UTS UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY SYDNEY

Please Remove Your Shoes: Four Case Studies of House Museums

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Architecture (Research)

under the supervision of Urtzi Grau and Professor Charles Rice

University of Technology Sydney
Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building

January, 2021

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I, Anna Claire Tonkin declare that this thesis, is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Architecture (Research) in the Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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UTS DAB 2021

Acknowledgements

This thesis is indebted to feedback from and conversations with several individuals. Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisors; Urtzi Grau for his critical contributions and crucial feedback, and Charles Rice for his constant guidance, critique and support. Thanks also to Francesca Hughes, Desley Luscombe and Andrew Toland who, as panel members, all provided productive and valuable insights at the various stages of the process.

This thesis was first developed from a project undertaken with my peer Tiffany Chang under the guidance of Sarah Hearne. The research and discussions undertaken at this time formed an invaluable basis from where to begin this study. I am particularly grateful for Sarah's continued support of the research, even after leaving UTS. Her generosity to give freely of her time is most sincerely appreciated.

The faculty at UTS have been a constant source of support. Thanks to Guillermo Fernández-Abascal, Endriana Audisho, Andrew Toland, and Brooke Jackson for providing me with opportunities to consider my research in other ways, via teaching and curatorial work. And to the students of UTS for the interesting discussions we shared. Both the formal and informal conversations with peers and colleagues over the last few years have been invaluable. Thanks to Beatrice Myatt, Isaac Harrisson, Jack Gillbanks and Zoe Horn.

I am grateful for all those who assisted on my visits to the various house museums. I'd especially like to thank Kevin Carmody and Catherine Meyler for their generosity in sharing stories about the Hill House and Grace Miller House respectively.

Thank you to Eric Ye for his unfailing patience, encouragement and considered feedback.

And finally, my sincerest thank you to my family, in particular to my parents. Their constant care and support have shaped all I do, and their relentless encouragement has been a propellant of my curiosity.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the development of domesticity as it went on show, specifically looking at the experiential shifts in the conflation of the modern house and museum. The house museum as a museum typology is unique, being both the container and contained, the means to exhibit and the exhibited. Whilst private houses have been opened to the public for some time, the conversion of modern houses to spaces on display has been occurring at a rapid rate in recent years.

Interestingly, this is not the modern house's first publicization. Over the course of the 20th century the domestic and seemingly private interior was rendered public through the development of the mass media. Today, the physical remains of the houses that provided the sets for the dissemination of 20th century modern identities, in becoming museums, have been made public for a second time. The making public of these homes in recent years is occurring at the same time as a growing need to define the field of the modern domestic interior. Along with the significant increase in house museums since 2000, the domestic interior has become a significant focus of academic inquiry. With the increase of interior design degrees there has been a rise in the number of anthologies of the interior. This entanglement between the anthologisation of the interior, the museum, and the media through which the house has been made public provides a unique context to examine the modern house museum today.

The thesis interrogates how modern domestic architecture is constructed, reinforced, and understood through its exhibition. Divided in two parts – 'The Anthologisation of the Domestic Interior' and 'Four Cases Studies', Part 1 traces the formation of the modern domestic interior through the literature and explores the themes which have structured academic inquiry on the topic. Part 2, 'Four Case Studies', analyses particular house museums through organising them into types. Using their distinct historical context, the thesis unpacks the contradictions and possibilities inherent in considering the domestic as both condition and site of display. Together, this thesis suggests that in examining the techniques and strategies of the conversion of the modern house to the museum, the house museum typology has the potential to shift and challenge the ideas of modern domesticity that have structured the field.

Introduction

It has become somewhat ordinary to remove one's shoes when visiting someone's home. It might not be the case at every residence you visit, but it does not feel unexpected or uncomfortable if someone asks you to do this upon walking inside. It is, however, unusual to discover you must remove your shoes, by reading a plastic card perched on the carpet, stair entry of a home, as can be found at the Rose Seidler House in Wahroonga, Sydney. Signs like this are tangible clues that what was once a house, may no longer be a house. There are often others of course, like an entry-fee or roped off area or a 'please do not touch' sign. These physical hints let visitors know that what was once just a space for its owners and guests, now welcomes strangers. The private house is now a space on display—it has been made public. This thesis will examine the development of domesticity as it went on show, firstly analysing the historiography of the modern domestic interior and then looking at the experiential shifts that have occurred in the conflation of the modern house and museum.

The term 'house museum' has generally come to describe a situation where a house either contains a museum or constitutes one. Adopting Linda Young's definition, I refer to house museums in this thesis as the situation where, "meaning, content and container are one."[1] In the modern house museum, there is a relationship between the display of the interior and exterior, one is not just a container for the other. Further the term 'modern' is used to refer to house museums that were designed and built as houses in the early to mid 20th century. Whilst the term modern has a multitude of associations and meanings, in employing the term modern to describe architecture designed and built in this time period, I am also referencing the complex but intrinsic link between modernity and domesticity that had developed.[2] In using 'modern house museum', I am distinguishing the focus of the thesis from historic house museums. Historians like Young are largely focussed on historic house museums, on which some scholarship has developed particularly from the perspectives of sociology and decorative arts. Whilst there has been some scholarship on this topic within architecture by historians such as Hannah Lewi, in terms of the modern house museum from an architectural perspective, it is still largely under-theorised.[3]

Whilst private houses have been opened to the public for some time, the conversion of modern houses to spaces on display has been occurring at a rapid rate in recent years.[4] And whilst this could be seen as a continuation, other factors make this transformation particular for this period. Firstly, this is not the modern house's first publicization. Throughout the 20th century the domestic and seemingly private interior was rendered public – a concerted effort that involved advancing print and publishing technologies and a growing mass media. At the same time, the first period rooms left their buildings and entered the museum, thereby broadcasting past ways of living. The appearance of these rooms in the museum introduced what historian Edward Kaufman called a "quasi-domestic installation."[5] The rooms were not to be lived in but to be viewed, re-constructed using artefacts and replications of previous interior styles. For Kaufman, the display of domestic architecture through the period room was a reaction against the typical display of architecture in museums through casts and fragments.[6] This signalled a move toward needing validation through the experience of the space and observing objects concerning each other. The period room suggested opposition to viewing a fragment displayed out of context.[7] The house museum goes a step further than the period room in providing validation for the interior by displaying it within its original context. Today, the physical remains of the houses that provided the sets for the dissemination of 20th century modern identities have become museums themselves. And in doing so, they have been made public for a second time.

In terms of displaying domesticity, there have been numerous developments both within the museum and beyond since the introduction of the period room in the late 19th century (it was in the 1890s at the Swiss National Museum where they initially began to arrange decorative art objects in period settings).[8] From the first period rooms at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1923, to Mrs. James Thorne's miniature period rooms at the Art Institute of Chicago, to the establishment of the Department of Architecture at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1932, to the inaugural Venice Architecture Biennale in 1980, the 20th century saw the explosion of the architectural exhibition, within the museum and beyond.[9] The interior became an important focus of exhibition. Examples of interior installations include Charlotte Perriand's model modern apartment at the Salon d'Automne in 1929 (figure 1), Lilly Reich's apartment installations at 'The Dwelling in Our Time' exposition in Berlin in 1931 (of which she was also the

creative director) (figure 2), Luigi Figni and Gino Pollino's 'Ambiente di Soggiorno e Terraze' at the 6th Triennial in Milan in 1936 (figure 3), Buckminster Fuller's Dymaxion House in Wichita, Kansas in 1946 (figure 4), and the Smithsons' 'House of the Future' on display at Daily Mail Ideal Home Exhibition, London in 1956 (figure 5).[10] Despite this expanded use of the exhibition in architecture, the exhibits were mostly of architecture or architectural ideas that were extremely current or projections for the future, rather than physical collections of architecture that already existed. And even though the modern house museum involves the restoration and reconstruction of a past domestic interior, it is unlike the period room. The modern house museum involves the display of its interior in its original setting and therefore the house museum is both exterior and interior. This thesis will argue that the display of the house museum involves showing both the house in its entirety as an artefact, and also, the display of its domesticity. And whilst the early period rooms involved the recreation of a setting using artefacts and replications of previous interior styles, the restoration, preservation, and curation of the modern house museum is much more specific to the design of the particular house. This process involves the decision of when, in the timeline of the house's existence, should be the moment that is preserved and displayed.[11]

The image of the modern house was made public through the proliferation of images and the fast-developing mass media. It can be understood through the discourse around modern architecture and media, which emerged out of the work of historians like Beatriz Colomina, that the public memory of the 20th century consists primarily of private spaces constructed in a new form of public space: publications, exhibitions, photographs, magazines, and advertising. Colomina argues that there was a move from displaying architecture to displaying the image of architecture.[12] The images of homes in magazines and the accompanying articles became as equally important, if not more important to the understanding of these houses as the buildings themselves. The photographs allowed the viewers to project themselves into the lifestyles presented, they conveyed curated stories contributing to the image of the modern housing archetype. Taking up this perspective, the thesis will argue that it is these media that remain and contribute to the historiographies of the physical architectural sites that have become house museums—the reconstructions of houses as museums are informed by the representation of the house and they in turn inform the historiography of the modern domestic interior.

Another important circumstance that is particular to the modern house museum is that the making public of these homes in recent years is occurring at the same time as a growing need to define the field of the modern domestic interior. Along with the significant increase in house museums since 2000, the domestic interior has become a significant focus of academic inquiry. With the increase of interior design degrees there has been a rise in the number of anthologies of the interior.[13] As stated by Lois Weinthal in the preface to her 2011 anthology *Towards a New Interior*, "Interior design literature is in need of theoretical framing."[14] This desire is present across the many interior design anthologies published in the last 10 years and in some ways is fuelled by an anxiety to assert a difference from architecture and define interior design as its own field of study. English and literature historian Jeffrey di Leo outlines that, "scholars and students alike rely on anthologies for accurate topologies of their disciplines" and that like an atlas one does not question the mapping of authors and writings of anthologies.[15] They provide a framework for education—"anthologies are shaped by pedagogies and pedagogies are shaped by anthologies."[16] They reveal emerging lines of inquiry and also play a powerful role in canon formation. With the need to define the field of interior design, the growth in the number of anthologies on the domestic interior aligns with di Leo's position.

Architectural historian Sylvia Lavin in 'Theory into History; Or, the Will to Anthology' writes of the proliferation of anthologies on architectural theory more generally. She outlines that "anthologies lend stability to an otherwise promiscuous body of material."[17] Lavin suggests that in using "techniques of cataloguing and classification (which) provide order and closure" anthologies could be compared to museums.[18] Like the museum, anthologies organise and curate information, "providing meaning for a collection of fragments."[19] In the house museum, these parallel forms of collections collapse in their portrayal of the domestic interior. This thesis contends that there is a similitude between the collected knowledge of anthologies and the curation of the house museum itself. As a form of collection, the interior design anthology collates information in order to present an idea of the study of the domestic interior. Likewise, the house museum must be curated in order to present an idea of the domestic interior to a particular point in its historical timeline. The house museum similarly involves collecting and curating

a broad and loose body of material, years of history, traces of which can be found in the condition of the house, objects, furniture, and the media through which it has been documented and presented over time. The physical exhibition of the house, like an anthology, depicts an authorised history. Further, both the historiography of the domestic interior and the reconstruction of the house as museum are reliant on the media of the houses and the ways these seemingly private spaces have been made public. This thesis will argue that this entanglement between the anthologisation of the interior, the museum, and the media through which the house has been made public provides a unique context to examine the modern house museum.

In order to do so the thesis unfolds in two parts. The first, 'Anthologising the Domestic Interior', traces the formation of the modern domestic interior through the literature and explores the themes which have structured academic inquiry on the topic. The second part, 'Four Case Studies', analyses particular house museums, using their distinct historical context to unpack the contradictions and possibilities inherent in considering the domestic as both condition and site of display. The house museums studied are: The Hill House, designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret McDonald (1902-04), the Eames House by Charles and Ray Eames (1949), the Maison de Verre designed by Pierre Chareau and Bernard Bijvoet with Louis Dalbet (1932), and the Grace Miller House by Richard Neutra (1936). Whilst these four examples are not an exhaustive or definitive selection of house museums, they were chosen as they each have had a particular moment in their shift from house to museum that informs the distinct mode of display that they function in today. The selection includes two houses located in Europe and two in the United States. Each of the houses play a role both in the 20th century construction of modern national identities which reflects the relationship between modernism, domesticity, and the 20th century's own distinct mode of Western imperium.

In demonstrating connections between Part 1 and Part 2, I identify the conscious construction of the field. This thesis therefore demonstrates how modern domestic architecture is constructed, reinforced, and understood through its most recent form of exhibition. The aim of Part 1 is to identify the themes and formats that have structured academic inquiry on the domestic interior and trace the formation of the

field through the key anthologies. The intention is that Part 1 provides a framing and a presentation of the environment to consider the development of the modern house museum that is studied in Part 2.

As Part 1 shows, despite the significant growth in publications, developing a comprehensive understanding of the history of the domestic interior seems almost impossible. Divergent understandings of what constitutes the domestic interior are prevalent in the literature. The continual exclusion of certain histories as well as the inclusion of contradictory perspectives on how it has developed points to a lack of a coherent and consistent understanding of what the 'domestic interior' means historically.

Through a process of mapping out the key literature I identify two dominant approaches to defining the domestic interior, which I call 'traditions'.[20] I propose the term tradition in order to account for the transmission of the approach over time. The two traditions that I identify, whilst having some overlap, each approach the study of the domestic interior in a unique way. The first tradition named 'A Separate Interior' involves writing mostly from Britain that identifies the study of the interior as an independent field from architecture, being largely formulated from within art history. There has been, since the formation of architecture and interior design degrees, an adoption of the traditional methods of studying art and applying them to the study of representations of architectural spaces. To study the domestic interior following this tradition is to analyse primary sources in order to provide an account of the period that is as close as possible to a reconstruction. Building from the work of Mario Praz in the 1960s, this tradition significantly developed in the early and mid 2000s via the scholarship of key figures including Jeremy Aynsley and Penny Sparke.

The second tradition named, 'Domesticity's Interdisciplinarity' approaches the study of the domestic interior with an interdisciplinary focus, looking at architecture from the perspectives of philosophy, psychology, film, and literature studies. This is done particularly to deal with domesticity and its relationship with questions of gender and sexuality. Significantly developing in the 1980s and 1990s through the writings of key figures such as Beatriz Colomina, this tradition highlights the connection between 20th century domesticity, the interior, and the gender-role of women.

It was important to define the traditions and shape their distinctions in order to organise the field and set the context for Part 2. As a result of this, I found the two traditions demonstrate productive differences in approaching the domestic interior. It was essential to understand the perspectives presented in the literature, as a means of comparison when going out into the field as part of the case study analyses. The sorting of the traditions became useful when I encountered these tensions and contradictions on site. Working with the tensions of a field still anxious about its scholarly definition, the traditions became an essential means of navigation. In delving into these two differing traditions in Part 1, I examine how the modern domestic interior has been constructed and reinforced in particular ways. Whilst the traditions present distinct notions of the modern domestic interior, the tools that have been used to construct the traditions are comparable. Part 1 demonstrates that it is the entanglement of the anthology, the museum and the media of the modern house that have been employed to construct the field from which the modern house museum has emerged and can be situated. The emergence of the modern house museum then presents itself as a physical 'historical document'[21]. It becomes a source that allows one to reconsider the domestic interior and experience it physically. In linking Part 1 and 2, I suggest that the curation of these museums is informed by and informs the historiography of the modern domestic interior, and the categorisation of the house museums into types in Part 2 offers both a way of understanding this impact and the opportunity to continue and expand upon this scholarship.

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[1] Linda Young, "Is There a Museum in the House? Historic Houses as a Species of Museum." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 22, no. 1 (March 1, 2007): 59.

[2] This relationship is discussed in more detail in Hilde Heynen, 'Modernity and Domesticity: Tensions and Contradictions' in Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar, *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture,* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

[3] See Hannah Lewi, "Going Public: The Modern Heritage House on Display," *Historic Environment*, Vol. 25, No. 2, (2013): 62-74. Whilst most texts that discuss modern house museums are focussed on them as houses rather than their current mode, there are some influential texts that examine the house as an object or item to be bought, sold and collected. See Irene Sunwoo, "Taming the Farnsworth House." *Thresholds* no. 31 (2006): 66-75. Accessed October 29, 2020, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43876275 and Mari Lending, "The Art of Collecting" in *Volume* 44, (2015): 20. Others relate the ideas and situation around the design of the house with its restoration see Beatriz Colomina, 'Battles Lines' in Francesca Hughes, *The Architect : Reconstructing Her Practice* Cambridge, (Mass: MIT Press, 1996), and Tim Benton, "E-1027 and the Drôle de Guerre," *AA files* 74, (2017): 123-154.

[4] Historian Linda Young states that "Houses have been museum objects for nearly as long as the modern 19th century history of museums. Stately homes aside, where display to visitors constituted part of the 'domestic' function, the first house museum was Sir John Soane's Museum in London—distinguished from being simply a collection bequeathed to the nation by his requirement that the house's layout and furnishings be maintained". Young, "Is There a Museum in the House?" 60.

Iconic Houses, “an international network connecting architecturally significant houses and artists’ homes and studios from the 20th century that are open to the public as house museum”, currently has 49 house museums listed on the site, with 20 of them becoming museums in the last 20 years. Iconic Houses, “About,” accessed October 2020, https://www.iconichouses.org/about.

[5] Kaufman, “The Architectural Museum from World’s Fair to Restoration Village,” *Assemblage*, No. 9, (1989): 28.

[6] Kaufman, “The Architectural Museum” 28.

[7] An example of this shift in experience of museums can be found in the Geffrye Museum London, opened in 1914. In the mid 1930s, the Geffrye collections were organised into period rooms and this mode of display continues today.

[8] The development of the period room in the United States is outlined in detail in Kaufman, “The Architectural Museum,” 28

[9] Kaufman, “The Architectural Museum,” 30.

[10] Irene Cieraad, Hans Teerds, and Jurjen Zeinstra, *DASH 11: Interiors on Display: A Representation of Good Living (Delft Architectural Studies on Housing),* (Uitgevers: Nai010, 2015).

[11] The decision of which moment in time to restore the house is discussed in ‘Many Lives of Red House’ where the house is displayed simultaneously showing references to various moments in its timeline. In this case multiple times are shown however this is a unique case. Barbara Penner and Charles Rice, “The Many Lives of Red House,” in *Biography, Identity and the Modern Interior*, ed. Anne Massey and Penny Sparke (London: Ashgate, 2013), 23-35.

[12] Beatriz Colomina, “The Private Site of Public Memory,” *Journal of architecture* 4, (January 1, 1999): 337, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/136023699373747.

[13] There have been a number of interior design anthologies produced in the last 10 years including; Georgina Downey, *Domestic interiors: Representing Homes from the Victorians to the Moderns* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), Gregory Marinic, *The Interior Architecture Theory Reader* (Florence: Taylor and Francis, 2018), Rebecca Houze and Grace Lees-Maffei *The Design History Reader* (Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2010), Anca Lasc, *Visualizing the nineteenth-century home: modern art and the decorative impulse*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), Paula Lupkin and Penny Sparke, *Shaping the American interior*, Routledge (London; New York: Taylor and Francis Group, 2018), Trevor Keeble, Anne Massey, Brenda Martin and Penny Sparke, *Designing the modern interior : from the Victorians to today,* (England: Berg 2009), Mark Taylor, *Interior design and architecture: Critical and Primary Sources*, 1. publ. edn, (London; New Delhi; New York, NY; Sydney: Bloomsbury 2013), Lois Weinthal, T*oward a new interior: An Anthology of Interior Design Theory*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2011) and Graeme Brooker and Lois Weinthal, *Handbook of Interior Architecture and Design,* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing 2013).

