When, a few years ago, I asked an American lady what she thought was the most noticeable difference between Austria and America, she answered, 'The plumbing!' [...] In this respect America is to Austria as Austria is to China. (Loos 1998, p.84)
34. one meets people who appear to us more different than people who live thousands of mile above sea-level. We have nothing in common with them. We want to say

something nice. They think we're making fun of them. We say something gruff and are rewarded with a smile. They dress differently, eat things which appear to us as though they came from the Chinese restaurant in a world exhibition, and celebrate in a manner that satisfies our curiosity in the same way as a procession of Singhalesians does. (Loos)

35. In America, the difference between the city-dweller and the country-dweller is not so marked as with us. Every country-dweller is half city-dweller, every city-dweller, half country-dweller. The American city-dweller has not distanced himself as far from nature as his European counterpart, or rather, as his continental counterpart. For the Englishman is also a true country-dweller. (Loos)
36. Practical as he is, the American worker does not understand why protective clothing should be made in two pieces. [...] Overalls will also become the clothing of the European worker. [...] In thirty years, we'll have them in Austria as well. Then the politician will speak emphatically of the 'man in overalls', as his American counterpart will have done for the past thirty years.
37. Every border is a psychological or better, a sociological fact, but through being invested in a line in space, the relationship of opposites, in both the positive and the negative sense, gains clarity and certainty. (Simmel)
38. The less settled, less certain and less free from contradiction modern existence is, the more passionately we desire heights located beyond good and evil, to which we who have otherwise lost the ability to lift our eyes can look up. (Simmel)
39. Why on earth these outbursts of resentment at English rooms? What is it about the English? Why do we make an exception of them? (Loos 1998, p.124)
40. Give up this deplorable habit of copying English makes, and model your machines on the genuine Austrian wooden bicycle, designed by the Styrian woodcutter Peter Pinecone (was that the fellow's name?). It surely fits in better with our Alpine countryside than the ugly English cycles. (Loos 1998, p.67)
41. And now, in the age of express trains and the telegraph, along come these cranks and try to shut off Austria with something like the Great Wall of China. That is impossible. (Loos 1998, p.67)

42. The Englishman enjoys sitting by the fire; once again, it is the joy of destruction which tempts the Englishman to sit by the fire-place and watch as one piece of wood after another is burnt up. (Loos)
43. One feeling simply cannot be erased from our memory: the recognition of the intellectual superiority of classical antiquity [...] for we think and feel in a classical fashion. (Loos)
44. The great Greek Doric column will be built. If not in Chicago, then in another city. If not for the Chicago Tribune, then for someone else. If not by me, then by another architect. (Loos)
45. It may not be pleasant for the German to hear that he should give up his own culture and adopt English culture, but Bulgarians don't like to hear it either, even less the Chinese. It is not a question that can be solved with sentimental claptrap. Some fuddleheads may still be confused by the question of a national style in clothing; in beds and chamberpots, too. But when it comes to guns there is no problem, the English style rules the day. (Loos 1998, p.160)
46. it should be taken into account that our dulled senses could only be awakened with loud and shrill gestures. (Loos)
47. The American Walt Whitman, the greatest Germanic poet since Goethe, had a prophetic vision of the coming century. [...] No, we have not halted, Walt Whitman, my old friend. The old, Germanic blood still flows in our veins, ever ready for the march. We too will do our bit to turn this world that stands and sits still, into a world of labour and the march. (Loos 1998, p.105)
48. Those words which have brought such terrible suffering to mankind could be inscribed on the gable of this house: in the German culture, the world should find its cure - it *should*, but it doesn't *want* to! The exhibition represents a relapse of thousands of years! (Loos, cited by Lahm)
49. In Frankfurt am Main, the chairman of the regional group of the German *Werkbund* was of the opinion that I was not German National enough. And that's true according to his view of the world. My question, 'why do the Papuans have a culture while the Germans don't?' is taken in these circles either to be anti-German or a cruel joke. It will never be possible to convince such Germans that this statement represents the outpourings of a bleeding German soul.