[14] Lois Weinthal, T*oward a new interior,* 6.

[15] Jeffrey Di Leo, *On anthologies: politics and pedagogy*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 4.

[16] Di Leo, *On anthologies*, 4.

[17] Sylvia Lavin, “Theory into History; Or, the Will to Anthology,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 58, no. 3, (1999): 494.

[18] Lavin, “Theory into History,” 494.

[19] Silvia Colmenares and Luis Rojo, “Call for Papers,” *Criticall III International Conference on Architectural Design and Exhibition*, Madrid School of Architecture, (2018): 11.

[20] A notable absence from these two traditions is the writings of Robin Evans. The understanding of the modern domestic interior in architectural discourse has been shaped by an approach to the interior that involves an examination of the architectural documentation of the house and how these developments inform the use of interiors. This approach can be traced to three key writings of architectural historian Robin Evans. His prolific essays as anthologised in *Translations From Drawings to Buildings and Other Essays* (published posthumously in 1997) covered a wide range of concerns. What was most influential for the study of the modern domestic interior today was his work on society’s role in the evolution and development of building types and modes of representation. Particularly evident in the essays, ‘Figures Doors and Passages’, ‘Rookeries and Model Dwellings’ and ‘The Developed Surface Drawing’, Evans explored a disjunction between the stated intentions of the architecture and its actual impact on the occupants, dealing with the interchanges between architecture and the various spatial conditions produced through use. Evans’ work is seminal however it is also distinct and sits in separation from the more clear trajectory of the field.

[21] Hannah Lewi, “Going Public: The Modern Heritage House on Display,” 71.

Part 1
Anthologising the Domestic Interior

Chapter 1 - A Separate Interior

This chapter examines the formation of the tradition, of which I have titled, 'A Separate Interior'. In this chapter, I analyse the key texts, and their connections, which have structured academic inquiry of the domestic interior that calls for it to be understood as separate to the study of architecture. I track the founding documents of the tradition and examine how the ideas and methods undertaken in those texts are reinforced in more recent anthologies. There is a deep anxiety in the study of interiors to assert its separation from architecture. The intention of this chapter is not to reveal this concern but to acknowledge that this compulsion toward separation has developed a particular tradition of studying the interior that impacts the reconstruction of the interior as a house museum today.

In 1965, images of the private collection of literature scholar, art critic, and collector Mario Praz were published in English for the first time as *An Illustrated History of Interior Decoration: From Pompeii to Art Nouveau (An Illustrated History)*.[1] Since then, the style of the book which involved collating and describing images of interiors, has come to exemplify a tradition of studying domestic interiors independent from the professional discipline of architecture. This tradition is formulated mainly from the study of the domestic interior as shaped by the study of art collection and conservation and has come to prominence with interior design degrees. To follow in this tradition is to analyse primary sources, such as paintings and photographs, to provide an account of the period that is as close as possible to a reconstruction. Praz's book records the historical development of the interior primarily based on representation however his personal connoisseurship and interest in collecting also has left a clear legacy. Whilst Praz's analyses of paintings have become something of a template for the historiography of interiors as a separate object of study to architecture, the importance he placed on the personal collection of paintings of interiors has also significantly shaped the relationship of this tradition to the museum. Further, his focus on the collector rather than the professional designer has informed the approach of the tradition to separate the scholarship from that of the profession of architecture.

In this tradition, the analysis of the representation of the interior through the image is significant. *An Illustrated History* provided a guide that later scholars like museum curator Peter Thornton and writer and art critic Charlotte Gere would follow and build upon.[2] Thornton begins his introduction to his 1984 book, *Authentic Décor: The Domestic Interior 1620-1920*, "To write about the history of interior decoration no longer needs justifying" and continues, "it was Mario Praz who first drew widespread attention to this subject as a whole in his *An Illustrated History of Interior Decoration: From Pompeii to Art Nouveau*."[3] In *Authentic Décor*, Thornton, like Praz, presents a survey of images of interiors. Whilst it can be argued that Praz's book is not so much about interiors themselves but rather the depiction of them in paintings and the notion of collecting, through the reinforcement of texts like Thornton's and Gere's, Praz has come to define the field as evident through this tradition.[4] The approach of 'A Separate Interior' continues to be reinforced today through a series of recent anthologies as well as interior design education and the support of museums and institutions.

Key to this intentional separation from the discipline and profession of architecture, is Praz's personalised approach to the analysis in *An Illustrated History.* Firstly, Praz's lengthy introduction to the book suggests his lack of interest in professional interior design. It promotes his interest in the personal curation of domestic interiors (including the collection of representations of historical interiors) as he outlines Walter Benjamin's discussion of collectors of the 19th century and his buying of "small and unappreciated treasures."[5] This personalised framework becomes further evident in the titling of the book. In the original Italian, Praz's book is titled *La Filosofia Dell'Arredamento* translating to *The Philosophy of Furniture.* Instead, it was published as *An Illuminated History of Furnishing from the Renaissance to the 20th Century* in the United States and titled *An Illustrated History of Interior Decoration* in Britain. Written in 1982, at the reprint of the book, John Russell comments in a review in the New York Times, "The English title is one that will sell the book, I don't doubt, and to that extent I applaud it. But it isn't what the book is about. It has nothing to do with interior decoration as it has been carried out by professionals - some of them wonderfully gifted - in our century. Not one of the 400 interiors was put together by a specialist on behalf of a client, that is to say. Nor can this claim to be a comprehensive survey of historic European interiors, for it is weak on the French 18th century and weaker still on the age of Robert Adam in England. Much as

I myself dislike Versailles and dread going anywhere near it, I really don't think that it should be omitted entirely from an illustrated history of interior decoration."[6] As Russell outlines, Praz does not write from the professional discipline of interior design or architecture. The book sets up an approach to develop a personalised history of the interior. In turn, it has established a discourse in interior design around domestic interiors that is distanced from the professionalisation of architecture and therefore more closely linked to the history of personal collections and material culture.

Today the tradition is maintained through the production of key anthologies that continue to shape the field. Whilst the tradition may have begun from reflections on a personal collection, it now can be linked to institutions and public modes of display in the museum. A critical contemporary anthology that claims to follow Praz's work and has become seminal to this tradition is *Imagined Interiors: Representing the Domestic Interior since the Renaissance*, published in 2006 and edited by Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant. Like *An Illustrated History,* the anthology has a focus on the representation of interiors over an extended period of time. Since its publication, many other anthologies have sought to define the interior through a similar approach.[7] The publication is also a reflection of the tradition's growing relationship with institutions and museums. *Imagined Interiors* was the primary outcome of the 'AHRC Centre for the Study of the Domestic Interior' (CSDI). Between 2001-2006 the CSDI was established as a collaboration between three London institutions: Royal College of Art, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Bedford Centre for the History of Women at Royal Holloway, University of London, to further the historical and contemporary study of the domestic interior.[8] The centre was designed, "to set the agenda for future studies of the domestic interior" and involved publishing an online public database of written and visual sources of representation of domestic interiors to make information on interiors broadly available to the public.[9] The centre's main result was the production of the anthology, which brings together a range of texts to tell a story of the emergence of the domestic interior as can be derived through visual representation. As Aynsley and Grant outline in the introduction, the book, "surveys changing representations of the domestic interior and seeks to understand the meanings ascribed to them in Europe and North America from 1400 to the present day."[10] The book is structured chronologically to construct a narrative of the domestic interior from 1400 to the present. The authors contributing to the book are from decorative

arts, and design studies and the approach taken in the anthology in following from Praz both focusses on images and advocates a distance from conventional architectural studies.

The study of interiors had significantly developed since the 1990s and at the time of CSDI (2001-2006), was greatly expanding. Subsequently, the development of anthologies like *Imagined Interiors* can be understood as attempting to define the field and set up "authoritative texts, authors and concepts."[11] A review in *The Journal of Architecture* by Charles Rice, at the time it was published, acknowledged the powerful role an anthology produced at that time could play in canon formation, with the critic stating, "This is the first large work to take stock of this field, and to represent the diversity of research methods within it."[12] Another reviewer Grace Lees-Maffei, states in *Studies of Decorative Arts,* that "A strength of the book is the way it, and its accompanying database, contributes to scholarship a collection of images and some useful commentaries upon them."[13] In gathering 31 authors to write about 600 years of history, the editors seem to have attempted to set up a formidable authority on interiors.

Whilst the texts included in *Imagined Interiors* were developed at the time and are in relation to the CSDI program, the editors make a concerted effort to make links with historical texts that they understand to be consequential to the field. The aim of *Imagined Interiors,* as stated in the introduction, is to "seek to explore the images and texts it discusses, not so much for what they tell us about the interior they represent, but for what the representation is designed to convey. The emphasis is on how conventions of representation can tell us about attitudes to the interior at any given moment."[14] This focus on representation in *Imagined Interiors* is directly linked to the trajectory of work set up by Praz, Thornton, and Gere. In the introduction, editors Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant state that the anthology like, "any other study of the domestic interior in the West," is indebted to Praz's book *An Illustrated History of Interior Decoration.* Aynsley and Grant also state that "a book that seeks to understand the meanings of images and descriptions of the domestic interior across a broad historical span seems timely," therefore acknowledging the importance of defining the study of the interior at that moment.[15]

With publications like *Imagined Interiors,* the anthology type becomes essential to the formation of the tradition as it authorises particular texts. However, anthologies like *Imagined Interiors* cover a broad spectrum of time and authors come from various fields, therefore unlike *An Illustrated History*, a coherent narrative through the publication is often unconvincing. Whilst the intention of the book is to explore the images and texts with a consideration of what the representation is designed to convey, not what it is superficially depicting. However, as asserted by the reviewers of the book when it was first published, in some chapters what is being analysed, is the way the domestic interior appears in the representations without considering the changes in context from that time to the moment the author is writing in. This removal of context links back to the template provided by Praz and the historiography of interiors beginning from musings on a private collection. For an idiosyncratic text concerning images that one collects, the style of *An Illustrated History* has since been appropriated into a method for reconstructing historical domestic interiors. This personalised approach is called into question in an anthology format that deals with numerous authors discussing interiors over a broad period of time. However, the influence of Praz's style is evident in the studies of the interior as evidenced in *Imagined Interiors*, which are focussed on images as depictions of individuals' homes and their lives within them rather than examining a broader understanding of the design of interiors concerning its professionalisation and the study of architecture.

Throughout the publication, there are examples where the chapters follow the template of Praz that Aynsley and Grant outline in the introduction, yet the difference between these texts and the original work of Praz is also immediately clear. Aynsley's chapter, 'Displaying Designs for the Domestic Interior in Europe and America 1850-1950' is an example of the intention of the publication where equal consideration is paid to textual and visual sources, allowing Aynsley to link together forms of representation of the domestic interior with the changes to the way houses were lived in and understood. However, there is a distance between the work of Aynsley and Praz, and perhaps this suggests the debt to Praz that the editors allude to is, in fact, a debt to an appropriation of his work, rather than a direct lineage. This is particularly evident when directly comparing Aynsley and Praz' approach to discussing an image.

For Praz, the intention of the analysis is to reveal what he finds in the image, understanding it as an exact depiction of a space. In *An Illustrated History* Praz, when observing Karl Beckman's watercolour of 'The Bedroom of the Princess Marianne of Hesse-Homburg' notes, "Those great halls, those rooms depicted just as they were when they were inhabited by the people whose taste they reflect, seem to me vibrant with expectation."[16] He continues, "these watercolours so accurately preserve the taste of that age that you would almost say the doors and windows depicted in them have never been opened since then and that we breathe the spirit still enclosed there."[17] The focus of his analyses is on what can be garnered from the image as an accurate portrayal of the room.

Comparatively in his chapter, Aynsley frames his discussion through the development of particular modes of representation and the influence of social context and technology on their use and reception. His chapter is a presentation of domestic interiors to both professional and public audiences over the course of 100 years and the analysis explores various representations of interiors in the late 19th and early 20th century by examining the growing mass media. In the period of time that Aynsley investigates, there was a consciousness of the domestic interior concept whilst also, Aynsley argues, it was a time of public curiosity and consumption. Unlike Praz, his analysis is grounded in understanding the reception of the representation at the time it was produced and publicized. Aynsley's chapter clearly shows the shift from simply pairing an image of an interior with textual description to considering an image via textual analysis. Further, Aynsley reflects broadly on different modes of displaying interiors, including exhibitions, magazines, and advertisements which results in more conscious reflection on the type of representation and the techniques involved in its development. There is an acknowledgement by Aynsley that for some time there has been public interest in domestic interiors, as reflected in the collection of interiors "as artefacts and their incorporation both into the private residences of the wealthy and the period rooms of public art museums and galleries."[18] However, in going on to outline that the developments in lithography and photography encouraged mass production and consumption of images Aynsley acknowledges the impact not of the content of the interior representation but the format on their public reception and impact. Whilst Praz, in his discussion of Beckman's watercolours does refer to the type of painting, it is not so much for what it offered at the time, but rather what it offers us now. It is clear the

image of interiors is understood as significant by Aynsley however there is a shift in what can be understood from the representations of interiors, moving from precise depiction of a room to the interaction of domestic interiors with broader social and technological developments.

Through analysing Aynsley's chapter, the lineage from Praz that is characteristic of this tradition can be read, however the departure is also evident. A specific example occurs when Aynsley discusses the promotion of "modernity through consumer magazines, advertising and exhibitions" to the general public. Aynsley uses the example of the 'Ideal Home' exhibitions organised in collaboration with the newspaper the *Daily Mail*. To assist his discussion, Aynsley presents a photograph of an 'Ideal Home' exhibition in 1931[19] (figure 6). There is no specific reference to the image in the analysis, and it acts as a prop to support his discussion of the exhibition rather than the source of the discussion. The photograph of the exhibition becomes a support of the broader argument that Aynsley is making regarding the dissemination of modern design in popular culture. The image is not to be analysed but to be accepted as evidence of the exhibition occurring. Unlike Praz, there is a lack of justification as to why that particular image has been used. Nevertheless, in this apparent departure from Praz, the approach to the image is also comparable. By not referring directly to the image, Aynsley accepts it as a depiction of the exhibition and therefore of a way of thinking about domesticity at the time, and like Praz does so without analysing the image for what it can reveal beyond an honest depiction.

Further reinforcing the tradition of 'A Separate Interior', Aynsley's chapter demonstrates a decorative arts rather than an architectural approach to the interior. This becomes clear in Aynsley's discussion of the German contribution to the 'Société des Artistes Décorateurs Français' exhibition in Paris, 1930. Accompanied by a photograph of the room's arrangement, by Herbert Bayer, Aynsley describes their alternative mode of display. He outlines how Bayer, Marcel Breuer, and László Maholoy-Nagy, "stressed furniture as a serial object and exactly repeatable idiom" connecting the exhibited chairs with the everyday world of the factory and the shop.[20] His focus remains on the furniture despite more than half the image and exhibition space being consumed by an architectural model, drawings, and photographs of modern buildings (figure 7). Notwithstanding his broad approach, Aynsley's chapter presents a clear history of

different forms of representation used to promote modern design ideas. He links these ideas to the growth of consumerism and mass media, and unlike other chapters of the anthology, he contextualises his perspective. From moments like these we can see how the tradition has developed from the work of Praz—what has remained from the adaptation and what has been appropriated. However, what is still core to the tradition as evident in Aynsley's chapter is both the reliance on the image of the interior and the need to define it separately from architecture.

The difficulty of the anthology when it comes to this tradition, is that it brings together various perspectives and shifts from the personalised nature of Praz' accounts. Whilst the honesty to the format of analysing images and forms of representations remains a focus, unlike the writings of Praz, in some of the *Imagined Interiors* chapters, the definition and development of the domestic interior set up by Aynsley and Grant's narrative and chronological format is challenged. In one of the first sections of the book set in the period of 1400-1750, the authors discuss ideas of domesticity that are not grounded in that time period. The concept of domesticity, as we understand it today, is inherently modern and therefore would not be appropriate to place that idea on an earlier time period. It can be understood that in these sections of the book, contemporary ideas are being projected onto the past.

This is particularly evident in John Loughman's chapter, 'Between Reality and Artful Fiction: the representation of the domestic interior in 17th century Dutch art.' In this chapter, Loughman discusses 17th century Dutch genre paintings and the emergence of domesticity in the Netherlands. There are a series of inconsistencies with and misalignments to the understanding of the domestic interior framed by the editors. Whilst the assumption that these paintings depict the modern domestic interior has proliferated the literature there are clear oppositions to this view in the scholarship of Heidi de Mare (and others) who argues the paintings are not direct illustrations of reality and the ideas of domesticity that is often projected onto them are not of the 17th century but are later ideas that have been transposed onto this time period.[21] It seems at first that Loughman might be also taking this approach as in his opening paragraph he dismisses the writings of Witold Rybczynski which convey the idea of domesticity emerging in the Netherlands at this time. Rybczynski's chapter 'Domesiticity' in his book *Home, a Short History of an*

Idea [22] has become an influential text on the topic of 17th century Dutch interiors and interestingly Aynsley and Grant recognise in their introduction that *Imagined Interiors* as a continuation of Rybczynski's work.[23] In contrast, Loughman denies the criticality of Rybczynski work in stating that, "His (Rybczynski's) account however is largely based on an uncritical interpretation of contemporary traveller reports and paintings of the domestic interior."[24] Loughman then continues to state that the excess of 5 million paintings produced in the Habsburg Empire during that century have "disproportionately shaped our notion of how contemporary households appeared and functioned."[25] It is evident here, that Loughman is distinguishing his chapter from the accounts of Rybczynski despite the editors stating the book as a continuation of it, creating a misalignment between the overall framing of the anthology and the contents.

The clarity of *Imagined Interiors'* position on domesticity is further blurred when Loughman goes on to use Dutch genre paintings by Jan Steen and Pieter de Hooch to outline the domestic interior at the time even though he has discounted Rybczynski doing this. Despite acknowledging that since the 1930s scholars have questioned the assumptions of 19th century writers who believed the paintings to be both realist and encyclopaedic, Loughman continues to employ contemporary concepts to describe the paintings of what he outlines as domestic interiors. Within the narrative of *Imagined Interiors*, Loughman's chapter is placed as a means to create a continuation of the idea of domesticity that according to other historians did not yet exist at that time.[26] It is the penultimate chapter of the 'Developing a Domestic Culture 1400-1750' section, which leads to the 'Interior Defined 1650-1900.' Through the shifted application of the Praz method of analysing images as artefacts, this chapter presents a conflicted understanding of the definition and development of the domestic interior rather than contributing clearly to the narrative set up by Aynsley and Grant. In seeking to clarify the history of interiors through a unified anthology, the enlarged scale of this effort highlights the anxiety of the field, rather than indicating authority.[27]

In tracing the origins of this tradition to the work of art collector Praz and museum curator Thornton, the project of the history of the domestic interior in Britain can be understood to have had a continual and influential relationship with collection and display. However, as evidenced in *Imagined Interiors* and

other key contemporary texts on domestic interiors, the project is becoming increasingly institutionalised, in terms of its association with the museum, rather than just personal collections. Historically, the role of the first museums that emerged in the 18th century, was as a place to protect monuments of the state, and prominent buildings were often displayed in the museum as fragments. However, once these pieces are included in the collection and exhibition of museums, they become objects. They then, like the other artefacts of the museum, become part of a curated story, "play(ing) a crucial role as material evidence supporting a particular version of the world and events in it."[28] In terms of architectural exhibition, initially amateur collectors of architectural artefacts in the 19th century, like British architect John Soane, developed collections as a form of connoisseurship and to claim a personal stake in history. His museums presented these artefacts as evidence of his travels and his ability to collect decorative and expressive fragments of architecture. With the institutionalisation of the museum, came the development of several ways of systematising architecture as collections which were no longer private but intended for public engagement. For Edward Kaufman, the display of domestic architecture through the period room was a reaction against the typical display of architecture through casts and fragments.[29] The period room is both significant in signalling a desire to validate architecture in the museum through experience but also as a means of representing interiors in their own right. In the anthology, the *Modern Period Room,* design historian Trevor Keeble further supports the importance of the period room stating that it "has emerged as a key representational device of social history and of the history of architecture and the fine and decorative arts."[30] At the same time that the first period rooms entered the museum, thereby publicizing past ways of living, as Aynsley notes, the private interior was rendered public through the development of printing and publishing techniques and the growth in the mass media. This shift in the display of architecture in museums and also the inclusion of everyday domesticity began with modernity and the explosion of shared domestic imagery. As understood through the approach of this tradition, the image and the display of interiors are intrinsically tied.