50. It is Germanic culture which, like a mammoth under the ice of the tundra, had been preserved intact in the British Isles, and now, alive and kicking, is trampling down all other cultures. In the twentieth century there will be only one culture dominating the globe. (Loos 1998, p.160)
51. In their own countries, the Turk can eat with his hands and the Austrian can use his knife to eat sauce. However, if the Turk or the Austrian find themselves in the West, then they have to use a fork. Even if one girds oneself with all the national pride of Austria or of Turkey, the English chaps will nevertheless still look down on us. (Loos)
52. The Orient was the great reservoir from which fresh seed constantly poured into the West. It almost seems as if at present Asia has given us the last vestiges of its inherent strength. We have had to reach out to the farthest corners of the Orient, to Japan and Polynesia, and that is where it finished. (Loos 1998, p.136)
53. What is Japanese about our sense of style? [...] So: first and foremost the Japanese style is the abandonment of symmetry. In the second place comes the reduction of the physical substance of the objects to be depicted. The Japanese depict flowers, but they are pressed flowers. They depict people, but they are pressed people. (Loos 1998, pp.136-7)

CHAPTER FOUR

54. The distinguished person is the very person who completely reserves his personality (Simmel 1990, p.390).
55. I'm a communist. The only difference between me and a Bolshevik is that I want to turn everyone into aristocrats while he wants to turn everyone into proletarians. (Loos)
56. as a general principle a king should furnish his rooms like a king, a bourgeois like a bourgeois, and a peasant like a peasant; and in individual cases kings, members of the bourgeoisie, and peasants should express their character in their furnishings. (Loos 1998, p.24 – slightly amended)

57. In the last few decades protective duties have increased in importance; single traders have little chance, self-representation plays a greater role in the selection of exhibitors. The aim is to demonstrate as a whole what a particular country, both artistically and technically, is capable of achieving. (Lessing)
58. Ever since he became aware that diamonds, furs and palaces of stone cost a great deal of money, the Parvenu finds it shameful not to be able to adorn himself with diamonds, nor to be able to wear furs, nor to be able to live in a palace made of stone. (Loos)
59. Let us not be ashamed that we live in a rental apartment in a building with many of our social equals. Let us not be ashamed that there are materials which would be too expensive for us to build with. Let us not be ashamed that we are nineteenth century people and not people who want to live in a house that is built in the style of an earlier age. Then you would see how quickly we would find the original architectural style of our times. (Loos)
60. Over there, on the other side of the Channel, lived a nation of free bourgeois people who had for so long been unaccustomed to the old barriers that they were immune to the temptation to ape the aristocracy. They shunned princely splendour and princely ostentation in their homes. Sumptuary laws affecting dress were a thing of the distant past, and thus they found no particular satisfaction in copying the great. (Loos 1998, p.20)
61. Since the general public does not have that kind of wealth at its disposal, they copy the forms at the expense of the materials and workmanship, opening the door to spurious superficiality, to that monster that is threatening to sap the very foundations of our handicrafts, imitation. (Loos 1998, p.19)
62. The French Revolution liberated the middle classes. There was nothing to stop them from making money, or from doing what they liked with the money they made. [...] There are people who still have a hankering after the ancien régime, but even they say, "Now I have the right to dress in the same manner as the Prince of Wales." No, my dear simple citizen, it is not your right, it is your duty to dress the same way as the Prince of Wales. Remember your forebears. Your great-grandfather and your father fought, perhaps even shed their blood, for that right. (Loos 1998, p.120)

63. So we see that we are not dealing with two different senses of taste, but rather that the middle classes think things are in good taste which the aristocracy shortly before regarded as tasteful. If the middle classes follow the aristocratic taste, then these things cease to be in good taste in the eyes of the aristocracy. Indeed, these things lose their value. *In this manner eternal change takes place, driven by the lower classes.* (Loos)
64. However, I said, 'For years I've preached the gospel of the aristocracy to you. I demand that every man keeps his most refined and sublime feelings shut inside him.' (Loos)
65. The task of the modern artist is to improve the taste of the masses within their various characteristic social gradations by satisfying the demands of those with the greatest degree of *intellectual refinement* in any particular group. (Loos 1998, p.24 – my emphasis)
66. In its purest historical form, the aristocracy has a unique power to unite the life-values of individuals and this development, in turn, purposefully strives towards the formation, improvement and independence of the individual. In this way, the aristocracy has found an historically unique solution to the problem of reaching a balance between the whole and the individual, predetermined circumstances and personal life-choices. (Simmel)
67. A proletarian leaves everything lying about. He says, 'It's the staff's job to tidy up.' An aristocrat tidies everything away. He would find it embarrassing if a stranger or an employee touched his private things. (Loos, cited in Claire Loos)
68. the psychological and historical connection between the aristocratic and the artistic conceptions of life may, at least in part, be based on the fact that only an aristocratic order equips the inner value relations among men with a visible form, with their aesthetic symbol, so to speak. (Simmel 1950, p.296.)
69. leaves them carry on in their own accustomed way, he knows the time they spend on their work is sacred to them. The revolutionary would go and tell them it was all pointless, just as he would drag an old woman away from the wayside shrine, telling her there is no God. But the atheist among the aristocrats still raises his hat when he passes a church. (Loos 1998, p.174)

70. The great significance of the aristocracy in Austria and the considerable prerogatives which it has always been granted there can be explained by the fact that in the context of the extremely heterogeneous and divergent elements of the Austrian monarchy, the aristocracy represents a continuously steady common element which is very useful in holding the whole together. The aristocracy has the same formal position in the most diverse parts of this country which has been thrown together by chance, and this means that there can be an Austrian aristocracy, even if there is no Austrian nation as such. (Simmel)
71. It is not the consumers, but the producers that are decisive for the museum. And the exhibition is the best barometer for new tastes that the producers have. (Loos)
72. Reverence for the quantity of work done is the artisans' most terrible enemy. For it results in imitation. And imitation has demoralised a large part of our artisan production. It has been deserted by pride and the spirit of handicraft. (Loos)
73. Yet for all that, the table continues to be that common, everyday thing, wood. But, so soon as it steps forth as a commodity, it is changed into something transcendent. It not only stands with its feet on the ground, but, in relation to all other commodities, it stands on its head, and evolves out of its wooden brain grotesque ideas, far more wonderful than 'table-turning' ever was. [...] A commodity therefore is a mysterious thing, simply because in it the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour. (Marx 1977, pp.435-6)
74. And in the future I will not refrain from explaining to my friends abroad that Austrian work and the snobbery of a particular tiny circle are not the same thing. (Loos)

CHAPTER FIVE

75. In its newest creations, every season reveals some secret flag signals of future forms. If one knew how to read them, one would know in advance not only of new currents in the art world, but also of new laws, wars and revolutions. - Without a doubt, this represents the great attraction of fashion, but also the difficulty of putting this attraction to good use. (Benjamin)

76. Even if there were nothing more remaining from an extinct culture than a button, it would be possible from the form of this button, for me to draw conclusions about the clothing and the traditions of the people, about their norms and their religion, and about their art and their intellectual life. What significance this button has! (Loos)
77. Convictions under paragraphs 125-133 of our criminal law represent the most reliable of fashion journals. (Loos 1998, p.107)
78. Now one day an unfortunate man came along and bade me draw up plans for a building. He was my tailor. This good man had supplied me with suits year after year and patiently sent out a bill every year on the first of January which (I cannot hide the fact) never got any smaller. Despite my patron's emphatic denials, I could not, and still cannot, rid myself of the suspicion that I was awarded this honourable contract in order that my bill would at least be slightly reduced. (Loos)
79. The *Arbeiterzeitung* is mistaken in maintaining that the word 'fashion' is only used for clothing, for the work of the tailor, the hatmaker and the shoemaker. That is wrong. Fashion is the style of the present. [...] A hundred years on, the fashion of a period is called its style, regardless of whether one is talking about ladies' hats or cathedrals. (Loos)
80. But in no age were people so beautifully, so practically, and so well dressed as today. The idea that I had to drape a toga round myself first thing in the morning and had to keep that drapery hanging round me the whole day – the whole day, if you please! – in the same folds, would be enough to drive me to suicide. I want to walk, walk, walk, and then, if the fancy takes me, jump onto a streetcar as it whizzes past. The Romans never walked. They stood around. And when I've had a bath and wrap the towel round me and tuck it in, in five minutes it's slipped to a quite different position. That's my nerves. (Loos 1998, p.157)
81. Today, the more modern a man's nerves, the more tightly-buttoned is his coat. As far back as fifteen years ago, Peter Altenberg wore a belt with a normal jacket. That appeared strange, but his nerves demanded it. Just as in general, the reason for the 'strangeness' of a prophet's clothing is that the tailor who works for the masses is not yet in tune with the needs of a prophet's nerves. (Loos)
82. The style of 1900 differs from the style of 1800 only to the extent that the tail coat of 1900 differs from the tail coat of 1800. That's not by much. The latter was

made from blue cloth and had gold buttons, the former is made from black cloth and has black buttons. The black tail coat is in the style of our times. (Loos)