Since the establishment of the museum, the collection and display of interiors and the project of studying the domestic interior have been linked—however, this tradition, which *Imagined Interiors* follows, shows an increasing institutionalisation of the project. From Praz' *An Illustrated History* which was published from

the perspective of a private collector to Thornton's *An Authentic Décor* written from the perspective of a museum curator, this tradition of examining the domestic interior has always had links to collecting and the museum. However, with the development of programs such as the AHRC CSDI, as well as the Modern Interior Research Centre (MIRC) at Kingston University, currently directed by Penny Sparke, there has been a clear shift in the relation between the study of the domestic interior, its collection and the growing entanglements of the publication of the interior and its display.[31] The collection and categorisation of the domestic in the museum informs the study of domestic interiors, and the study of domestic interiors informs the broader public display of these histories. This is also consequential in the house museum.

The developing connections between the study of the interior and its display in the museum can be understood through the example of the MIRC. Much of the work of the MIRC has been produced in collaboration with the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A) and the Geffrye Museum, both in London as well as the Dorich House Museum located in Kingston. Set up in 2004, the centre aimed to create a body of knowledge that will inform interior design knowledge worldwide. The MIRC is part of a network, staging conferences and engaging with international institutions. Due to the need to evaluate research in British institutions, the connection between the exhibitions at the V&A and the MIRC can be tracked. As accounted for in the research impact documentation in 2014, director Penny Sparke consulted on three significant exhibitions at the V&A from 2008-2012 through adding to the "knowledge of staff in the Research Department" whilst also composing essays for exhibition catalogues. It is also acknowledged that researchers from the MIRC delivered a public symposium at the V&A. It is highlighted explicitly that Sparke "promoted a broader engagement with modern design and the modern interior than had informed earlier design V&A exhibitions."[32] The report finishes noting that what has been outlined is just a few ways the "museum/university partnership traverses the realms of the scholarly and the populist, with great benefits to both partners and to the public."[33] Penny Sparke and the MIRC are working between the study of the interior and the display of it through institutions.

Of the many anthologies that MIRC director Penny Sparke has edited, numerous have been published in connection with the centre. Like the work produced by the AHRC CSDI, the prolific writing of Sparke as a design historian also belongs to this tradition of 'A Separate Interior', in that she analyses primary sources to provide a reconstruction of the period. However, unlike accounts provided in *Imagined Interiors*, her work is much more closely linked to interior design and architecture.

Consistent with this tradition is the idea that the practice and history of interior design has traditionally been considered a marginal area of scholarship and attention. This idea is evident in the anthology published through MIRC by Penny Sparke, Anne Massey, Trevor Keeble, and Brenda Martin in 2009, *Designing the modern interior: from the Victorians to today*. The anthology covers the design of the modern interior from 1870 until the end of the 20th century (a much shorter time period than *Imagined Interiors*) and promotes stories that were overlooked by the discipline of architecture.[34] This is particularly evident in Sparke's introduction to 'Part Two: The Early Twentieth Century Interior (1900-1940)' and Elizabeth Darling's chapter 'The scene in which the daily drama of personal life takes place: Towards the modern interior in early 1930s Britain'.[35]

In this introduction, Sparke not only presents numerous ideas about what constituted interior design in the early 20th century but also advocates for the telling of histories about the interior that were marginalised at the time. "Many of the architects and designers who were working under the banner of modernism in those days sought to deny the existence of a separate concept of the interior, other groups of aesthetic practitioners, with different backgrounds and experiences, set out to redefine its parameters and those of the professionals who would specialise in forming it."[36] Further, she notes, "The dominant accounts of modern architecture and design of the period, written from within the ideology of modernism, paid scant attention to the interior in and for itself."[37] For Sparke, the interior as designed by "famous modernist architects" is not the only modern domestic interior, and she outlines the diverse range of protagonists involved in the design of the interior, including housewives as well as amateur decorators such as Elsie de Wolfe.[38] The stories that revolve around these figures and the modern interiors they created were dominated by the accounts of modern architects as told by historians like

Nicholas Pevsner and Reyner Banham.[39] Sparke, unlike Aynsley, refers to architecture but ultimately uses that reference to discuss the marginalisation of the domestic interior, therefore advocating for the notion of a separate interior.

The notion that interiors are to be understood as separate to architecture is further demonstrated in Darling's chapter where she treats interiors as complete works in their own right, not just to serve the resolution of the architecture as a whole. In suggesting interior and exterior as distinct, Darling is shifting away from the modernist understanding of architecture as 'a complete work of art.'[40] In the chapter Darling discusses two interiors designed British-Canadian architect Wells Coates. She notes that "downplaying the significance of interiors overlooks the site where the rearrangement of space is foregrounded" and therefore professes that in her analysis the interiors "will be treated as complete works in their own right, not steps towards the achievement of an 'actual monument.' "[41] For Darling, the interior is a substantial subject in and of itself. This notion, while justified, has developed a deeply embedded unease and desire in the tradition, to consistently define the interior as separate to architecture.

What is unfailing in this tradition of 'A Separate Interior' is that throughout all this scholarship, a distance from architecture is maintained. As presented through the founding texts like *An Illustrated History* and most significantly in subsequent publications like *Imagined Interiors,* the study of interiors involves the active effort of defining a separate field. Further, this tradition has been shaped by a focus on the collector rather than the professional. This focus on the collection of interiors has informed the connection between the study of interiors within this tradition and the display of interiors in the museum. This relationship between the museum and the collection of interiors with this tradition is crucial in understanding the possible contribution this approach may have on the display of domesticity in the modern house museum.

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[1] Mario Praz, *An Illustrated History of Interior Decoration from Pompeii to Art Nouveau* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965).
[2] See Peter Thornton, *Authentic Décor: The Domestic Interior*, *1620–1920* (New York: Viking, 1984) and Charlotte Gere, *Nineteenth Century Interiors: An Album of Watercolours* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992).
[3] Thornton, *Authentic Décor*, 8.
[4] The development from Praz to Gere and Thornton is discussed by Charles Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 19-28.

[5] Praz, *An Illustrated History,* 39.
[6]John Russell, "Art View; Mario Praz--A Philosopher Of European Interiors," *New York Times*, August 29th, 1982, https://www.nytimes.com/1982/08/29/books/art-view-mario-praz-a-philosopher-of-european-interiors.html.
[7] See Georgina Downey, *Domestic interiors: Representing Homes from the Victorians to the Moderns* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), Paula Lupkin and Penny Sparke, *Shaping the American Interior* (London; New York: Taylor and Francis Group, 2018) and Trevor Keeble, Anne Massey, Brenda Martin, and Penny Sparke, *Designing the modern interior: from the Victorians to today,* (England: Berg, 2009).
[8] The AHRC Centre for the Study of the Domestic Interior was a five-year research project funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council.
[9] Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant, *Imagined interiors: representing the domestic interior since the Renaissance*, (London: V&A Publishing; New York: Distributed in North America by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2006).
[10] Aynsley and Grant, *Imagined interiors,* 10.
[11] Daniel Huppatz and Grace Lees-Maffei, "A Gathering of Flowers: On Design Anthologies," *The Design Journal* 20, no.4, (July 4, 2017): 477-491.
[12] Charles Rice, "Book Reviews," Review of *Imagined Interiors : representing the domestic interior since the Renaissance* by Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant*, The Journal of Architecture*, (June 1, 2007): 340.
[13] Grace Lees-Maffei, "Imagined Interiors : Representing the Domestic Interior since the Renaissance (review)", Review of *Imagined Interiors : representing the domestic interior since the Renaissance* by Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant*, Studies in the Decorative Arts,* vol. 16, no. 1, (2008): 146.
[14] Aynsley and Grant, *Imagined interiors*, 12.
[15] Aynsley and Grant, *Imagined interiors,* 12.
[16] Praz, *An illustrated history,* 38.
[17] Praz, *An illustrated history,* 38.
[18] Jeremy Aynsley, "Displaying Designs for the Domestic Interior in Europe and America 1850-1950," in Jeremy Aynsley, and Charlotte Grant, *Imagined interiors: representing the domestic interior since the Renaissance*, (London: V&A Publishing; New York: Distributed in North America by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2006), 197.
[19] Aynsley, "Displaying Designs," 211.
[20] Aynsley, "Displaying Designs," 209.
[21] Heidi de Mare, "Domesticity in Dispute: A Reconsideration of Sources," in Irene Cieraad (ed.), *At Home: An Anthropology of Domestic Space*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 1999), 20.
[22] Witold Rybczynski, *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 1987).
[23] In the introductions, they state, "Our work develops a line of enquiry pursued by the Canadian architect and writer Witold Rybczynski in *Home: A Short History of an Idea.*" Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant, 'Introduction' in Jeremy Aynsley, & Charlotte Grant, *Imagined interiors: representing the domestic interior since the Renaissance*, (London: V&A Publishing; New York: Distributed in North America by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2006), 15.
[24] John Loughman, "Between Reality and Artful Fiction: the representation of the domestic interior in seventeenth century Dutch art" in Jeremy Aynsley and Charlotte Grant, *Imagined interiors: representing the domestic interior since the Renaissance* (2006),72.
[25] John Loughman, "Between Reality and Artful Fiction," 72.
[26] de Mare, "Domesticity in Dispute," 20.
[27] This is further discussed in Charles Rice, "Book Reviews." *The Journal of Architecture*, Routledge (June 1, 2007), 340.
[28] Naomi Stead, "Performing Objecthood; Museums, Architecture and the Play of Artefactuality," 38.
[29] Edward N. Kaufman, "The Architectural Museum from World's Fair to Restoration Village," *Assemblage*, no. 9 (June 1, 1989): 28.
[30] Trevor Keeble, Brenda Martin and Penny Sparke, *The Modern Period Room : the Construction of the Exhibited Interior 1870 to 1950*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2006).
[31] Paula Lupkin and Penny Sparke, *Shaping the American Interior : Structures, Contexts, and Practices* (New York, New York: Routledge, 2018); Penny Sparke, *Flow : Interior, Landscape and Architecture in the Era of Liquid Modernity* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2018); Fiona Fisher and Penny Sparke, *The Routledge Companion to Design Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Anne Massey and Penny Sparke, *Biography, identity and the modern interior*, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), Trevor Keeble, Anne Massey, Brenda Martin and Penny Sparke, *Designing the modern interior: from the Victorians to today,* (England: Berg, 2009); Penny Sparke, Trevor Keeble, and Brenda Martin, *The Modern Period Room, The Construction of the Exhibited Interior* 1870-1950 (London: Routledge, 2006) and Brenda Martin and Penny Sparke, *Women's places: architecture and design 1860-1960,* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

[32] The document can be found via the Research Excellence Framework which is "the new system for assessing the quality of research in UK higher education institutions. It replaced the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE), last conducted in 2008." "About the Ref", REF2014, accessed December 2018, https://www.ref.ac.uk/2014/about/.

[33] "Impact case study (REF3b)", REF2014, accessed December 2018, https://results.ref.ac.uk/(S(pygdukw4ad1qhw214im2iv4t))/DownloadFile/ImpactCaseStudy/pdf?caseStudyId=42133.

[34] Keeble, Martin and Sparke, *The Modern Period Room*.

[35] Penny Sparke, "Part Two: The Early Twentieth Century Interior (1900-1940)" and Elizabeth Darling "The scene in which the daily drama of personal life takes place: Towards the modern interior in early 1930s Britain" in Trevor Keeble, Brenda Martin Anne Massey and Penny Sparke, *Designing the modern interior : from the Victorians to today,* (England: Berg, 2009).

[36] Sparke, "Part Two: The Early Twentieth Century Interior," 67.

[37] Sparke, "Part Two: The Early Twentieth Century Interior," 67.

[38] Sparke also wrote *Elsie De Wolfe: The Birth of Modern Interior Decoration* (New York: Acanthus Press, 2005).

[39] In reference to Reyner Banham's *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, (London: The Architectural Press, 1960), Sparke notes "Like Pevsner, he included illustrations of a number of interiors- that of Max Berg's Jahrhunderthalle in Breslau for example- but only referred to their structural properties in that case reinforced concrete." Penny Sparke, "Part Two: The Early Twentieth Century Interior," 68.

[40] The term Gesamkunstwerk or 'total work of art' is common to describe the approach to modern architecture which involved designing the building, its interiors and furnishings. The term whilst now common in architecture was derived from Richard Wagner and music studies.

[41] Darling, "The scene in which the daily drama of personal life takes place: Towards the modern interior in early 1930s Britain."

Chapter 2 - Domesticity's Interdisciplinarity

In this chapter, I examine the formation of the tradition, of which I have titled, 'Domesticity's Interdisciplinarity'. I analyse the key texts and their connections, which have structured academic inquiry that involves the explicit understanding of architecture as a mode of display in parallel to the media that surrounds it. In terms of domesticity, this understanding involves engaging directly with the media of the house, considering it as a space of importance for architectural development in the 20th century but also as a gendered space. This framing stems from studying the history of the domestic interior with an interdisciplinary focus, looking at architecture from the perspectives of philosophy, psychology, film, and literature studies.[1] Unlike the previously discussed tradition, 'Domesticity's Interdisciplinarity' employs perspectives and techniques of other fields but architecture is still the focus. I track the influences and the impacts of this tradition on the historiography of domesticity, again looking through critical anthologies as key tools which have set up this line of inquiry. Like 'A Separate Interior,' the representation and display of domestic interiors is crucial for this tradition, however these representations are approached differently. And like 'A Separate Interior,' the central role of representation and display of domesticity for the development of this tradition presents potential impacts on the conversion of the modern house to a museum.

In the 1970s, there was a push for a rethinking of architectural theory with the introduction of cultural theory and philosophy in American architectural institutions. By the 1980s, there was a group of individuals emerging from these schools who expressed the idea that architecture and architecture theory are inextricably cultural in construction.[2] In terms of studying the domestic interior, this approach to architectural theory became particularly significant through considerations of gender and sexuality. This developed alongside and at times a part of a growing movement within and outside of architecture for women's rights.[3] There was an explicit link made by key historians between studies of architectural theory, gender, and the study of the domestic interior. Similarly, to the tradition of 'A Separate Interior', the domestic interior was understood to have been marginalised from architectural discourse. However, this tradition became more focussed on the marginalisation of issues of gender and the

interconnectedness of those concerns with the domestic interior within the discipline of architecture, rather than calling for a separation between interior and architecture. In this tradition, the study of gender in architecture cannot be separated from developing ideas of the modern domestic interior. Since the 1980s, numerous anthologies have been produced that include essays that address gender and sexuality in architectural theory.[4] Particularly significant for the study of the domestic interior are, the formative *Sexuality and Space* (1992), which was acutely influential in shifting the conversation on gender and *Gender Space Architecture* (1999), which collated an extensive number of essays from within architecture and other disciplines.

This tradition came about through the grounding of architectural theory in broader cultural theory. In terms of considering architecture and theories on gender, these two anthologies and a series of others were pivotal in establishing the tradition of 'Domesticity's Interdisciplinarity'. *Sexuality and Space* edited by Beatriz Colomina was the first work that brought together texts about gender that were produced in other fields to shift the conversation in architectural studies. It provided the framework for "an interdisciplinary context for a gendered critique of architecture."[5] Colomina outlines in her introduction to *Sexuality and Space,* that "in recent years much contemporary critical theory has been appropriated by architects… at the same time critical theorists have focused on architecture."[6] In the 1990s, when *Sexuality and Space* was published, there was an increase in what is known as critical theory in architecture. In 1997, Architectural historian Mark Jarzombek wrote about the drive for a rethinking of architectural theory in the 1970s. He wrote of architects reading philosophers—"in parallel intellectual worlds, one found Robert Venturi reading Cleanth Brooks, Charles Jencks reading de Saussure, Christian Norberg-Schulz reading Heidegger, Peter Eisenman reading Wittgenstein, and Charles Moore reading Theodor Lipps."[7] The new approach was to ground architectural history and theory in broader cultural theory. Jarzombek goes on to state that as a result, many of the traditional methodologies of art history were rejected from the art history programs of institutions such as at Cornell, Princeton, and Harvard. At this same time, the architectural curriculum also saw the emergence of PhD programs in American institutions. In the 1970s the creation of these programs saw the hiring of historians by schools of architecture who were then followed in the 1980s by the second generation of scholars who guided the direction of what is

understood today as theory. Jarzombek argues it brought modern "architecture up to speed with its own critical modernity", allowing for a fuller exploration of issues relating to context, gender, and politics.[8] There was a commitment to expanding critical discourse within the field and a want to engage with the critical literature of cultural studies. The emergence of critical theory in American architectural institutions was deeply influenced by European philosophy, and this is evident in the understanding of the domestic interior that is presented in *Sexuality and Space* and also *Gender Space Architecture*.

Colomina claims in her introduction to *Sexuality and Space* that despite the growth in critical theory in architectural discourse in the late 1980s, "sexuality remains a glaring absence" to the discussions and therefore suggests the book is an attempt to change this, as she states, "the politics of space are always sexual."[9] What brings both *Sexuality and Space* and *Gender Space Architecture* back to the discussion of the interior is the historical and cultural role of the woman in the home and how this has informed both the design and interpretation of this space in modern architecture. Whilst neither of the books acknowledge a focus on the domestic interior, both anthologies through a critical theory approach, address the latent imbrication of the feminine and the domestic in architectural history. It is through a critical analysis of gender and architecture that both books provide an interpretation of the development of the modern domestic interior.

With publications like *Sexuality and Space,* the anthology type becomes essential to the formation of the tradition as it brought together authors beyond the field of architecture to discuss questions of gender and space within the one publication. *Sexuality and Space* represented a more expansive conversation at the time within architectural discourse which can be linked to the 'Strategies in Architectural Thinking' conference held in 1988 and involving leading theorists of the time, including Colomina.[10] That conference produced the volume of the same name which, according to Anthony Vidler acted "as a kind of reckoning with the previous generation of architects and critics including Peter Eisenman who had brought the very notion of theory out of Europe and placed it into the New York of the 1970s."[11] Vidler notes that particularly the first essay of the volume, 'Architecture, Gender, Philosophy' written by Ann Bergren which discusses Derrida's concept of the chora, set the tone for writing to come by Colomina

and architects Jennifer Bloomer and Catherine Ingraham. Their writing, he proposes, generated a platform to link architectural theory with the feminist social movement of the time (building on the work by scholars such as Hayden and Torres). The contributors to this conference and volume were from within architecture, but they were engaging in cultural ideas. Architectural theory, at this point, entered into a broader cultural conversation, the structure of which had shifted from the previous generation, and therefore the domestic interior could be considered through gender, which had been previously ignored. Whilst Bergren's essay marked a turning point, in bringing together authors from various fields, *Sexuality and Space* confirmed the shift in conversation from gender as studied in the domains of history to one concerning the gender of architectural activity itself.[12] Further, through widening the approach to discuss architecture, the book set new ways of researching modern domestic interiors that allowed for a questioning of the previous set of conventions.