83. But even in the course of this century the human foot has undergone a transformation. Changed social conditions have meant that year by year we walk more and more quickly. To save time is to save money. Even the best circles – that is people who actually have time to spare – have been caught up in this change, and increased their pace. (Loos 1998, p.95)
84. And so I have reached the most important question of the new design: the commonly-held view that the design of chairs are dependent on the shape of our bodies is false. Seats have always served the body and yet how different their forms in the past thousands of years! [...] Anyone who has not grasped this point should leave off designing chairs. This is the point that I was trying to make in my series of lectures, 'The man with the modern nerves', with reference to all objects. (Loos)
85. The idea that these continual changes in fashion are useful because they create work for the producers is a perverted view. Fashion only moves so quickly because we can't manage our things temporally. As soon as we have things which last and remain well-kept, fashion will immediately cease.
86. But now a new generation has arrived, a generation that has declared war on folk costume. In their struggle they have a good ally: the threshing machine. Its arrival in any village means good-bye to all those picturesque hand-me-downs. They are sent where they belong, to the fancy-dress hire shop. (Loos 1998, p.113)
87. He accepted the things I had written about the applied arts, but was unhappy with the way I dealt with questions of fashion and dress. He accused me of wanting to homogenise the whole world. Where would that leave our splendid national costumes? (Loos 1998, p.112)
88. An Austrian national fashion is a figment of the imagination, and to insist on trying to create one would cause incalculable damage to our industry. China is starting to pull down its walls, and it is right to do so. Let us not allow people, out of a false sense of patriotism, to erect a great wall here, cutting us off from other nations. (Loos 1998, p.93)

89. Folk art? What's that? Bare knees? Folk costume? Folk dances? And we city-dwellers are to pretend that we're at the theatre, sit on a bench and watch? The barriers between the city and the country should be completely eradicated. The distinction is artificial and therefore, ridiculous. (Loos)
90. Modern clothing is not enough. One must also have modern manners and speak modern German. For otherwise, one gives the same impression as an African tribal chief who regards himself to be modern because he has donned a European top hat. He is grotesque without knowing it. (Loos)
91. But, oh dear, if our outer clothing were to fall off piece by piece and we were left standing there in our underclothes! People would realise our European clothes are like a fancy-dress costume, for underneath we still wear national dress. [...] But to play the modern, advanced European in externals alone, trying to pull the wool over people's eyes with those items of clothing which are visible to others, is not really the behaviour of a gentleman. (Loos 1998, p.114)
92. Even today, men who want to emphasise their connection with preceding ages still clothe themselves in velvet, silks, and gold: the great aristocrats and the clergy. Men who are denied the modern right to self-determination are also dressed in velvet, silks, and gold: lackeys and ministers of the crown. And, on special occasions, the monarch, as first servant of the state, decks himself out in ermine and purple, whether they are to his taste or not. And soldiers' uniforms, resplendent in gold and bright colours, also serve the function of strengthening their sense of dependence. (Loos 1998, pp.109-10)
93. The March issue is most interesting. It deals with the reform of women's clothing and includes essays on this theme by Alfred Roller, Hermann Bahr, Baron von Drecoll as well as the opinions of doctors, artists and writers on subject of the corset. *Worthy of special mention is Adolf Loos's essay, 'Ladies' Fashion', in which changes in fashion are described in terms of a changing sense of the erotic.* (*Die Zeit* – my emphasis)
94. Ladies' fashion! What a horrible chapter of our cultural history, laying bare mankind's secret lusts. Reading its pages, one shudders to one's very soul at dreadful perversions and unbelievable vices; one can hear the whimpering of abused children, the shrieks of maltreated women, the ear-splitting screams of tortured people, the wailing of victims burning at the stake. Whips crack, and the air is filled with the smell of roasting human flesh. (Loos 1998, p.106)