Sexuality and Space offered a new way of looking at domesticity for the time by introducing, what Colomina states as, work on representation and desire by feminist theorists. Colomina projects the notion that space is inextricably linked to the body and therefore, sexuality, gender and modern architecture are inextricably linked to representation. As a result, modern architecture and, specifically, domesticity, which is inherently modern, must be understood with sexuality and gender. In her chapter of the anthology, 'The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism', Colomina, in accepting the position that the interior concerns the body, questions how modern architecture, specifically the works of architects Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier, have dealt with the body in space.[13] In treating the built project as another form of representation, Colomina examines ideas of the controlled gaze through analysis of images, texts, and films of the houses of Loos and Le Corbusier. In doing so, the chapter contributes to the idea that, to examine the domestic interior from a critical perspective, historians had to approach the study of interiors in a new way that was more closely linked to the approach of feminist film theorists and philosophers rather than the authors of the canon of modern architecture.

Important for the development of the tradition of 'Domesticity's Interdisciplinarity' is the discussion of architecture's relationship with media which enabled the scholarship to be expanded to other disciplines

which are also concerned with media. Colomina employs the notion that the 20th century saw the private interior, which previously offered a refuge from the outside, invaded by the public, through the camera.[14] Since the publication of the anthology, Colomina has consistently explored the relationship between the privacy and publicity of domestic interiors of the 20th century through an exploration of the media that surrounds the architecture. According to historian Penny Sparke (who features prominently in the previously discussed tradition of 'A Separate Interior'), Colomina's book *Privacy and Publicity*, published in 1994 provided the "first contemporary account of the public and private divide in the formulation of the modern interior."[15] *Privacy and Publicity* was the culmination of Colomina's writing on the topic that she had researched for her doctoral dissertation and had published in various articles and chapters before the publication of *Privacy and Publicity* including in her chapter of *Sexuality and Space*. In both texts (*Privacy and Publicity* and the chapter in *Sexuality and Space*), Colomina explores the archives of two figures of modernism, Loos, and Le Corbusier, building on the understanding of the private interior as established by German philosopher Walter Benjamin, not only to rethink the work of these architects, but to suggest that modern architecture is inherently linked to a cultural understanding of the body and gender through the view. Colomina examines the view through the framing of topographical space by the camera.

Key for this tradition is the approach of examining architecture from a perspective outside of the discipline, which opens the discussion and enables the opportunity to look at architecture in a new way. Colomina's chapter in *Sexuality and Space* begins with a quote from Benjamin, "To live is to leave traces… the traces of the occupant also leave their imprint on the interior."[16] In beginning the analysis from a perspective outside of architecture, Colomina opens the discussion to looking at architecture in a new way. According to Benjamin, the concept of the private domestic interior can be understood to have been established in the 19th century. Benjamin writes in *The Arcades Project*, "For the private individual, places of dwelling are for the first time opposed to places of work. The former come to constitute the interior."[17] Here he outlines the interior as a space for the French bourgeoisie that is separated from the site of productive labour. In the chapter 'The Interior, The Trace',[18] Benjamin describes the alienation process of the proprietor from the workplace and, employee from, means of production in the 19th century, culminating, "in the emergence of the private home."[19] According to Benjamin, the emergence of

modernity, as a condition of 19th century existence, brought on the split between public and private and hence the notion of, the domestic interior.[20] This notion of the interior, Benjamin continues, is strictly located in the 19th century. He outlines that by the 20th century, the previously described private domestic interior, which involved impressing oneself onto one's own space, had dissolved.

Colomina takes Benjamin's account of the interior and the "detective story of detection itself" and using various forms of representation of Loos' houses builds a case.[21] She describes the suggestions of the carefully crafted photographs and their framing of the architecture that both "precedes and frames its subject."[22] Using the photographs of the Moller House and the Müller House that create the feeling that "someone is about to enter the room," Colomina projects that Loos' domestic spaces turn the viewer toward the interior.[23] The houses are about physical separation and visual connection—however, this can be read, according to Colomina, tendentiously concerning gender. Colomina outlines how the design of the house seems to give prominence to the mother, who has the viewing space. However, she also outlines how this is deceived when the voyeur, the woman, becomes an object of an intruder's gaze as soon as someone else enters the house. Colomina uses the photographs to deconstruct the views that Loos and the photographer have constructed, ultimately following the process of 'tracing' that Benjamin describes.

Colomina, however, outlines a physical shift from Benjamin's descriptions of bourgeois interiors to Adolf Loos' 20th century domestic rooms. She describes Loos' interior as a theatre box overlooking private spaces rather than as a box of privacy that separates the individual from the world of theatre. Through analysis of Loos' houses, she argues that the "classical distinction between inside and outside and private and public becomes convoluted."[24] Despite the apparent shift in the concept of the interior, Colomina's analysis of Loos' still draws similarities to ideas of the previous century. Colomina further outlines that the materiality of Loos' interiors can be described as covering the occupants in a similar way to clothes enveloping the body. She uses the example of Lina Loos' bedroom and Josephine Baker's swimming pool as interiors which, "always contain a warm bag in which to wrap oneself."[25] The claim is not dissimilar to Benjamin's statement in *The Arcades Project* where he states, "the original form of all dwelling is existence

not in the house but in the shell. The shell bears the impression of its occupant. The nineteenth century… conceived residence as a receptacle for the person and encased him."[26] The clothes and the case are both coverings that separate the individual from what is external to them. This connection to Benjamin's writings and the emergence of the interior is clear—however, it is dissolved in the way in which Colomina discusses the engagement of 20th century architecture with the camera.

The technological developments of the camera in the 20th century played a crucial role in the dissemination of modern ideas in architecture. Photography has evolved from being considered a faithful and realistic representation of nature, through active efforts of curators, photographers, and historians of photography to become a medium of artistic representation. With the growing use of photography as a medium in the early 20th century, modernist photography became intertwined with the dissemination of modern domesticity. What Colomina makes clear through approaching modern domesticity through an interdisciplinary lens is the significance of the relationship between culture and technology on the way architecture was represented and therefore understood. Arriving at Princeton in 1988, Colomina was at the forefront of the historians who entered the academy that I discussed earlier in this chapter. She later became the founding director of the Princeton PhD program, 'Media and Modernity'. The program involves taking an interdisciplinary approach to studying the interplay between culture and technology that is determinant of the 20th century. Part of the program is the production of architectural exhibitions.[27] Colomina has led teams of PhD students in the production of exhibitions of domesticity since the course's inception, such as 'Playboy Architecture: 1953-79' first exhibited in 2012.[28] As can be traced from the work of Colomina, the project of the interpretation of the modern domestic interior has a relationship with display through media. 'Playboy Architecture' through the exhibition and the research seminar that produced the show, examined the role of the magazine in cultivating a design culture. The exhibition is designed in a way that the furniture is not separated from how it was when it was advertised in the magazine. For example, on a podium sit both a vintage Mies Van Der Rohe Barcelona Chair and a board showing a page from the magazine in which a couple is sitting on the chair (figure 8). It is not only the chair or the image that is on display but the relationship between them and how that is played out in the culture around *Playboy* magazine. The nature of exhibitions such as this exemplifies Colomina's

approach to the display of domesticity which epitomises the tradition—producing not a reconstruction of an interior but presenting the interplay between media, culture, modern architecture and gender.

This idea is evident in Colomina's own writing and her chapter of *Sexuality and Space*, where she examines the relationship between the representation of architecture and the body through film. In her examination of the domestic interiors of Le Corbusier, Colomina not only looks at images and texts but also film to interrogate the representation of Villa Savoye. In the film *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* directed by Pierre Chenal with Le Corbusier, Colomina suggests that as a viewer you are left to literally follow the female character through the house.[29] The camera shots change three times throughout the woman's ascension up the ramp to the roof garden. The Villa Savoye essentially frames the woman's body as the camera is placed first on the inside of the house, looking out at her and then on the other side of the ramp, looking in at her (figures 9-12). Nevertheless, the viewer never catches the woman's eye, and hence Colomina suggests that the point of view of the camera is that of a voyeur. From this analysis of the film, one can begin to understand how modern film-making informed the representation and construction of ideas concerning modern domesticity.

The anthology format of *Sexuality and Space* allows for adjacencies between texts from different fields which sets up an interesting dynamic and reinforces the key characteristic of the tradition. In the chapter following Colomina's 'The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism', feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey explores the idea of the view and the female in film in, 'Pandora: Topographies of the Mask and Curiosity.'[30] Many of the other chapters refer to Mulvey's acclaimed 1975 essay 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' where she uses psycho-analysis theory to outline how patriarchal society structured the form of films.[31] Instead, here she discusses gendered space in cinema as a persistent representation of femininity across the ages. She accounts of the Greek mythological figure Pandora and her box, to unpack the idea of feminine curiosity with space. In the introduction to this discussion, Mulvey outlines her thinking about cinematic space and representations of gender. It is this framework that is most interesting in comparison to the preceding chapter by Colomina. She discusses the film genres of melodrama and Western and how both deal with the binary of the female domestic 'interior' sphere in opposition to the masculine 'outside'

sphere. She states that "both the melodrama and the western assume an aesthetic and ideological imbrication between the place of the home and the space or sphere of the feminine and their attendant antinomies."[32] The overlaps between the domestic space and the feminine that exist in society are reinforced in 20th century cinema. Mulvey continues to explain the use of the female body in film by providing an account of an extract of the opening of the 1946 film *Notorious*.[33] The director, Alfred Hitchcock, initially, "disappoints the codes and conventions of cinematic visual pleasure" to ultimately delay the introduction of the focus, the character played by actress Ingrid Bergman.[34] As she enters the scene, Mulvey describes that her silence "adds mystery to her beauty."[35] Through this discussion, Mulvey asserts that cinema has heightened the image of female beauty as a mask, "as an exterior, alluring, and seductive surface that conceals an interior space containing deception and danger."[36] In turn, the conventions of 20th century Hollywood cinema have refined the representation of femininity and the image of the female body as the "ultimate screen spectacle" for the audience.[37] Like the film of the Villa Savoye which Colomina outlines, in the opening of *Notorious* the audience's gaze must follow the silent woman and be intrigued by the allure of her mystery. Through the use of the woman in the film, Chenal and Corbusier maintain these tropes in their portrayal of the modern domestic interior. Through including these two chapters sequentially in *Sexuality and Space*, Colomina as the editor sets up an approach to analysing the modern domestic interior which due to the role of media cannot be separated from the broader cultural conversation. This concept that the modern interior is entangled with media is present throughout Colomina's other writings and exhibitions. Colomina frequently uses the media, the modes of publication of the house to inform an understanding of the space. This creates a connection between the display of the house and how one might understand modern domesticity but also creates a separation between the experience of the physical space of the house, as one might have in the house museum, and the understanding of the domestic interior as approached by this tradition.

Sexuality and Space was pivotal in igniting a series of other works to explore ideas about gender and architectural studies and further develop this tradition of 'Domesticity's Interdisciplinarity'. In the introduction to the anthology *Gender Space Architecture*, the editors state that "research on gender and architecture first started to appear in the late 1970s largely written by women and from an overtly political

feminist angle."[38] However, this work remained internal to the discipline and was mainly concerned with the profession and issues concerning human-made environments. Building from the work of *Sexuality and Space,* the seminal architectural anthology *Gender Space Architecture,* published in 1999, collected together a series of material from various disciplines published over the past thirty years to develop an understanding of space that is inextricably linked to the gendered body. This anthology, though edited by architectural historians, can be understood as part of a broader field. In the introduction of *Gender Space Architecture,* editors: Iain Borden, Barbara Penner, and Jane Rendell explain that "architecture is a subject which demands to be understood ... within the context of its production (society, economics, politics, culture) and the context of its consumption, representation and interpretation (different academic disciplines, interest groups, institutions, users)."[39] The editors describe this approach to architectural theory as a "burgeoning new field - that includes architecture, art history, anthropology, cultural studies, gender studies and urban geography."[40] The combination of texts in the book presents a reinterpretation of the constructed gendered understanding of society and how this can be manifested in space. The role of this anthology seems to be to present contextual explorations of the body and space that occurred within and separately to architectural discourse. However, when observing the text as part of a tradition of examination of the interior, what is pressing is how this tradition was shaped by and has shaped critical theory in architecture. When approaching the study of architecture through critical theory and specifically looking at gender, there is a direct link with modern domesticity and its publication.

An anthology like this allows for a broad scope of texts to provide many different links of feminism to domesticity. The book is organised in three chapters: gender, gender space, and gender space architecture. The collection of texts in each chapter is ordered chronologically allowing the reader to track the development of ideas. The introduction to each chapter written by Rendell offers a map to read the texts. The book gives an "elucidation of both the importance of gender to architecture and conversely architecture to gender."[41] *Gender Space Architecture* draws from many disciplines to discuss architecture, but the categorisation and structure show a consciousness of contextual influence and also allows for diverse approaches to feminism to be included. The broad scope of texts more than just links feminism and domesticity, they explain how feminist architectural theory is apparent in the design and study of the

modern domestic interior. Rendell explains in the introduction to the final section, '*Gender, Space, Architecture*,' that some feminist historians have written about the gendered nature of architectural history itself. This has been done she explains, "by reclaiming the history of low-key buildings, everyday housing, domestic, interior, textile design, space or practices typically associated with women and regarded as trivial, such feminists show that it is not only the buildings of the public realm, financed by wealthy patrons, the nobility and merchants of the past and the wealthy capitalists today that are worthy of being in historical writing."[42] There was an effort, that was strengthening at that time, to rewrite the history of modern architecture to be inclusive of domestic spaces and the spaces that are seen to be spaces for women as informed by other disciplines.

Like *Sexuality and Space,* domesticity is analysed using the techniques of film theory which again highlights the importance of interdisciplinary perspectives in this tradition. In historian Alice T. Friedman's chapter of *Gender Space Architecture*, which is an excerpt from her 1992 article, 'Architecture, Authority and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern House,' she appropriates the interpretative method of feminist film theorist Kaja Silverman as presented in her 1989 essay 'Fassbinder and Lacan: A Reconsideration of Gaze, Look and Image.'[43] In that essay, Silverman differentiates the gaze from the look, and she discusses the dual nature of representation, that of "inscribing the image of the thing as well as revealing its own culturally constituted structure."[44] Friedman notes "such a strategy has a number of potential applications for feminist architectural theory."[45] She highlights that in the cultural system, there is a naturalised social history of architecture that marginalises women through representation. She explains, "through screening, sight lines, contrasts of scale, lighting, and other devices, architecture literally stages the value system of a culture, foregrounding certain activities and persons and obscuring others."[46] In response to this, she comments on the conventions of visual culture, gender, and how architecture as representation generates meaning through both function and imagery. Through appropriating Silverman's analysis of the film to architecture, Friedman applies a new cultural lens to architectural representation to readdress the history of interiors. Many of the chapters in this final section use a similar method, of applying feminist theory from other disciplines to architectural and spatial theory which can then be tracked in the structuring of the anthology. In this way, *Gender Space Architecture*

formulated a new canon for feminist theory's approach to the study of the modern domestic interior and forged new paths of inquiry.

First anthologies like *Gender Space Architecture* and *Sexuality and Space* have been crucial in influencing subsequent research on the domestic interior, that have further developed in this same tradition. In 2005 the anthology, *Negotiating Domesticity - Spatial productions of gender in modern architecture* edited by Hilde Heynan and Gülsüm Baysar was published.[47] Unlike *Gender Space Architecture* and *Sexuality and Space*, it only includes writings from within the discipline of architecture. Nevertheless, in *Negotiating Domesticity* there is evidence of a continuation of the ideas presented in the two seminal anthologies, particularly in the opening chapter, 'Modernity and Domesticity: Tensions and Contradictions' by Heynen and 'Photography's Veil: Reading Gender and Loos' Interiors' by Charles Rice.[48] This continuation demonstrates critical theory's admission into architectural discourse and the solidification of the tradition.

Consistent with this tradition is that it relies on interpretations of ideas of modernism rather than analysis of the artefacts of modernist domestic interiors. This is evident in 'Modernity and Domesticity: Tensions and Contradictions,' Heynen discusses the 'gender' of modernism, outlining various perspectives of the time and since that depict modernism and ideas of modernism with architecture as having characteristics of masculine or feminine genders. She outlines the complexity of the topic in portraying that despite "discourses and practices of modernism favouring masculine qualities and being embodied by male representatives and the domestic being considered in opposition to modernity," for women the home was where modernity was played out.[49] Heynen discusses these complexities with references to architectural historians such as Alice T. Friedman as well as historians from other disciplines such as Janet Wolff. Like Colomina, Heynen heavily references Walter Benjamin's understanding of the modern interior to both situate the concept of the domestic interior in the 19th century and allow for a comparison with the interior of the 20th. Benjamin "declared that in the 20th century, the days of the cozy interior were over, since dwelling as seclusion and security had had its day."[50] She goes on to outline that despite modern architecture being conceived by the general public as opposed to domesticity, modern architecture displays "a critical engagement with the gender patterns inscribed in the spatial layout of the home."[51]

Heynen's discussion is discursive. It relies on interpretations around ideas of modernism rather than her analysis of the artefacts of modernist domestic interiors and provides an opportunity to reassess a history that might not have been entirely told.

The notion that historians had to approach the study of interiors in a new critical way is further demonstrated in Charles Rice's chapter, 'Photography's Veil: reading gender and Loos' interiors'. Rice describes the concept of the interior emerging in a doubled fashion - both as a spatial and image-based condition in the context of domesticity (this notion is further outlined in Rice's book, *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity*).[52] Rice acknowledges the domestic interior as a historically emergent concept and again references Walter Benjamin's account in *The Arcades Project*. Rice, like Heynen, explains the comparison presented by Benjamin between the 'dreamworld' and 'refuge' of the 19th century bourgeois interior and the transparent glass spaces of early 20th century modernism.

Extending on Colomina's discussion of Loos in *Sexuality and Space* and *Privacy and Publicity*, Rice discusses a set of four photographs of Loos' interiors. The pair of photographs each show a scene where the original depiction has been manipulated. Rice uses these manipulations to examine the doubled interior and feminine masquerade, "The photographed interior is the feminine masquerade, doubled between the appearance of 'natural' spatial depth and the play of representational surface."[53] Rice continues to explain that Loos recognised the doubleness of the interior through photographic manipulation as the interior is both an image and spatial condition to be experienced. He then suggests that while Colomina argues its representation produces the perception of space, he argues that the perception of space is produced by the "slippage between image and space."[54] Like Colomina, the chapter promotes the idea that to examine the domestic interior from a critical perspective, historians had to approach the study of interiors in a new critical way. Through tracking the continuation of the approach to the domestic interior from *Sexuality and Space, Gender Space Architecture*, and *Negotiating Domesticity*, the tradition becomes solidified at that moment.

This tradition provides an approach to the modern domestic interior by examining the historical and cultural role of the woman in the home and how this has informed both the design and interpretation of this space in modern architecture. In examining domesticity through critical theory, this tradition has brought to light issues surrounding the effect of media, technology, and social constructs on the display and dissemination of modern domestic ideas through modes of representation at the time and in contemporary exhibitions today. The use of the anthology in this tradition initially allowed the editors to bring together voices and perspectives from beyond the discipline of architecture to discuss domesticity as evidenced in *Sexuality and Space* and *Gender, Space, Architecture*. As the tradition has evolved and critical theory in architecture has become more embedded, the anthology can be used in the more traditional sense, of defining the field and framing the key texts on the topic, as can be seen in the example of *Negotiating Domesticity*.

The two traditions of 'A Separate Interior' and 'Domesticity's Interdisciplinarity' demonstrate how the concept of the domestic interior has been constructed from the literature as a discipline. In analysing these traditions, the breadth of approaches to constructing the histories of the modern domestic interior are revealed and the importance of the anthology is highlighted. These are not the only traditions of studying the interior, however, they are crucial for how we consider the interior today in relation to the image, and to collection and display, which are key themes when examining the house museum. Whilst the two traditions reveal different influences, understandings, and definitions of the interior both indicate, through differing modes, the connection between modern domesticity and display.

The definitions and lines of inquiry set up in these traditions deal with modern houses as they were when they still functioned as sites of domesticity. The construction of the field, in both traditions, has been reliant on understanding these sites through the media that remains today. With the conversion of these domestic spaces into defined spaces of display, this reliance is critical to understand as they similarly rely on the publication of the houses through media for their transformation. In comparison to Part 1 which examines the formation of the modern domestic interior via analysis of representation, Part 2 involves the direct experience of the houses as they have been transformed to museums. Part 1 is the context for the

recounting of the experience of visiting these modern house museums in Part 2. In framing the case studies of the house museums with the historiography of interiors, I set up a dialogue between the construction of the history of interiors and their physical reconstruction as museums, in turn raising questions of validation around the display of architecture.

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[1] Not discussed in this thesis is the development of feminist discourse in architecture due to the merging of Post-Structuralism and the influence of French feminist literary criticism of Helene Cixous and Luce Irigaray.

[2] John E.M. Whiteman, Jeff Kipnis, and Ricky Burdett, *Strategies in architectural thinking*, Chicago Institute for Architecture and Urbanism (Cambridge, Mass: Distributed by the MIT Press, 1992).

[3] See Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution : a History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge Mass: MIT Press, 1981) and Susana Torre, *Women in American Architecture : a Historic and Contemporary Perspective : a Publication and Exhibition Organized by the Architectural League of New York through Its Archive of Women in Architecture* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977).

[4] See John E.M. Whiteman, Jeff Kipnis, and Ricky Burdett, *Strategies in architectural thinking* (Chicago, Ill: Chicago Institute for Architecture and Urbanism; Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed by the MIT Press, 1992); Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway, and Leslie Weisman. *The Sex of Architecture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996); Joel Sanders, *Stud: Architectures of Masculinity* 1st ed. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996); Francesca Hughes, *The Architect : Reconstructing Her Practice* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1996); Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze, and Carol Henderson, *Architecture and Feminism : Yale Publications on Architecture* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), and Katerina Ruedi, Sarah Wigglesworth, and Duncan McCorquodale, *Desiring Practices : Architecture, Gender and the Interdisciplinary* (London: Black Dog Publishing, 1996) as well as significant books including Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy, and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press ,1994) and Sylvia Lavin, *Form follows libido: architecture and Richard Neutra in a psychoanalytic culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004).

[5] Jane Rendell, "Introduction," in Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden, *Gender Space Architecture an Interdisciplinary Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2000), 6.

[6] Beatriz Colomina, S*exuality & Space*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992).

[7] Mark Jarzombek, "The Disciplinary Dislocations of (Architectural) History," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 58, No. 3, (1999): 488.

[8] Mark Jarzombek, "The Disciplinary Dislocations," 489.

[9] Beatriz Colomina, S*exuality & Space*.

[10] The book is the result of a symposium held on at Princeton University, School of Architecture.

[11] Anthony Vidler, "Theories in and of History," *E-Flux Architecture*, (2018), last accessed 2018, https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/history-theory/225183/theories-in-and-of-history/.

[12] Anne Bergren, "Architecture, Gender, Philosophy' in John E.M. Whiteman, Jeff Kipnis, and Ricky Burdett," *Strategies in architectural thinking*, (Chicago, Ill: Chicago Institute for Architecture and Urbanism; Cambridge, Mass.: Distributed by the MIT Press, 1992).

[13] Beatriz Colomina, 'The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism' in Beatriz Colomina, *Sexuality & Space*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992).

[14] See Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press ,1994) and Beatriz Colomina, "The Media House," Assemblage, no. 27, (1995): 55–66, Beatriz Colomina, "Private Site of Public Memory," *Journal of Architecture*, Vol 4, Winter (1999): 337-360, Beatriz Colomina, "Unbreathed Air 1956," *Grey Room 15*, Spring, (2004): 28-55 and Beatriz Colomina, *Domesticity at War,* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2007).

[15] Penny Sparke, *The Modern Interior*, (London: Reaktion, 2008).

[16] Colomina, "The Split Wall," 74.

[17] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982), 8.

[18] Benjamin, *The Arcades Project,* 212-227.

[19] Benjamin, *The Arcades Project,* 226.

[20] Benjamin, *The Arcades Project,* 226.

[21] Colomina, "The Split Wall," 83.

[22] Colomina, "The Split Wall," 80.

[23] Colomina, "The Split Wall," 83.

[24] Colomina, “The Split Wall,” 80.
[25] Colomina, “The Split Wall,” 92.
[26] Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 18.
[27] For example, from 2007-08 the exhibition *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines,* organised by Colomina and her students travelled to various galleries around the US and Europe. Nicolai Ourousoff, “Clip/Stamp/Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazine,” *New York Times*, February 8th, 2007, https://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/08/arts/design/08clip.html.
[28] Amelia Taylor-Hochberg, ‘Beatriz Colomina on "Playboy Architecture" and the masculine fantasy’, *Archinect*, May 11th, 2016, https://archinect.com/features/article/149942986/beatriz-colomina-on-playboy-architecture-and-the-masculine-fantasy.
[29] Pierre Chenel, L*’Architecture d’aujourd’hui*, documentary (1930).
[30] Laura Mulvey “Pandora: Topographies of the Mask and Curiosity,” in Beatriz Colomina, *Sexuality & Space*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 56.
[31] Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *Screen 16*, no. 3 (Autumn 1975): 6–18.
[32] Mulvey “Pandora: Topographies of the Mask and Curiosity,” 56.
[33] Alfred Hitchcock, *Notorious,* film (1946).
[34] Mulvey, “Pandora: Topographies of the Mask and Curiosity,” 58.
[35] Mulvey, “Pandora: Topographies of the Mask and Curiosity,” 58.
[36] Mulvey, “Pandora: Topographies of the Mask and Curiosity,” 59.
[37] Mulvey, “Pandora: Topographies of the Mask and Curiosity,” 59.
[38] Rendell, “Introduction,” 6.
[39] Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden, “Preface” in Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden, *Gender Space Architecture an Interdisciplinary Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2000), i.
[40] Rendell, Penner, and Borden, “Preface,” xi.
[41] Rendell, “Introduction,” 7.
[42] Jane Rendell, “Gender, Space, Architecture,” in Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden. *Gender Space Architecture an Interdisciplinary Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2000), 277.
[43] Kaja Silverman, “Fassbinder and Lacan: a Reconsideration of Gaze, Look, and Image,” *Camera Obscura: Feminism, Culture, and Media Studies* 7, no. 1, 19 (January 1, 1989), 54–85.
[44] Alice T. Friedman, “Architecture, Authority and the Female Gaze: Planning and Representation in the Early Modern House,” Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden, *Gender Space Architecture an Interdisciplinary Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2000), 333.
[45] Friedman, “Architecture, Authority and the Female Gaze,” 333
[46] Alice Friedman, “Architecture, Authority and the Female Gaze,” 334
[47] Hilde Heynen, and Gulsum Baydar, *Negotiating domesticity: spatial productions of gender in modern architecture,* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
[48] Hilde Heynen, “Modernity and Domesticity: Tensions and Contradictions” and Charles Rice, “Photography’s Veil: reading gender and Loos” in Hilde Heynen, and Gülsüm Baydar, *Negotiating domesticity: spatial productions of gender in modern architecture,* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
[49] Heynen, “Modernity and Domesticity: Tensions and Contradictions,” 3.
[50] This notion is expanded upon in Rice’s book, Charles Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity*, (New York: Routledge, 2006).
[51] Heynen, “Modernity and Domesticity: Tensions and Contradictions,” 19.
[52] Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity*, (New York: Routledge, 2006).
[53] Rice, “Photography’s Veil,” 292.
[54] Rice, “Photography’s Veil,” 292.

Part 2
Four Case Studies

Introduction

"The museum idea has a remarkable capacity to transform the elements of the world into collections. It can make specimens out of almost anything, but among the vast stock of museum artefacts, few items have such capacity as houses to become not only objects of the museum, but subjects as well." [1]

The house museum as a museum typology is unique, being both the container and contained, the means to exhibit and the exhibited. In terms of an architectural museum, the house museum is an odd typology. For "architectural museums collect and display not their subject matter, but works that are representations of it - drawings, prints, photographs, models and books."[2] And yet, the subject of the house museum is the house. Throughout time many houses have been converted to museums, typically these houses were owned and lived in by figures considered to be significant to a specific place or culture. In terms of the modern house museum, houses are being converted to museums not necessarily for the status of the figures who lived in them but for the recognised importance of the architecture.

Part 1 revealed how the study of the domestic interior has been established and is maintained, primarily through anthologies. It demonstrated the impact of the context in which two key traditions of the domestic interior were developed. These traditions and their construction of the field become the context through which we encounter the modern house museum. Within these traditions, the entanglement of the anthology, the museum, and the media through which the modern house is represented, can be understood as the means through which their distinct definitions of the modern domestic interior have been developed. Understanding this in relation to the modern house museum, it too could be framed as a means of constructing the field.

The examination of the recent conversion and development of these houses to spaces of display, offers opportunities to reconsider the historiography of modern domesticity. The thesis uses both 'house museum' and 'spaces of display' to describe the current condition of the houses studied in Part 2. In referring to them as 'spaces of display', the intention is to broaden the definition of the 'house museum' to include programs that may not traditionally fit within the museum typology such as Airbnb. Further, in defining them as 'spaces of display', the houses are understood to be on exhibition themselves but also

showcasing their interior and contents. The two traditions and the various perspectives within them that are evident in Part 1 highlight that there is space to question how the canon of modern architecture, in relation to the domestic interior, was developed. Through connecting Part 1 with the case studies of Part 2 this thesis suggests that in examining the conversion of the modern house to the museum one is ultimately interrogating how modern domestic architecture is constructed, reinforced, and understood through its exhibition.

If we are to take on the idea that the modern house was made public through the proliferation of images and the fast-developing mass media of the 20th century, the images of homes in magazines and the accompanying articles become as equally important, if not more important to the understanding of these houses as the buildings themselves.[3] Photographs allowed the viewers to project themselves into the lifestyles presented, almost acting as advertisements for modern living, conveying particular curated stories contributing to the image of the modern housing archetype. These media contribute to the historiographies of the physical architectural sites and the reconstructions of houses as museums. These, in turn, are informed by the representation of the house that was constructed in the "ephemeral space of the media."[4]

The second part of the thesis is a comparative case study analysis of four house museums. Each house studied was designed as a domestic space with the intent of being lived in and has since been converted to a space of display. All of the houses were built in the 20th century and each of them and their architects have a notable relationship with the modern movement. The focus of the study is on the role of representation and media both in the construction of the historical narrative of the house and how this informs one's current experience when visiting. The houses studied are: The Hill House, designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret McDonald (1902-04), the Eames House by Charles and Ray Eames (1949), the Maison de Verre designed by Pierre Chareau and Bernard Bijvoet with Louis Dalbet (1932), and the Grace Miller House by Richard Neutra (1936). Each house of the study today functions in a different mode of display: museum, display case, guided tour, Airbnb rental. As such they offer varying suggestions of how to share past architectural histories in the contemporary museum context.

Each of the houses are owned by an assortment of individuals, groups, or organisations: the Hill House is owned by the National Trust of Scotland, the Eames House is owned and run by the Eames family, who went on to establish the Eames Foundation, the Maison de Verre is privately owned by art and architecture collectors Robert and Stephane Samuel Rubin, and the Grace Miller House is also privately owned by film, television and magazine location agent Catherine Meyler. There is also a range of heritage protection to which each of the houses is subject and so the owners have various regulations and guidelines to follow in terms of the preservation of the houses. By bringing the house museums together here for analysis, their similarities are highlighted as are their unique distinctions.

In becoming a museum, or space of display, each house has undergone a significant moment of transformation. For the Hill House, it was officially declared a museum once a contemporary structure was built around it in 2019. The interior contents of the Eames House had been left in the same arrangement since Ray Eames died in 1989, however in 2011 the interior was removed and displayed in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. This furthered the Eames Foundation's relationship with the Getty Conservation Institute which led to the development of the recently released Conservation Management Plan. After being purchased by its current owners, the Maison de Verre began to be opened for public tours, and also entered their private collection of architecture and design objects. And the Grace Miller House had fallen into disrepair until Catherine Meyler purchased the house in 2000 and undertook significant conservation work. In 2019 it became available on Airbnb, moving from a private house to a space of display, both physically and digitally.

Each of the chapters is written as a standalone essay, however the approach, structure and tone of the essays are consistent. The essays include sections written in first-person to reflect the experience of visiting the house museums. It was important to address the experience of visiting the museums in this way and distinguish these moments from the analysis of the house museum based on how they have been represented in media, particularly as the houses have undergone a transformation to become a museum. My experiences were mediated through my understanding of the houses through the modern domestic

interior, as outlined in Part 1. The theoretical perspectives discussed in Part 1, informed how I encountered and understood the houses once there, on site. The essays needed to reflect this and the process of writing descriptive scenes in first person became an essential part of the method of conveying my experience of the theoretical perspectives of gender and representation that were framed in Part 1. In other words, presenting the case studies through my personal visits was a means to examine the physical experience of the particular house museums but also tied the essays of Part 2 to the positions presented in Part 1.

Further, the use of first-person in this thesis, reflects the rise in subjective experience in academic writing in recent times. From a literature perspective, Jeffrey Gray noted in 2001, "In the past quarter of a century in America, personal accounts have multiplied like Mandelbrot fractals, spreading into spaces formerly inhospitable to them."[5] Gray accounts this change is due to a complex set of issues and consequently, "few serious readers believe any longer in a view from nowhere."[6] Readers have become accustomed to the understanding that a text is written from a particular perspective and cannot be assumed to be objective. This critique of objectivity was propelled by feminist theory since the 1960s. During and since that time, there has been a shift to a focus on the body and the personal in academic work.[7]

It is the hope that this thesis can be understood as contributing to this rise in personal accounts, that is has grown in other fields faster than within architectural writing.[8] Through the personal, readers can situate themselves. "We evoke the personal… to show how thoroughly social it was and is. The social may not exhaust the personal; there may be a residue of pure, individual difference; but we tell these stories to look through personal history at the ghosts of other, similarly situated people."[9] Likewise, in this thesis, through sharing my experiences of visiting the house museums, I hope to acknowledge the social experience of visiting these places for others, to consider questions of relation and encounter.

In most of the introductions to the anthologies that could be characterised as part of the tradition of 'A Separate Interior', there is some version of this line, "Architectural theory identifies major themes and

ideas in the history of architecture, but an equivalent framework for interiors— one that references design history and simultaneously builds upon its interdisciplinary relationships— is missing and needs to be written."[10] The anxiety within the study of interiors to determine the field from within, rather than from the perspective of architecture, has meant that at the same time that modern houses have been turned into museums, reflecting their celebrated role in history, the very texts that concern the modern domestic interior and have informed these houses' value are constantly being recollected and reframed. Not only this, but there is a messiness to the reframing. From looking at the anthologies and the two traditions studied in Part 1, across these texts the definitions and traditions of the domestic interior are maintained, blurred, or confused. The ground that these museums are being built on is unstable. We can read this between the two traditions and within the tradition of 'A Separate Interior' itself and it overhangs the re-reading of the modern interior as a house museum.

Whilst the incoherencies between the traditions discussed in Part 1 can be understood to demonstrate an undefined field, it is precisely this lack of clarity that offers opportunities for reconsideration. The unstable ground is perhaps the most productive environment for the development of the modern house museum. Within the inconsistencies there is room for the development of the house museum to be perceived with more value, as it offers a physically stable but renewed version of history.

This sense of the undefined prompted me to go out into the field, to investigate the actual interventions in the presentation of domestic space and to seek understanding through the site visit. Further, this going out into the field and on site, reflects the development over time of the house museum as a means of displaying architecture. As discussed in the introduction, the period room developed, according to Edward Kaufman in opposition to the display of architectural fragments in museums without context. There was a desire to validate the design through the experience of the space and objects in relation to one another. This validation has further progressed in the experience of the house museum, that involves visiting the houses in their original location and observing them as presented with their (seemingly) original furnishings and contents. Whilst the historiography of the modern domestic interior has been heavily intertwined with the representation of the interior through various forms of media, in the modern

house museum, in person experience is prioritised. This is heightened even further with the most recent house museum of the study, the Grace Miller House, being an Airbnb. The experience of the house's display is to actually live in the house (at least for a few days), not just to be inside it. This reflects a further distancing from the display of architecture as a fragment or even a period room, and suggests an interest in an all-encompassing and personal experience of domestic architecture. Further, the experience of visiting the houses, enabled me to reflect on the role of media with the domestic interior as my visits were preconditioned and mediated on site.

The aim of these case studies has been to identify a number of points where the conversion of the modern house to a museum enables an inquiry into the impact of the construction of the historical narratives of domesticity through the mass media and the museum. Other case studies could be identified and investigated. The hope is that this thesis provides something of a framing for thinking about a range of historical material on the modern domestic interior in new ways.

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[1] Linda Young. "Is There a Museum in the House? Historic Houses as a Species of Museum." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 22, no. 1 (March 1, 2007): 59–77.

[2] Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman, "Introduction," in Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman, *Architecture and its Image* (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989), 13.

[3] This position is taken in many of Beatriz Colomina's writings but is particularly essential to the book, *Privacy and Publicity*. Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media Cambridge*, (Mass., United States: MIT Press, 1994).

[4] Beatriz Colomina, "Private Site of Public Memory," *Journal of Architecture*, Vol 4, Winter (1999): 337.

[5] Jeffrey Gray, "In the Name of the Subject: Some Recent Versions of the Personal," in *Personal Effects,* ed., Deborah H. Holdstein and David Bleich, (University Press of Colorado, 2001), 51.

[6] Gray "In the Name of the Subject," 51.

[7] This notion is reflected in some of the literature on the modern domestic interior from Part 1, in both traditions, as noted by Lois Weinthal, "It is often taboo to make reference to personal anecdotes when writing about architecture, but in writing about interiors the personal should not always be avoided." In Lois Weinthal, *Towards a New Interior: An Anthology of Interior Design Theory,* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2011), 18.

[8] A large influence on architectural writing from the personal has come from feminist and queer theory. This is discussed in Marko Jobst, "Writing Architectural Affects" in *Architectural Affects After Deleuze and Guattari,* ed., Marko Jobst and Hélène Frichot, (Routledge, 2020), 228-244 and Naomi Stead, "Architectural Affections", *Fabrications* 24, no.2, (2014): 156-177. Other texts that also explore approaches that challenge objectivity in architectural writing include Jane Rendell, "Site-Writing: She Is Walking About in a Town Which She Does Not Know." *Home Cultures* 4, no. 2 (2007): 177–199; Janina Gosseye, Naomi Stead, and Deborah Van der Plaat, ed., *Speaking of Buildings : Oral History in Architectural Research* First edition. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2019) and Hélène Frichot and Naomi Stead, ed., *Writing Architecture*: *Ficto-Critical Approaches,* (Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020)

[9] Richard Ohman, "The Personal as History," in *Personal Effects,* ed., Deborah H. Holdstein and David Bleich, (University Press of Colorado, 2001), 340.