95. It is an indisputable fact [...] that it is mistaken to talk of an original instinctual sense of shame which caused people to cover certain parts of their bodies; instead, we know that clothing has never functioned otherwise than as ornament and decoration. (Fuchs)
96. While, then, changes in men's dress are brought about by the striving of the great mass after aristocratic elegance, [...] changes in women's dress are simply dictated by fluctuations in sensuality. (Loos 1998, p.107)
97. From what has been said, it will be clear that the leaders of fashion in men's clothing are those who hold the highest social position, while the leaders in ladies' fashion will be those women who have to show the greatest skill in arousing men's sensuality, namely the cocottes. (Loos 1998, p.109)
98. The fact that the *demi-monde* is so frequently the pioneer of new fashion is due to her distinctively uprooted form of life; the pariah existence to which society condemns the demi-monde produces an open or latent hatred against everything that has the sanction of the law, against every permanent institution, a hatred that still finds its relatively most innocent expression in the striving for ever new forms of appearance. (Simmel 1997, p.198 – slightly amended)
99. in this continual striving for new, previously unheard-of fashions, in the ruthlessness with which the one that is most opposed to the existing one is passionately adopted, there lies *an aesthetic form of the destructive urge* that seems to be an element peculiar to all who lead this paria-like existence, so long as they are not inwardly completely enslaved. (Simmel 1997, p.198 – my emphasis)
100. But we are heading toward a newer, greater age. Women will no longer have to appeal to sensuality to achieve equal status with men, but will do so through their economic and intellectual independence, gained through work. (Loos 1998, p.111)
101. There is a clear parallel between allowing the horserider of the thirteenth century and the female cyclist of the twentieth the right to wear trousers that leave their legs free. And that is the first step toward society sanctioning gainful employment for women. (Loos 1998, p.110)
102. The clothing of the female bicyclist as an early and unconscious pre-form of sport clothing corresponds to the pre-forms fashioned in dreams which, a little earlier or

later, arose for the factory or the car. Just as the first factory buildings cling to the traditional form of the house, and the bodywork of the first cars reproduces that of carriages, so the clothing of the female bicyclist encapsulates a struggle between the expression of sportiness and the traditional idealised image of elegance. This struggle results in that determined sadistic impact which the present-day male world finds so provocative. (Benjamin)

103. The woman has to know more about colour than does the man. Colour has not yet been banished from her clothing. Because of her constant use of colour in her dress, she has maintained a feeling for colour which is missing in the man because of the lack of colour in his clothing. (Loos)

104. To be correctly dressed! With that expression I feel as if I have removed the mystery with which our fashions have been surrounded until now. For fashion we use words such beautiful, elegant, chic, smart, or dashing. But that is not the main point at all. *The point is to be dressed in such a manner as to attract as little attention to oneself as possible.* (Loos 1998, p.40)

105. Uniform means 'one form'. The new state should not abolish this symbol of the old state, but rather should consolidate and reinforce it. This would be in accordance with its social and socialising tendency. (Loos)

106. When the English entered on their period of world dominion, they imposed mankind's original dress on the whole world. [...] And the form was developed into the single form, the uniform, in which the individual personality can best hide its riches. It became a disguise. (Loos 1998, p.158))

107. A fop is someone for whom the sole purpose of clothing is to make him stand out from his environment. The arguments used to justify this clownish behaviour vary from the ethical, to the hygienic, to the aesthetic. (Loos 1998, p.41)

108. Those who go round in velvet jackets today are not artists, but clowns or house-painters. We have become more refined, more subtle. When men followed the herd, they had to differentiate themselves through colour, modern man uses his dress as a disguise. His sense of his own individuality is so immensely strong that it can no longer be expressed in dress. Lack of ornamentation is a sign of intellectual strength. Modern man uses the ornaments of earlier or foreign cultures as he likes and as he sees fit. His own inventive power he concentrates on other things. (Loos 1998, p.175)

109. As far as possible, they restrict themselves to a small clientele. To be sure, they are not as exclusive as some London houses, which will only open their doors to you if you have been recommended to them by the Prince of Wales, but they do abhor any external show. (Loos 1998, p.42)
110. Fashion is a particular instance among those forms of life through which we seek to manufacture a compromise between the tendency towards social equalisation and that towards individual differentiation. (Simmel)

CHAPTER SIX

111. The modernity of a city reveals itself on the surface of the street. (Loos)
112. The leisurely quality of these observations fits the style of the flâneur who goes botanizing on the asphalt.
(Benjamin 1983, p.36)
113. The streets are the home of the collective. (Benjamin)
114. And the pictures of my parents! What dreadful frames! But they were a wedding present from father's workmen. And this old-fashioned chair here! A left-over from grandmother's home. And here an embroidered slipper in which you can hang the clock. Made in kindergarten by sister Irma. *Every piece of furniture, every object, every thing had a story to tell, the story of our family. Our home was never finished, it developed with us, and we with it.* (Loos 1998, p.58)
115. Walking the streets at the end of the night around Midsummer and seeing them lying empty before you in the bright morning light, you have the feeling that you are wandering through an unknown city. For at this time we don't need to pay attention to passers-by, carriages and cars and stand in astonishment faced with a multitude of details which the day hides from us. (Loos)
116. the position that an epoch occupies in the historical process can be determined more strikingly from an analysis of its inconspicuous surface-level expressions than from that epoch's judgements about itself. (Kracauer 1995, p.75)