[10] Lois Weinthal, T*oward a new interior: An Anthology of Interior Design Theory*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2011): 6.

Chapter 3 - Museum

There is a considerably tall building not too far from my neighbourhood that has been cloaked in sheets of green gauze for the past few months. I have no idea what the building underneath the cloak looks like. It is a building that I see most days but otherwise would not notice, as it sits unassumingly in a cluster of skyscrapers. However, now, with its transformable green cloak that is gradually shrinking the building as level after level is deconstructed, the building has become a signifier, a point of reference, even a way to track time. The green veil, the cover, has ironically given the ordinary building a unique identity. It makes me consider what it would do to shroud a building that is perhaps more identifiable? In the case of the Hill House in Helensburgh, Scotland (Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret McDonald Mackintosh, 1902-04), its new cloak takes the generic form of a shed and masks any opportunity to understand what sits beneath it. When observing the house as cloaked, one reads the form generated by the scaffolding, not the existing building. Thus, like the green skyscraper, here we are not compelled to understand the existing building but instead are intrigued by the exhibition of its covering.

The Box (Carmody Groarke, 2019) is a chainmail mesh structure that encompasses the Hill House like an oversized decontamination tent dropped on a crime scene and undoubtedly has a demanding presence (figure 13). It is not only its size that separates it from its context, but the industrial material and functionalist shed-like form is in stark contrast to the red sandstone and castle turrets of the 19th-century houses that surround it. The reference to scaffolding, in combination with its scale, gives The Box a sense of urgency, as if substantial and crucial work needs to be done there. At the same time, the structure also feels temporary—one imagines the local council could not possibly allow it to cause such a visual disparity permanently. Therefore, as a passer-by, you are immediately drawn to it. Despite looking sturdy, compared to its stone neighbours it does feel as if the scaffold could be down by tomorrow and so you want to investigate its strangeness immediately. From the street, the new intervention is all spectacle.

Since it was first made public, the preservation of the Hill House has been reliant on its display—this notion carries on today. In 1972, the Hill House was acquired by the Royal Institute of Architects,

Scotland (RIAS) and opened to the public.[1] Not long after, in the Autumn of 1974, the Portland cement roughcast in which the entire house is rendered was recommended for immediate repair (over the many years of exposure to Scottish weather, the cement has cracked allowing water to be absorbed by the sandstone structure that sits behind it, yet the cement does not allow the water to escape and so the house has been rotting from within for a considerable amount of time).[2] This pairing of the transformation of the house into a public place and its consistent restoration seem to be intrinsically linked. However, this has been made most explicit in its recent and most dramatic intervention. In 2017, forty-three years after it was first made public, the National Trust for Scotland (the current owners), announced an architectural competition for a new cafe and exhibition centre to be built separately to the house whilst the roughcast undergoes significant restoration works. In July 2019, the winner of the competition, Carmody Groarke revealed their built design, a chain mail mesh box that encloses the entire house and obscures the house from the exterior. Hanging off the internal structure, paths wrap the building reconstructing the view of the house from the inside. Carmody Groarke describe The Box as a "drying room shelter", allowing the render and its sandstone structure to be protected from the frequent Scottish rain as the Trust determines a long-term plan for the cracked and leaking roughcast.[3] At once this structure is representative of scaffolding, hence 'conservation', but in reality, it provides a means of exhibition to the public. The success of Carmody Groarke's proposal highlights the desire of the National Trust not only to protect the house for the future but to show the process of its restoration as a spectacle (figure 14). The Box obfuscates the house. It is not necessarily the Hill House on display to the visitor—instead, it is the experience of inhabiting The Box. Whilst this intervention can be seen as another moment in the relationship between exhibition and display at the Hill House, the design of The Box significantly shifts the perception of the house both physically and in function. This chapter will explore the entanglement of the building's restoration with its display over time which has informed its transformed from house to museum.

With few exceptions, the historic preservation of architecture has generally occurred either in situ (in the case of monuments) or within the museum (in the case of fragments and casts). The Hill House, however, is a unique case and sits somewhere in between, it is both in situ and a museum. The Hill House

was formally declared a museum in 2019 by the Museum Accreditation UK after the enclosure by Carmody Groake was constructed (despite the house itself being opened to the public since 1972). In order to become accredited, the museum must meet the definition agreed by the Museums Association in 1998 – "Museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They are institutions that collect, safeguard and make accessible artefacts and specimens, which they hold in trust for society".[4] This definition associates the museum as both a space of collection, preservation and one of display. To understand the transition of the Hill House to something between an artefact in a museum and a monument in situ, one must understand how both of these modes of historic preservation have been developed and are framed in the literature.

Architectural historian Jukka Jokilehto states that it was, "from the recognition of the remains of ancient Rome that emerged the European history of heritage conservation."[5] He goes on to explain however that despite this recognition occurring in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it was not until the 18th century and the development of the idea of historicity that led to the consideration of works of art and buildings as "unique and worthy of conservation as an expression of particular culture and a reflection of national identity," and therefore the idea of the national monument.[6] With the French revolution came a consciousness of the value of the monuments of past achievements. Architectural historian Lucia Allais more specifically outlines that the idea that monuments are collective property was articulated by French leader Abbe Gregoire in 1793.[7] In her book, *Designs of Destruction: The Making of International Monuments in the twentieth Century,* Allais tracks the monument from national to international recognition in the twentieth century. She states that in at this time, due to both the "real and imaged tabula rasa" that was left after various moments of physical destruction across the world, "a 'monument' became redefined, as any architectural object whose modernity lies not in its style or form, but in its capacity to survive destruction."[8] She outlines the relationship between the monument and international diplomacy tracking events such as the 1931 Athens Conference, the first-ever diplomatic event dedicated to monuments, through to the development of UNESCO. She states that in the twentieth century, "instead of being singular, monuments were nodes in a networked plurality; instead of being fixed they facilitated the global circulation of people and images; and instead of being empty and immutable, they could be regularly

inhabited, updated, and maintained."[9] Not only did the type of building or structure that could be assigned as a monument become broader in definition in the twentieth century, but monuments were no longer singular in their expression or reflection of a particular culture or identity.

The historic preservation of architecture through monuments was occurring at an almost parallel timeline as the collection of architecture for the museum. Architectural historian Barry Bergdoll asserts that similarly, it was in the eighteenth century when "the habit of exhibiting architecture in the gallery first became common practice".[10] As discussed in chapter 2, the exhibition of architecture grew initially out of the work of amateurs who developed collections as a form of connoisseurship and to claim a personal stake in history. In the 19th century, architects like John Soane presented his artefacts as evidence of his travels and his ability to collect decorative and expressive fragments of architecture. With the institutionalisation of the museum, came the development of several ways of systematising architecture as collections were no longer private but intended for public engagement.[11]

In 'The Art of Collecting Architecture' architectural historian Mari Lending discusses the circulation of architecture through collections (both private and museums) which originally occurred through means of representation such as fragments, casts, drawings and the documents that tracked their movement. Lending then further discusses the collection of architecture through auctions, that in recent years have allowed the sale of architecture alongside that of artworks, suggesting its ability to be relocated but also the consequences of doing so. Lending expresses, "objects change value and significance by being moved. This is as valid for ancient structures as it is for modern architecture. The promotion of modern 'masterpieces' as collectible art harbors aesthetic, museological and preservationist implications."[12] Lending gives the example of Prouvé's Maison Tropicales (1949-52) as a series of buildings that were dismantled and removed from Brazzaville through their sale at auction and relocated around the world inside and outside of various museums, including by the Pont Alexandre III in Paris, by the Queensboro Bridge in New York, by the Thames and Tate Modern, Art Basel Miami Beach, Yale University in New Haven and the Hammer Museum in Los Angeles.[13] Through the sale and relocation of these buildings, their use and meaning shifts, like art, they become commodities to be collected.

In the case of the Hill House, like a monument it remains in situ, however, as mentioned is formally accredited as a museum. Perhaps this distinction makes it comparable to another modern house museum, Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye (1929) which was recognised as a national monument in 1965 and a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2016.[14] Allais frames this time, the mid-1960s, as "something of a historical turning point, when a wave of fervour swept up architects and architectural historians of every allegiance across Europe and North America, and transformed architectural preservation from a fringe movement into a mainstream political cause."[15] Allais constructs this shift of preservation to the mainstream through key events such as the protests by architects against the demolition of New York's Penn Station in 1963, as well as the signing of the Venice Charter in 1964, the coining of the term 'world heritage' in 1965 and major acts of legislation in France, the US and by UNESCO.[16] According to Allais, the 1960s marked an increase in the domain of preservation and the expansion of its political effectiveness across the world.[17] As Kevin Murphy outlines in 'Villa Savoye and the Modernist Historic Monument,' the commitment to the historic preservation of the Villa Savoye led to the acquisition of other modern houses around the world being acquired by national trusts.[18] Whilst these acquisitions are more domestic than that of the international calls for preservation, they still can be understood as an outcome of the larger movement of that time. Moreover, it was in 1972 that the RIAS finally acquired the Hill House after many years of lobbying by Scottish architects to preserve one of the few remaining Mackintosh buildings. Whilst the initial push for the preservation of the Hill House could be considered as a product of this global movement—the subsequent intervention demonstrates the continual reframing of the building.

Perhaps instead, with its new appendage, it is more appropriate to consider the Hill House with other architecture that has been collected, stored and displayed inside the museum, such as the Temple of Dendur that fills the Sackler Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[19] In 1967, US President Lyndon B. Johnson gifted the Temple to the Met (figure 15), after it was removed from its original site in a "highly publicized international campaign led by UNESCO."[20] Like the Hill House Box, the inhabitable vitrine that encases the full-scale reconstructed Temple enables viewers to both be within the museum and view the artefact from outside it, in this case from Central Park. Whilst the Temple has

been moved and reconstructed from its original location, and the Hill House remains on the hill of Helensburgh, they both have been reconceived as artefacts to be viewed in the context of a museum. The spectacle of their placement within a larger building heightens the conception that they no longer function as buildings themselves. Lending acknowledges that without its original context a fragment or cast is no longer recognised as a building but as a "full-size image-object."[21] Expanding on this, they could be considered as having transformed from architecture to the representation of architecture. Whilst the Temple of Dendur and the Hill House are much more substantial than a fragment—they too are displayed without their original context (figure 16). This shift of relocating a fragment or even building to be exhibited elsewhere could be compared to the transformation of a house to space of display. The building is no longer functioning as a house—instead, as it goes on show, it becomes a representation of a house. Like the insertion of the Temple of Dendur into the Sackler Wing, the Hill House Box has blurred the categorisation of the house, from monument to artefact to representation.

Understanding the modern house museum as a representation becomes interesting when considering notions of historic preservation. The idea of the authentic or the original is important in terms of the approach to the preservation of the house. Therefore, whilst the house museum may be a representation of the Hill House in terms of function, it still has the authenticity of the physical form and location of the architecture. Preservation and display had become entangled in the Hill House through its restoration to the moment when it was first completed in 1904 in order for a specific set of ideas to be demonstrated about the architecture. The exhibition and curation of the house directly impact how it is restored. Young asserts that whilst preservation is essential to conserve the house, it is not a 'house museum' without being on display for visitors. She states, "enabling visitors to access the house is a primary purpose of house museums: a place that is too small, too precious, or too fragile to allow access can be a specimen but not a museum."[22] The relationship between display and preservation is essential in the contemporary museum. Whilst the Hill House has been considered a museum (in some sense) for almost 40 years, this notion is exemplified in its recent transformation and formal accreditation as a museum.

On my visit to the Hill House, after being filtered through the entrance shop and confirming I had prepaid the entry fee, I found myself in the space between the house and the void of The Box. You can either begin to climb around the house via the stairs and paths of the new box or proceed inside the original house. Avoiding the directedness of the parallel doors of the entrance shop and the house itself, I turned right, passed the plastic trees and the rubbish bin and up the steel stairs to the first level of the path. At this point, the path is at about the same level of the gutter line of the second storey roof of the house. Whilst walking around the paths unguided, if not gazing out to the expansive views of the river your focus is directed to the roughcast render and the various signs of its state of disrepair. The grey roughcast is considerably patchy in colour (from various attempts to test restoration techniques), and there are evident cracks particularly around the several chimneys and parapets. Walking above the roof of the house particularly revealed the extent of the damage to the roughcast—the colour of the chimneys and parapets from above looks much closer to the slate tiles of the roof than the grey-white of the walls below (figure 18 & 19). While these insights reveal the house's state of deterioration, the intervention functions purely as a means of the display. This is made evident through the presence of the elements of a twenty-first-century museum. Upon the path are a series of signs sharing stories about the house, there is also signage directing visitors in certain directions and informing which paths and stairs are currently inaccessible, accompanying these are ropes closing paths, there is visitor tracking sensors, lights, disabled access ramps and emergency exits. This series culminates in the two-storey cafe that sits above the entrance shop (figure 17). The cafe has a window that looks onto the northern view of the house and sells, along with usual British cafe fare, Mackintosh themed cakes and sweets. The twenty-first-century museum is not a museum without an in-theme cafe.

Inside the house, the dynamic shifts. Whilst there are still elements of the 'museum' with the presence of fire extinguishers and ropes closing certain rooms, the more obvious interventions are the elements of preservation. Amongst the objects that attempt to make the house seem house-like—the picture frames on the mantel, the utensils and jugs on the kitchen table and the hats on the hat rack, damp monitors can be found neatly placed alongside them (figure 20). Beside the original gas-heaters sit working contemporary heaters to draw out moisture. On the restored stencilled interior walls are patches left of

the original. There are guides inside, but they are simply there to offer answers to questions and of course, monitor the actions of visitors. In that sense, they are not contributing to either the preservation or display singularly. Interestingly though there are no staff positioned on the exterior where the visitor has no physical access to the house. Whilst there is an intense effort to preserve and monitor the conditions of the interior, the focus of the display of the house is overwhelmingly directed towards the exterior and The Box. Not only does the new display fund the preservation, but the idea of preservation enhances the exhibition of the house. In a sense, the dramatic effort to restore the house is what is being shown to the public just as much as the architecture of the house is. With the intervention of The Box, the curatorial focus of the museum has shifted. The overwhelming nature of The Box results in the visitor focussing their attention on its presence and looking for clues (signs of decay or maintenance) that signal why it is there.

For the Hill House to have been acquired by the Scottish National Trust and have become a museum, the house needed to have a public profile. Most of the houses discussed in the other chapters became public through publication in the growing mass media of the twentieth century. Being built in 1902-04 in Scotland, the Hill House differs from the other houses discussed particularly as it was not designed to be published. However, there was a publicness to it. In a c1892 paper, Mackintosh, in referring to John Ruskin, outlines the "hateful specimen" of "the seclusion of fine buildings and beautiful grounds behind high ugly walls, as so often met with in our country walks, rather than low pleasing hedges which allow the wayfarer in some measure to share the pleasure."[23] The Hunterian Museum in the publication of their research project on 'Mackintosh Architecture,' state that in order to give the public glimpses of his work Mackintosh challenged typical boundary wall designs.[24] At the Hill House Mackintosh included "horseshoe shaped cut-outs in the surrounding walls so passers-by could view his creation."[25] The two points where the wall dips down in a horseshoe-shaped loop recalls the downward curve in Mackintosh's perimeter wall at Windyhill, built a year earlier in 1901. There was an intention of sharing the work with the immediate community through the gesture of the wall, yet the design of the house does not reflect the intentions for mass-circulation through photography (reflecting the still yet to develop media environment that became crucial for the dissemination of architecture in the 20th century). Nevertheless,

in comparison to later houses of the twentieth century, Mackintosh's Hill House was minimally published at the time it was built.

Whilst the Hill House attracted very little attention in the British architectural press it did gain some positive international exposure via a feature in a 1905 issue of German art periodical *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration* in an article written by a lecturer in Italian at the University of Glasgow and close friend of the Mackintoshes, Fernando Agnoletti.[26] Comparatively drawings and photographs of the house were exhibited at the Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts in 1904 and 1905, and at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1906. They were noted briefly and unfavourably by a few publications. Reviewing the Institute's 1905 exhibition, the *Builders' Journal and Architectural Record* described, "a house at Helensburgh which for barn-like ugliness it would be difficult to equal."[27] In exhibiting interior and exterior photographs in the following year, the *Glasgow Herald* commented that "The perverse austerity of the outside where everything is covered in roughcast, is consistently maintained within. Fittings, furniture, wall-hangings, and foot-mats have the same adornment of little squares pierced or stencilled; decoration according to this recipe is surely simple enough."[28] Whilst the inclusion of the Hill House in these exhibitions demonstrates some public acknowledgement of the Mackintoshes work, the consistent unfavourable responses to their pared-back style and early hints of what was to become the modern style suggested little potential for national acknowledgement and future protection.

This low opinion was generally accepted, exceptions, however, were from the owners of their buildings. In c1943, Walter Blackie, the original owner of the Hill House, wrote an article that was posthumously published by his daughter, Agnes Blackie in the *Scottish Art Review* in 1968. Blackie recalls visiting Mackintosh in 1915, over a decade after the house was completed, finding him in a "depressed frame of mind."[29] Blackie recounts his conversation with Mackintosh, "He said how hard he found it to receive no general recognition; only a very few saw merit in his work and the many passed him by. My comment, given without reflection, was that he could not expect to receive immediate general recognition being, as he was, born some centuries too late; that his place was among the 15th-century lot with Leonardo and the others."[30] Blackie's praise for Mackintosh was at the time, in stark contrast with that of his fellow

Scots. With his limited fame, the outcomes of the Mackintoshes' buildings were uncertain for a long time after his death in 1928 and Macdonald's in 1933. Following the logic and framework of the first house modern museum, in order to benefit from the protective laws of preservation there needed to be a sense of national identity attached to the architecture. The uncertain fate for the preservation of the Hill House began to shift as the Mackintoshes' legacy changed in the post-war period.