117. Question: Linen underwear?

Answer: You criticise my lecture and come to the conclusion that these things are trivial. 'You can also be happy in linen underpants.' Certainly, if you has the nerves of a man belonging to the period 1780-1860. However, if you are unlucky enough to have modern nerves, then you cannot be happy in linen underpants. (Loos)

118. Sacrifices were of course made in the Greek temple? Wrong, machines were exhibited in it. And people were most probably tortured in the mediaeval house? Not at all, modern educational aids were exhibited there. These exhibition buildings were at best good jokes, which one put up with during the short time of the exhibition. (Loos)

119. who was this matter-of-fact man who brought out such magic in the most common objects and was able to make these brilliant and common-place, childish and simple, *ancient and new* remarks in such a captivating manner. (Scheu – my emphasis)

120. My analysis must regard this thirst for the past to be its main subject. In this light, the inside of the museum appears as a greatly exaggerated interior. Between 1850 and 1890, exhibitions assumed the place of museums. Comparison of the ideological basis of both. (Benjamin)

121. An enumeration of all the objects that have found a place next to, above, below and on top of one another in the relatively small space results in the following list: Inscriptions: *Viribus unitis*. 1848-1898. Figural objects: A feminine representation of Austria. Heraldic objects: The Imperial eagle, the coat of arms of Habsburg-Lothringen, Lower Austria and the City of Vienna, the Imperial crown, the Imperial sceptre. Decorative objects: Imposing panelling, numerous laurel festoons, a running dog, a meander. Emblems: The emblems of agriculture, industry, trade, fruit-growing and science. [...] Landscapes: A panorama of Old Vienna and one of New Vienna. (Loos)

122. If only those ladies and gentlemen who dance the cake walk for their pleasure in the *Theater an der Wien* had seen him first. Then they would have seen that it can be done to the amusement, indeed to the great glee of the audience. When a lady dances the cake walk one has to be delighted by her grace, when a comedian does it, one must be able to roar with laughter. The word cake walk alone, or the awareness of the audience that he or she is dancing the cake walk, is not quite enough. (Loos)

123. The modern social dance, alienated from the network of conventions governing the middle classes, tends to become a representation of rhythm as such. If in the earliest eras dance was a cult practice, today it has become a cult of movement; if rhythm use to be a manifestation of eros and spirit, today it is a self-sufficient phenomenon that wants to rid itself of meaning. (Kracauer 1995, p.66)
124. As there is no longer any organic connection between ornament and our culture, ornament is no longer an expression of our culture. The ornament that is being created now bears no relationship to us, nor to any human being, or to the system governing the world today. (Loos 1998, p.171)
125. For 10 *kreutzer*, a bus transports us directly from the *Stephansplatz* to Venice. [...] 'Venice in Vienna' represents, so to speak, a popular introduction to the real Venice which presents the city, briefly and graphically, the way one imagines it to be, a version for people with a limited income. (Kraus)
126. Part of the terrain [in the 'noble Prater'] had been artificially converted into an Italian landscape. Electric lanterns were hung in the blossoming bushes. A huge restaurant with terraces and brightly-coloured awnings was located next to an artificial *canale grande* which formed the main attraction. When darkness fell and the Chinese lanterns shone, gondoliers clothed in Italian fashion guided their decorated gondolas through the canals, singing the inevitable, terribly hackneyed 'Santa Lucia' under these magic lights. (Malmberg)
127. 'Venice in Vienna', the carnivals in the honourable German cities, Ostende, Monte Carlo, the *Opernredoute*; all these places and events have originated from the profound desire to become intoxicated with the possibilities of a liberal philosophy of life. (Loos)
128. The dangers of life on the streets – children belong in the family.
Let us have a closer look at this family. Father, mother and so and so many children. They cook, eat, and sleep in the one room. In the evening and in the course of the night the young people renting a bed (*Schlafburschen und Schlafmädels*) arrive. [...] I doubt if it would be possible to urge doctors to report to the police all sexually transmitted diseases in patients under the age of 14. One year's worth of such statistics would soon silence this mindless view that children belong in the family. *There is no danger in life on the streets.* Their location in the

public sphere protects them. *There is only the danger of family life.* (Loos – my emphasis)