For houses like the Hill House and other buildings to be preserved, the legacy of Mackintosh needed to be constructed. This can be traced to 1936 when art and architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner published *Pioneers of Modern Design* which included the work of Mackintosh eight years after Charles Rennie Mackintosh's death. Pevsner stated, "for in Glasgow there worked during these very years a group of artists as original and imaginative as any in Europe… The centre of the group was Charles Rennie Mackintosh with his wife Margaret McDonald and her sister Mrs McNair."[31] Pevsner goes on to outline the design of the Glasgow School of Art (1897-99) and the Hill House. This was observed by architectural historian Thomas Howarth who began researching Charles Mackintosh in 1940, as a result of being invited to speak at a Glasgow Literary Society event. In investigating Mackintosh, Howarth found there to be very little reliable information on him at the time. The essence of the lecture he gave was then developed into his doctoral dissertation, and in 1953 published as *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement.*[32]

In 1977 the book was published in a second edition, and Howarth reflects on the first edition and the growth in interest in Mackintosh since that time in the foreword. He states, "In the mid 1960's I was informed that Hill House might be offered for sale and with others I tried to persuade the National Trust to purchase it as being of historical and cultural significance… None of the official bodies - the government, the National Trust for Scotland or the Scottish Civil Trust - was able to accept the offer and for nearly a year nothing was done."[33] However, in 1972 the RIAS raised a fund amongst Scottish architects to finally purchase the house. Howarth exclaimed, "At last Mackintosh has been recognised by the profession in Scotland and Hill House is now safe."[34] The architecture community of Scotland obviously felt the impact of Howarth's publication of Mackintosh. So much so that despite Howarth's

failed attempts to convince the National Trust to purchase and preserve the Hill House at the time, the RIAS acquired it, saving it for posterity. This signified a shift in the way the Scottish architectural community understood Mackintosh—as evidenced from 1905 when the *Builders Journal* declared the Hill House's "barn-like ugliness" to 1968 where Scottish architect Robert McLeod exclaimed, "It was here…that the synthesis of Mackintosh's skills and intentions can first be really felt, and the measure of his genius first appreciated."[35]

Whilst Howarth's book was able to develop the reputation of Mackintosh's architecture in Scotland, his writing had the opposite intention for the work of Margaret Macdonald. Mackintosh and Macdonald were in both a romantic and professional relationship, initially known as the 'Glasgow Four' with Frances Macdonald McNair (Margaret's sister) and her husband James Herbert McNair. Howarth writes that Macdonald's, "work shows little sign of development; she seems to have lived in a world of roses, love-in-a-mist, cherubs and falling petals… an amorphous paradise from which Mackintosh himself might well have escaped."[36] He wants to emphasise the distinction between Macdonald's and Mackintosh's contributions to the projects (despite there being little documentation to highlight her role) by stating her negative impact on him. He asserts that "it is very probable that Margaret Macdonald, however unwittingly, was responsible for limiting her husband's vision, for tying him more securely to the aesthetic movement, and encouraging him to dissipate his energies on work of comparative unimportance when he might have consolidated his position in the architectural field."[37] This statement, which suppresses the design role of the female partner in this relationship to 'mere' aesthetics and decoration, links to ideas explored in chapter 1 and 2. Here, the 'architecture' is given more value than the interior decoration as it is seen to be a man's work. However, as Howarth does state, it is quite difficult to clarify the roles of the individuals in this partnership as Macdonald's story has been consistently muted from history. So, whilst Pevsner claims in 1936 that Macdonald is at the centre of the "original and imaginative" Glasgow group (with Mackintosh and her sister Frances Macdonald McNair) by 1953, she is blamed for holding her husband back. Considering what seems now like an aggressive erasure of history, at the time could have been thought by Howarth as the assumed way to ensure that Mackintosh was understood as an architect to be remembered, for a gesamtkunstwerk had to be developed from an all-encompassing single idea, by

a single individual. The history of modern architecture was easier to consume (and subsequently to remember and celebrate) if the mess of many hands and potentially contradicting ideas were excluded.

From the point of its purchase in 1972, the house's financial security (and fate) has been reliant on its public perception via its exhibition. Following the acquisition of the house by the RIAS, Scottish architecture firm Gillespie Kidd & Coia were commissioned to reconstruct the eastern wing of the house into four apartments.[38] These were leased out for holiday rental. Alongside the apartments, the house was opened as a museum for the public. The money raised from visitors was used for restoration work. With the transformation of the flats, a program of repairs was launched. The works were mostly for repair but also involved rebuilding chimneys according to original plans that the previous owner Campbell Lawson had taken down.

Eventually, in 1982, the Hill House was acquired by the National Trust for Scotland with financial assistance from the National Heritage Memorial Fund.[39] This shift in ownership from an architectural association to a national agency demonstrates that in the 10 years since Howarth first attempted to convince the National Trust to purchase it, the house's value and the Mackintoshes' legacy beyond architectural discourse had significantly developed. Today, Mackintosh is a large part of Glasgowegian and Scottish national identity. A July 2018 article in *Country Life* magazine discusses a recent exhibition of Mackintosh's work at Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum. The article titled, 'The Man Who Made Glasgow' casually names Mackintosh as 'Scotland's best loved designer.'[40] Architectural critic Catherine Slessor comments on Mackintosh's infusion into mainstream tourism in *The Guardian* in 2019, "now recast and sanitised as a stalwart of museum gift shops, his signature style being a gift to commodity fetishism."[41] Mackintosh is no longer only found in niche German art journals or architectural doctoral dissertations, and this public acknowledgement is reflected in the Hill House's transformation to a museum.

Under the ownership of the National Trust, the Hill House continued to be opened to both day visitors and overnight stays, and they continued to fund restoration works and maintenance. The next stage of significant work was recorded with accompanying diagrams in the May 1992 issue of the *Architect's Journal*

in an article titled 'Cracking up the Hill House'. In the article architect Brian Park outlines the 1987-9 restoration works carried out on the roughcast which involved, "injecting grout into the cavities, drilling through the roughcast and into the masonry and inserting carbon fibre rods from which the roughcast now effectively hangs."[42] The render was then finished with three coats of Keim mineral paint in a colour believed to match the original roughcast.[43] Underneath the greying roughcast that a visitor views from the raised paths today, sits not only the original white roughcast but these layers of attempted restoration, funded by the visitors who came before them.

It can be argued that in becoming a property of the National Trust for Scotland, the house has furthered the process of becoming a museum and also secured financial stability. As a national agency with a focus on preservation, the Trust has more formal processes and systems to ensure the prosperity of the house in comparison to the Institute of Architects. Whilst the house was purchased by the Trust in 1982 with the financial assistance of the National Heritage Memorial Fund, more recently in 2015 it was reported in the BBC that the Getty Foundation through its Keeping it Modern initiative (that falls under the CMAI discussed in chapter 4) granted the Trust 95,000 pounds towards their 2.5 million pounds goal, "to protect Hill House in Helensburgh from the weather."[44] It was reported that the donation was the "first award under the initiative made to a building in the UK, confirming Hill House, in the eyes of the foundation, as a property of international significance."[45] Most of the Getty's donations have been made to houses that are owned by similar institutions. This significant donation and connection to an institution such as the Getty can be understood as influencing the Hill House's confirmation as a museum. In 2019, when the Hill House was formally recognised by the Museum Accreditation UK, one of the criteria is financial stability, of which the relationship with the Getty and the Keeping Modern Initiative has firmed. Furthermore, whilst the Trust undertook significant works of restoration before The Box, the intensity of the 2019 intervention (and the interest it gathered) demonstrates a significant investment in the house's function as a museum for the future.

Through a series of formal and informal processes such as the development of a national identity for Mackintosh, the acquisition of the house by the National Trust and most crucially the implementation of The Box, the Hill House has become an accredited museum, 50 years after first opening to the public.

However, this formal recognition of its changed state, whilst ensuring the house's physical prosperity has obscured its legacy. The intervention of The Box, while preserving the house, redirects the focus of the museum. The house, experienced as a museum, is centralised around the roughcast and the measures put in place for its preservation. The spectacle of the chainmail mesh box intervention overwhelms one's experience of the house and focuses one's attention to the exterior. As a visitor, you experience the house through The Box and the house is viewed as something in need of repair. The Box, whilst providing a sincere preservation strategy, simplifies the curatorial focus of the Hill House. The notion that the museum was once a house is now secondary.

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[1] Mackintosh Architecture, Context, Making and Meaning, "M207 The Hill House, Helensburgh," The Hunterian, the University of Glasgow, accessed January, 2020, https://www.mackintosh-architecture.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/freetext/display/?rs=28&xml=des&q=the%20hill%20house.

[2] Kevin Carmody, "Mortal Bodies", Lecture, University of Technology Sydney, March 27, 2019.

[3] "The Hill House Box," Carmody Groarke, accessed January, 2020, https://www.carmodygroarke.com/hill-house/.

[4] "How to Apply", UK Museum Accreditation Scheme, Arts Council England, accessed January 2020, https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/accreditation-scheme/accreditation-how-apply#section-1.

[5] Jukka Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford, England; Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), 1.

[6] Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation,* 28.

[7] Lucia Allais, *Designs of Destruction : the Making of Monuments in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), 9.

[8] Allais, *Designs of Destruction*, 2.

[9] Allais, *Designs of Destruction,* 4.

[10] Barry Bergdoll, "Out of Site/In Plain View: On the Origins and Actuality of the Architecture Exhibition," in ed. Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen with Carson Chan and David Andrew Tasman, *Exhibiting Architecture; a Paradox?*, (New Haven, CT: Yale School of Architecture, 2015), 13.

[11] The development of the collection and exhibition of architecture in the museum is discussed in length by Edward Kaufman in "The Architectural Museum," 32.

[12] Mari Lending, "The Art of Collecting Architecture," *Volume 44*, (2015): 20.

[13] Mari Lending, "The Art of Collecting," 20.

[14] Kevin Murphy, "The Villa Savoye and the Modernist Historic Monument." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 1 (March 1, 2002): 79.

[15] Lucia Allais, "Integrities: The Salvage of Abu Simbel," *Grey Room* 50, no. 50 (January 2013): 7.

[16] Allais, "Integrities," 7.

[17] Allais, "Integrities," 7.

[18] Kevin Murphy, "The Villa Savoye and the Modernist Historic Monument." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, no. 1 (March 1, 2002): 68–89.

[19] The Temple of Dendur's relocation to the Met is discussed in David Gissen, *Manhattan Atmospheres: Architecture, the Interior Environment, and Urban Crisis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

[20] Lucia Allais, *Designs of Destruction*, 223.

[21] Lending, *Plaster Monuments, Architecture and the Power of Reproduction* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017):18. Lending outlines the history of plaster casts in the context of the architectural exhibition.

[22] Linda Young, *Historic House Museums in the United States and the United Kingdom: A History* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

[23] Charles Rennie Mackintosh, "Untitled on Architecture 1892," in *Mackintosh Papers,* ed. Pamela Robertson (Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1990), 180-200.

[24] Mackintosh Architecture, Context, Making and Meaning, "M207 The Hill House, Helensburgh," The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, accessed January, 2020, https://www.mackintosh-architecture.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/freetext/display/?rs=28&xml=des&q=the%20hill%20house.

[25] Mackintosh Architecture, Context, Making and Meaning, "M207 The Hill House, Helensburgh," The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, accessed January, 2020, https://www.mackintosh-architecture.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/freetext/display/?rs=28&xml=des&q=the%20hill%20house.
[26] Fernando Agnoletti, "The Hill House Helensburgh," *Deutsche Kunst und Dekoration*, 15, (1904–5): 337–59.
[27] *Builders' Journal and Architectural Record*, 19, (March 30 1904): 151.
[28] *Glasgow Herald*, (May 10 1905): 11.
[29] Walter W. Blackie, "Memories of Charles Rennie Mackintosh II," *Scottish Art Review*, 11, no. 4, (1968): 8.
[30] Blackie, "Memories of Charles Rennie Mackintosh II," 8.
[31] Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design : from William Morris to Walter Gropius* Rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960), 166.
[32] In a later edition of *Pioneers of Modern Design* Pevsner notes that when he first published the book, no book on CRM existed until 1953 when Howarth published *CRM and the Modern Movement.*
[33] Thomas Howarth, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh and the Modern Movement: (by) Thomas Howarth.* 2nd ed. (London [etc.): Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), xxiv.
[34] Howarth, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh* xxiv.
[35] Robert McLeod, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh Architect and Artist,* (London: Williams Collins Sons 1984) 2nd edition.
[36] Howarth, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh*, 145.
[37] Howarth, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh*, 145.
[38] Mackintosh Architecture, Context, Making and Meaning, "M207 The Hill House, Helensburgh," The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, accessed January, 2020, https://www.mackintosh-architecture.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/freetext/display/?rs=28&xml=des&q=the%20hill%20house.
[39] Kenny Smith, "Saving Mackintosh Classic House for the Future," *The Field,* (Jun 3, 2019). https://www.scottishfield.co.uk/travel/scotland-travel/saving-mackintosh-classic-house-for-the-future/
[40] Charlotte Rostek, "The Man who made Glasgow," *Country Life,* London, (Jul 18, 2018): 102-103.
[41] Catherine Slessor, "Rennie Mackintosh's Hill House – when two roofs are better than one," *The Guardian London,* (Jun 2, 2019), accessed January 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2019/jun/02/hill-house-helensburgh-charles-rennie-mackintosh-carmody-groarke.
[42] Mackintosh Architecture, Context, Making and Meaning, "M207 The Hill House, Helensburgh," The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, accessed January 2020, https://www.mackintosh-architecture.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/freetext/display/?rs=28&xml=des&q=the%20hill%20house.
[43] Other significant works carried out by the Trust Between 1983 and 1986 includes; the reslating of the roof with salvaged or matching materials, the addition of brick piers in the sub-floor, to strengthen the ground floor, and the introduction of steel beams to strengthen the Eastern wing. Before February 1983, the W. gable chimney had been taken down for a second time. It was subsequently rebuilt. In 2012 a substantial report was produced for the Trust by Andrew P. K. Wright. It presents a detailed account of past and present problems with the roughcast, which will inform future decisions about the conservation of the house. A report on the condition of The Hill House was produced as part of the Mackintosh Buildings Survey, led by the Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society and carried out between 2015 and 2016. – funded by the monument trust.
[44] "Mackintosh house threatened by water," *BBC* (June 21 2015), accessed January 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-33215837.
[45] "Grant to save Charles Rennie Mackintosh's Hill House in Helensburgh," *BBC* (June 25 2015), accessed January 2020, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-33269459.

Chapter 4 - The Display Case

I recently stumbled upon a pair of white Eames Plastic DSR chairs left on the side of a suburban Sydney street. Assuming these chairs were not 'authentic' and were instead mere replicas, I continued on my morning hurry to the train station. Returning home later that evening, I again came across the same chairs unmoved. This time my curiosity compelled me to at least examine them more closely and on inspection, to my surprise, I discovered they were indeed Vitra labelled Eames chairs. The plastic moulded chair has become so ubiquitous with a universal image of 'modern design' that it seems more likely that one might find an Eames-like chair from Aldi or Kmart than a design store.[1] Charles and Ray Eames' power of public relations has resulted in the distorted remnants of their own creation scattered across the globe in the form of replica furniture and objects. Whilst Eames inspired furniture are so common that they can be purchased for the same price as a café lunch, originals are of much higher value. As architect Jack Self has written, "If you make your ideas easy to copy, you create a sphere of influence that increases, not decreases, your value. Your influence through imitation makes the original more expensive."[2] Perhaps it is this idea that can explain the functioning of the Eames House today. The 1949 house, located in Pacific Palisades, Los Angeles, is currently owned by the Charles and Ray Eames House Preservation Foundation (Eames Foundation) and the site is opened as a museum to the public for a small fee (USD10). This obsession with preserving the authentic original so that it can be distinguished from the replicas can be seen in both the relationship of the Eames Foundation with the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) and the strict accessibility of the house. The entry fee does not include access to the now static interior of the house itself—entry to the interior is approximately USD275. This disparity in price between interior and exterior access informs the functioning of the glass exterior of the house as a display case. The primary visitors, those who pay the USD10, can peer through the glass exterior to see the carefully preserved interiors. This mode of experience, the display case, shifts the way the architecture of the house is understood, focusing on the interior objects rather than its relationship to the external shell. The protective shell, as a display case, highlights the value of what it is conserving, the original furniture and objects in their authentic setting, rather than alluding to its own value. This chapter argues that in the case

of the Eames House, the layers of mediation between artefact and viewer have ultimately determined the current experience of the house.

After winding up the hill from Santa Monica Beach and continuing on the long driveway of numbers 201-205 N. Chautauqua Boulevard, I was greeted with an A3-sized laminated card taped to an A-Frame sign informing me that I was about to enter the private property of the Eames Foundation. Proceeding along the driveway beyond the sign on the left was a single port-a-loo, in front of me was the glade, beyond the eucalyptus trees was a view of the Pacific Ocean and on the right, I was presented with the iconic house itself. Guided by a plastic arrow drilled into a tree, I climbed the steps to find the timber boardwalk that skirts the side of the house. After walking beside the first pavilion, I reached the central paved brick courtyard that separates the two buildings. I was welcomed by a guide and asked to pay the $10 entry fee. The courtyard was peppered with souvenirs for sale: postcard stands, toys and colouring books that harked to the Eames love of play were elegantly placed around the space (figure 21). Also, within the courtyard, the guide informed me there was an A3 drawing set of the building (figure 22). I was made aware that the property was open for self-guided tours, and I was free to wander the site.

There were other visitors already there. Some had made their way right to the edge of the grounds and were enjoying the view, others were taking selfies with the instagrammable backdrop, but most were peering through the glass of the living room to gain a look at the interior. Through the black-framed 17 feet tall glass walls one is presented not only with the familiar furniture, but an array of plants, folded blankets in various textiles, fresh flowers in uniquely shaped vases and magazines and books placed on coffee tables. If the magazines and books weren't dated prior to 1988, it would feel as if the domestic scene was set for the owner to return to the room at any moment. From this vantage point, the exterior structure of the house is both the frame and the protective layer of separation from the visitor and the interior display.

The industrial steel frames that make up the two pavilions of the house, which are nestled into the hillside, consist of a gridded facade of glass and solid coloured panels. The transparent panels provide an

interior view for the visitors. The post-war house, part of the *Arts and Architecture Magazine*'s 'Case Study Program', was built using techniques and materials "standard to industry;" "the frames composing of 4-inch H columns and 12-inch open web steel beams."[3] Esther McCoy, in her accompanying text in the subsequently released book, noted that the Eames House was the first of eight steel-framed Case Study Houses.[4] The industrial steel frame enabled the use of large glass panels, allowing for the permeation of inside and outside. Steel and glass are two of the materials that become synonymous with Case Study architecture and Los Angeles modernist domesticity more generally. Reyner Banham commented in his 1972 documentary, *Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles* that the Eames House, "showed the world that machine age materials like glass and steel could be beautiful, even pretty."[5] Now, as the steel-framed glass walls sit under the shade of the leafy surrounds, the reflections of the exterior overpower a view of the unlit interior (figure 23). And so, on a visit to the Eames one will observe either a curious visitor with hands cupped around their eyes, pressed up against the glass or their remnant fingerprints (figure 24). The restricted access to the interior and the nature of the lighting means that if you would like to have an unobscured view of the inside of the house, you must do this. The glass separation between the visitor and interior creates a sense of intrigue that only a response by the visitor can satisfy. The move of the visitor to peer into the window emphasises a shift of focus. The self-guided experience of the Eames House requires very little. As there is no formal process or intervention that guides one's tour, with no curated climax or big reveal, the site becomes quite uniform, that is, until this moment. In this act of voyeurism, in peering through the window, the interior is given priority, creating a hierarchy of the experienced spaces. The focus of the visit becomes about trying to understand the interior, the arrangement of the furniture and placement of the objects without being able to be 'in it'. This action supports the notion that indeed with the exhibition of the house today, the structure has become a case to conserve and display the interior.

The behaviours of the visitors demonstrate the conceptualisation of the house as a museum outlined in the 'Eames House Conservation Management Plan' (figure 27). In 2013, the GCI introduced its Conserving Modern Architecture Initiative (CMAI) of which, the Eames House Conservation Project is a key inaugural program. The GCI states that "the goal of the CMAI is to advance the practice of

conserving twentieth-century heritage, with a focus on modern architecture, through research and investigation, the development of practical conservation solutions, and the creation and distribution of information through training programs and publications."[6] In terms of the Eames Project, the main development thus far has been the production of the 'Eames House Conservation Management Plan' which was published in 2019 in collaboration with GML Heritage (an Australian heritage architecture firm). The Plan is stated to "provide a framework for the ongoing care and management of the Eames House including decisions about its conservation."[7] The 208-page document includes a section on the history of the house and its location along with identification of the site's significance and conservation policies that are intended to inform a 250-year strategy for the house's management.