129. The workers had decided to march in a closed procession into the Prater and in particular, along the Hauptallee. Otherwise in these days, this beautiful wide avenue lined with chestnut trees was the sole province of the parade of carriages and equipages belonging to the aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeoisie. This announcement paralysed the upright liberal citizens with horror. (Zweig)
130. Above all, I expect that those people who are called to provide us with homes will take part in these tours. These people are our carpenters, paper-hangers and decorators. But one professional group is excluded: the architects! (Loos)
131. If only one could take notes while he soliloquises to himself in a low voice; regarding it to be a dialogue. And this in parts of sentences about two centimetres long; with never a full-stop, all semicolons, so to speak. Some striking epigrams and lucid allegories among them. (Hevesi)
132. It is no dead inventory item which we have taken over from our fathers. These rooms tell us our history. Each generation has worked on it, each in their own language. (Loos)
133. In earlier times, the houses that surrounded a monumental edifice stood back unassumingly in style and character. They were unadorned town houses. One spoke, the others remained silent. Nowadays however, all these ostentatious buildings shout out at the same time and one can't hear any of them. (Loos)
134. And my delusions were made all the more determined by a remark from a hostile modern artist. He said, 'He thinks he's a modern architect and builds a house that's just like the old Viennese houses'. (Loos)
135. However, it is particularly, no, solely this which matters: its serious appearance. Even in Vienna, the twentieth century will no longer be the age of the carnivalesque (*Hetz*). The previous one still had it: laughter, fun, carnival celebrations. This one has a serious appearance. [...] And such is this building, and so it represents its time, and so it will testify for it in the future. (Zoff)
136. There is something special about the characteristic architectural style of a city. Each has its own. Something that is beautiful and attractive in one city can be ugly

and repulsive in another. The brick buildings of Danzig would immediately lose their beauty if they were moved onto Viennese soil. (Loos)

137. In Vienna, the architects are ruining the city, without being asked to do so by the police. Voluntarily. All grandeur has thus disappeared from the city. If I stand at the Opera and look down towards the Schwarzenberg Platz, I am moved by the feeling: that is Vienna! Vienna, the city of millions; Vienna, the metropolis of a great empire! If, however, I look at the tenement blocks on the Stubenring, I have but one feeling: five storey Moravia-Ostrau. (Summerson 1985, p.110 – slightly amended)
138. It represents an extension of the street, elegance is not called for there; you do not remove your hat on entry; people are running back and forth, suitcases are being piled up, people from the street are standing around [...]. Flower shops, tobacconist's, bookshops and advance booking offices are located next to each other as in the Southern countries. The whole thing looks like the grand hall of a railway station. (Loos)
139. the hotel lobby accommodates all who go there to meet no one. It is the setting for those who neither seek nor find the one who is always sought, and who are therefore guests in space as such - a space that encompasses them and has no function other than to encompass them. (Kracauer 1995, p.175)
140. Settlements bring the city and the country closer to each other, exactly in accordance with the *Communist Manifesto*, in which Marx and Engels demanded that the difference between city and country should be levelled out, and industrial and agricultural labour be united. (*Arbeiterwille*)
141. Here, the constructive has been completely degraded. One must just consider all that is affected by this. Certainly and above all, the inwardness, the creative impulse, as opposed to the impulse towards civilisation which appears in its pre-form among the newcomers, the colonists, and the farmers who baptise the place of their future existence through destruction, through reclaiming the land. However, in our present culture, this place is inherent in everything in which culture is still determined humanistically. (Benjamin)
142. Those, as I do, wants to avert revolutions, those who are evolutionists, should constantly bear the following in mind: Owning a garden will inevitably have a

provocative effect on the individual and those who fail to recognise this and act on it will be responsible for every future revolution or every war. (Loos)

CONCLUSION

143. My life's work is to reconstruct and build upon the preceding (before us) age ([...] we have to orientate ourselves on that which has gone before us, but there was nothing there. (Loos)

144. The true picture of the past flits by. The past can be siezed only as an image which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognised and is never seen again. (Benjamin 1968, p.255)

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