In working with the GCI, the Foundation has confirmed the house's transformation into a museum. The furniture and objects have been asserted as artefacts. They are no longer functional or decorative but informative, and the structure is not a shelter for inhabitants but a display case for the artefacts. This is evidenced in the Plan. In the Plan the GCI has organised the interior into three collections: the Eames House Collection, the Eames Family Collection and the Interpretative Props Collection. "The Eames House Collection comprises a diverse array of furnishings and objects that were collected by Charles and Ray Eames… The Eames Family Collection contains objects that were brought to the House by the Eames family. The Interpretative Props Collection is composed of replicas and replacements of original items."[8] (Items such as the Eames Lounge Chair and Ottoman in the living room have been replaced as the original prototype was too fragile to be on display.) The categorisation of the contents into these three groups highlights their role in the display. Whilst the first two categories provide a sense of authenticity for the visitor, the third category of the prop suggests that these objects provide support to the interpretation of the interior. Further, the Plan goes on to state that despite these organisational categories, the inventory of the contents is "not yet completed to museum standards"[9] as the 'Eames family association' with the object (which is needed to categorise them) is incomplete. For the contents to become artefacts and validate their role in the display, they must be determined according to the prescribed museological categories.

The Plan also proclaims the attention and management of the arrangement of the interior collection as significant. The document, when reflecting on the 'vulnerabilities' of the contents and collection states that, "Inadvertent movement or rearrangement of objects could impact significance."[10] This attest to the notion that it is not the individual pieces of the interior that are on show but rather the Eames House is exhibiting the curation of the interior by the Eames. The objects have a significance which is made explicit through the categorisation. Still, the note exemplifies the importance placed on the arrangement of the objects and therefore the way the public will view them. Whilst there are preservation recommendations for the exterior structure, the categorisation into groups for display seems explicit for the interior. With these categories and the note on the arrangement, the Plan sets up a tension between ideas of original, replica and how this manifests in the display of the house.

Reinforced by the CMAI Plan, the experience on-site that in the transformation of the Eames House to a museum, the exterior structure has become something of a display case for the interior, is confirmed. The museological associations of the display case inform the experience of the Eames House today. Originating in early museums the display case played an important role in the development of strategies of organisation and the design of exhibitions. Typically, a display case has two purposes - to protect an object, both from theft and in controlling the environment in which it is held, and a display case must simultaneously allow that object to be on show. Whilst it can be understood from historians such as Michael Ames that in placing an object behind glass, a museum is seen to "sanitise, insulate and preserve history" as an attraction ultimately it allows the preservation of elements of the past that could otherwise be lost or destroyed. [11] The case must allow for this protection but also the showing of the artefact, therefore as art historian David Morgan acknowledges, they mustn't be attention-seeking. The intention for most museums is for the cases to be unseen, which ensures that the visitors' attention is focused not on the container but instead on the contained.[12] Morgan proposes that there is "an economy to vision, which means that attention is focused on one object at the expense of another" and therefore in contemporary museum design, he states that to ensure one's focus is on the artefact inside, display cases are designed to be as invisible as possible. [13] They have anti-reflective glass, frameless cabinets, lights placed to avoid reflective flares, and minimally designed labels and signs. Comparatively, at the Eames

House, the structure of the house is the initial source of attention for the visitor. One cannot immediately see anything except for the glass and steel structure. However following Morgan's understanding of an economy of vision, as the visitor moves towards the structure, their view of the interior is no longer obscured by the reflections, and they can therefore see inside, shifting the point of attraction to the artefacts behind the glass. Due to the low lighting of the interior, they cannot see the interior and exterior together—instead, they are separated and viewed independently. There is not a hierarchy of interior over exterior evident here, but a clear separation.

Typically, a display case also protects the object by disciplining the visitor. According to sociology researcher Steph Berns, glass cases usually "guide and condition the visitor's physical behaviour in the museum."[14] Comparing glass cases to security guards, Berns states that they dutifully prohibit visitors from coming into contact with the contained exhibits. The cases, as a physical separation between the artefact and visitor, suggest that the objects are not only forbidden to touch but that they can be understood simply through viewing them. There is no need for further interaction. At the Eames House, as you are (in most cases) unable to enter the house, there is a desire to see the interior through the reflective glass, evidenced through the marks left on the window panes from visitors pressing up against it. But this behaviour is controlled entirely by the presence of the exterior structure of the house and the way it is lit. Whilst this is not like a contemporary display case as you cannot easily see through it, the lighting conditions and the glass controls the behaviours of the visitors. Whilst the Eames House was a house first and later became a museum, when considering the CMAI Plan and the tension between interior and exterior displays evident within it, this behaviour can still be understood to be designed into the experience of the house.

The experience of the Eames House today, as a display case, can also be linked to the way the house was first made public. In other words, there is a connection between the distance caused by the separation between the visitor and the interior and the ways the Eames House was first documented and disseminated. As has been noted by numerous historians, from 1949 when the Eames moved in, the house and its contents were made public. From the outset, the house was not just a home but a model, a

prototype, to be shared with the public. Historian Justus Nieland argues that in the post-war period, "design was increasingly understood as a species of communication."[15] This is most explicit in the relationship between the furniture the Eames designed and the films and photographs they made for sharing them. The Eames House was endlessly photographed, published, and shared. The house became a stage of which numerous sets were constructed through the arrangement and rearrangement of furniture and objects. As noted in the CMAI Plan, this domestic experiment was the source of many photoshoots and films. The camera was incredibly important to the Eames. As Beatriz Colomina explains in *Domesticity at War,* "the Eames saw everything through the camera."[16] The camera helped to dictate their work, and it allowed for its publication. The use of the camera and the dissemination of images allowed the public to understand the house at the plane of a picture. With the flatness of the photograph and the ability to crop and zoom, the house and the framed objects within it became consumable and replicable.

The Eameses also used their house as a set for promotional photoshoots of their new designs. It was first used for the Herman Miller catalogue in 1952 which featured three photographs of furniture in location at the House. Along with Herman Miller, the house was used by the company Alcoa including a shoot for the 1957 Eames designed Solar Do-Nothing Machine.[17] The Eameses themselves also felt the inextricable tie between the house and their other designs as presented to the public. Ray commented though they worked from their offices in Venice Beach, they, "used to bring a piece of furniture home to look at it, because at the office everything looked out of scale."[18] In comparison, the objects and furniture were fitting for their house. The images of the house are now deeply associated with the images of the widely replicable furniture, and this was clearly an intentional connection constructed by the Eameses.

The Eameses knack for collection and the exhibition of their domestic interior is often compared to architect and collector John Soane, and his Lincoln's Inn Fields house museum.[19] Like the Eames House, from its inception, Lincoln's Inn Fields was both a home for Soane and on show to the public. Soane spent much of his life assembling his collection as well as redesigning the collection of three joined terraces that contained his possessions. The house, originally no.12 Lincoln's Inn Fields, continually

developed, being constructed, and reconstructed many times with the expansion of the property to include no.13 and eventually no.14. Sylvia Lavin notes that the "architecture was generated by an impulsive fluidity," suggesting that the shape of the house is a result of what was his growing collection. [20]

Not only was Lincoln's Inn Fields physically manipulated by the collection of objects, but Soane used various techniques to create a sense of movement throughout the spaces. Helene Furjan describes the experimental use of convex mirrors as reflecting the act of collecting, "a domestic object that reflects, and thereby holds and collects, the collections, the mirror is also, in its proliferation in this house, a collection in itself."[21] Whilst she suggests that the mirrors organise the spaces of the house into images, these are experiential images. The collection, as presented in the mirrors suggests the house as space for the public to visit. In this sense, the use of the mirrors by Soane can be compared to the camera of the Eames. The camera became a way of designing for the Eames through framing, zooming, and cropping scenes and juxtaposing and overlaying textures, patterns and colours all framed by the gridded structure of the house itself. The mirrors in Soane's require one to experience the house physically, to move through the convoluted and complex labyrinth of spaces. However, the camera and the frozen scenes it produced, allowed the visitors of the Eames House to view the spaces without ever being there. Like Soane, the Eames created other ways of viewing the house and its contents and shared those with the public. However here we see the shift, from experiencing the house to viewing it via its representation. As discussed in Part 1, this imaging of domestic interiors, as private homes, was crucial to how it was understood by the public and the Eameses careful control over this demonstrates their awareness of this contingency.

The image of the Eameses architecture is very much entwined with the image of their personalities. This is presented by Colomina in *Domesticity at War*, where she opens and closes the chapter by discussing the photograph of the house under construction where the Eames balance on the middle of a beam, holding hands, smiling for the camera. Colomina compares this photograph to one of Mies van der Rohe on site at the Farnsworth House sometime between 1945-51, where his back is turned, so not to face the camera. Colomina argues that the personalities of the Eameses is part of the presentation of their architecture, so

much so that it is inherent in the design of the architecture itself. Important to note here is the particular connection between this couple, who ran their practice together and the Eames House. Despite the photographs seemingly presenting an equal collaboration, as Pat Kirkham has written, often Ray Eames contribution was seen as less significant than Charles'. Kirkham compares the perception of their relationship to Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald's in order to "place that of the Eameses in perspective and force the realisation that wider historical and historiographical issues are involved in evaluating their partnership."[22] Consistent with both the Mackintoshes and the Eameses relationships was that it was perceived that the wife was responsible for just the decorative aspects of the design and nothing else and therefore the husband played the leading role in the partnership. Kirkham writes, "Despite C.R. Mackintosh's declaration that 'Margaret has genius; I have only talent,' her work was later denigrated because it was decorative rather than structural and her design preferences for decoration and symbolism have been blamed for holding back her husband from a bolder, purer form of modernism."[23] This is consistent with the idea that architecture was considered to be a male profession and the decorative arts female. It is no coincidence that in both chapter 1 and 2 and the traditions outlined of reconsidering the modern domestic interior (as its own field or through the means of other fields) call for a re-examination of an aspect of architecture that was seen as less important. With the Eameses, their relationship and personalities become part of the architecture and design due to their presence in the imaging as well as the use of their own house as the set for many of their product shots. They are essential to their brand. Further, their relationship – domestic and professional – is central to the functioning of the Eames house as a museum.

Both the replica and the imaging of the Eames House has made the house accessible to a broad spectrum of consumers. However, both the image and the replica are separate from what is considered by the Eames Foundation as authentic originals (that is furniture produced by the licensed manufacturers). These replicas could be likened to representations. Whilst it is difficult to trace when the first replicas of Eames furniture were made, an advertisement from the mid-1950s that is now sold as a poster on the Eames Office website, warns consumers of imitations. The poster depicts several of the moulded plywood and moulded plastic chairs as well as the lounge chair with the caption, "These are the

ORIGINALS! Accept no substitutes."[24] The advertisement, designed by the Eameses, was produced in collaboration with Herman Miller, the original manufacturers of Eames products.[25] Whilst there are the prototypes that the Eames used to test their designs, what is considered to be 'authentic' is the Eames furniture that is mass-produced by Herman Miller (or Vitra). Some other companies manufacture replicas of the Eames furniture; however, these are not considered 'authentic'. There is a wide variety in terms of the quality of the replica, some which are a similar price to the authentic pieces and others which are significantly cheaper. In Australia, design protection laws last just ten years, so companies are legally allowed to produce and sell copies of Eames furniture as it was originally designed over fifty years ago, hence why a version of the DSR chair can be purchased from Fantastic Furniture for AUD59. Despite the efforts of the 1950's advertisement, today replica Eames products are still highly popular and are available at much lower prices than the 'originals'. Whilst it seems to be in the interest of the designer and the manufacturers that the public only have access to the original designs and not the copies, it is in the spread of the work of the Eameses as well as the reproducibility of it that has made their name renowned beyond design circles. However, in a way, the replica chair from Fantastic Furniture presents to the user the same distance to the original that an image does. Like the image, the replica is a depiction of the original.

An exhibition, at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA) in 2011, further exacerbates the tension between the display of the original and the replica as well as the interior and the exterior. The exhibition exemplified the shift in the value of the house, from the exterior to the interior. It highlighted, even with the intentions of the Case Study Program, what was both replicable and marketable was actually the lifestyle attached to the house, not the architecture. Despite not having been moved since Ray Eames died in 1988, in September 2011 the contents of the interior were removed from the Eames House and displayed in a replica house inside LACMA (figures 25 & 26). The exhibit was part of 'Living in a Modern Way: California Design 1930-1965' which was one outcome of *Pacific Standard Time*, an initiative of the Getty in collaboration with arts organisations throughout Southern California. Curated by Wendy Kaplan and Bobbye Tigerman and designed by architecture firm Hodgetts and Fung, 'Living in a Modern Way' "examined the state's key role in shaping the material culture of the country at mid-

century."[26] The LACMA show included 350 objects designed from 1930-1965 including: furniture, textiles, fashion, graphic and industrial design, ceramics, jewellery, metalwork, architectural drawings, and film (all which can be found in the Eames House). The interior of the Eames House was contained in a replica of the house. The house was reproduced as a display case, emphasising the importance of the interior's contents.

LACMA approached the Eames Foundation to move the contents of the house to the museum for the show. Bobbye Tigerman recalls, 'So we approached the Eames Foundation, asked them if they would be willing to loan the contents of the living room; we would construct the frame and we would show this really extraordinary interior, that is not just your average modern interior, but was the place where the most influential and legendary pioneers of modern design lived, and demonstrate how they lived."[27] At the time the Foundation was looking at ways to remove and replace the asbestos floor tiles and complete other conservative work. According to the Foundation, the exhibition provided them with the opportunity "to address issues that have come up after 60+ years that need more than simple, loving maintenance."[28] During the six months that the exhibition ran, the Foundation (in collaboration with architecture firm Escher GuneWardena and the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI)) were able to not only remove and replace the VAT floor tiles with non-toxic tiles that replicate their size, colour and sheen but also clean and reseal the living room and patio tallowwood wall, repair exterior metalwork and windows to improve water tightness, undertake paint analysis of exterior metalwork to reveal grey as the original colour of the industrial steel frame and make plans for reroofing which would occur in 2014 (figure 28 & 29).

For the period whilst the interior contents were at LACMA, the Eames House site was still open for visitors. Replacing a glimpse of the renowned interior was a set of panels located down the southwestern side of the site. The panels consisted of a set of photographs of the interiors along with descriptions of the restoration processes taking place. The panels outline the exhibition of the house at that time. The exhibition titled 'Indoor Ecologies' "refers to both the preservation challenge of maintaining the ecology of the house for the next quarter millennium and the gentle sculpting of the space into the visual

ecosystem that sustained Charles and Ray."[29] The idea of the exhibition was to combine the restoration with short events that involved restaging the living room according to photographs of gatherings that occurred in the earlier years of the house. The panels still sit on the site today—however, the photographs now act as supporters to the filled living room, and the descriptors point to another moment passed in the history of the house.

Entering the museum, the house had to meet museum standards of categorisation. The exhibition at LACMA involved the careful cataloguing of the living room's 1864 items. As Tigerman explains in an interview, "It took a lot of planning and involved almost every department in the museum-conservation, registrars, art handlers, curatorial, everyone really pitched in and went way beyond the call of duty to make this happen."[30] She outlines a process of several visits to the Eames House to document the space and its objects. The team took thousands of photographs to ensure an accurate recreation of the interior once it was moved. Also, the documentation allowed them to assess how to pack and move the objects. Tigerman describes the moving process—"all of the textiles and books went first, and then we brought up the furniture, all of the small objects—there's hundreds of small objects on all the tabletops--and then the larger pieces, like there's an oar that hangs from the ceiling, a ladder that's the full height of the room, and the bookcase as well-those rather big, bulky objects-and all the lamps too, all the paper lanterns."[31] Before the move to LACMA, curators and conservators of the museum suggested that all the Eameses books, magazines, rugs, blankets made of organic materials be sterilised before entering the museum and so 1500 items were placed in a freezer truck for five days to eliminate infestation. The items were then transported from Pacific Palisades to LACMA to be installed in the full-scale replica of the Eames living room. This process of cataloguing and cleaning can be understood as a crucial step towards the house's museumification.

Whilst the Eames House's exterior structure is known for its use of standardised materials, the interior works almost in response to that. As Pat Kirkham explains, "at a time when there was greater focus on standardised production than ever before, the Eames' approach to interior decoration involved integrating handicrafts into groupings of disparate objects from a variety of places and times—some

made by hand, some by machine, some natural, some "found," some bought."[32] Their possessions, both designed by their office or collected from their travels, were carefully arranged and displayed within their standardised house. Tigerman notes, "The objects are really extraordinary. I think what's really neat about the room is the juxtaposition of things. Like you'll have very valuable things next to very cheap things, very foreign and exotic things next to very common things, and it was their brilliance to combine all of these very eclectic objects and create this kind of unified space."[33] This interest in juxtaposition is also evident in the way the Eames portrayed their house through film. In the film, 'House: After Five Years of Living' (1955), the Eames present a montage of their house and the various things contained within it. With a series of zooms, the Eames juxtapose the arrangement of wooden hair combs and trinkets, checked tablecloths and fallen leaves, ladders and structural beams, windows and paintings. The film presents an overwhelming amount of stuff, yet it is all to be understood as carefully arranged and in tension with one another—the house and its contents. Films such as this one and the many other portrayals of the house have ensured that this idea was universally accepted as can be further understood by Tigerman and Kirkham.

In moving the contents of the interior to LACMA for 'Living in a Modern Way', a new relationship between interior and exterior is presented. This is mostly as a result of the combination of the original interior with a replica structure but also due to the change of environment. For the exhibition, one of the walls which on-site consists of all glass panels, has no glass, it is just an empty frame. As Tigerman states, this almost non-existent wall will allow visitors to "get a very good view on (the interior)."[34] The other walls have glass like the house. But with the museum lights and the missing glass of the replica structure, the visitor at LACMA has a much more direct view into the house's interior—there is an ease and a directedness at which one views the objects that does not exist on site. With the loss of the eucalypt surrounds and the unlit interior, the visitor no longer experiences a view of the house with the reflections of its environment (figure 25). Here the interior is not emphasised through the action of the visitor in the same way as the house—instead, the interior's importance is prioritised in the removal of the original structure. In this, the structure of the house both at LACMA and on-site must be understood as a display case for the interior. Whilst, in a sense, both the house at LACMA and the original house on-site can be

both understood as display cases, it is important to acknowledge they are different and function in distinct ways. One is the original house itself—the other is a museologically optimum one. However, the museologically optimum case doesn't give the sense of 'difficulty' or distance from the interior that the original does, but also the sense that the facade glass is involved in the image-making which is so important to the interior.

The exhibition at LACMA draws attention to questions around preservation, value, and replica. Whilst the structure of the house was finally recreated at LACMA—the interior displayed was the authentic original. On displaying the original interior without the original structure, the two are presented as separate, that one can be understood without the other. In moving to LACMA, the contents of the interior assert their presence as artefacts, and the house is defined very clearly as a museological element. There is no longer a question if the interior contents are artefacts or not, in moving into the museum, this understanding is confirmed. The structure blurs between a display case and a period room—on the two glass sides, they are like the display cases to be found elsewhere in the museum however the open side suggests the display is more like a period room. This exhibit, therefore, demonstrates that it is not just their objects on display but their relationships with each other and the way they have been collected and arranged. It is not the collection alone that is on show but the act of curation and display that the Eames undertook so diligently.

As part of the Case Study Program, the Eames House was designed from cost-efficient standardised parts, and this method was initially presented as something that could be replicated.[35] In comparison, the interior is interpreted as an arrangement of unique elements, curated by the owners. However, the dynamic between the exterior and interior is more complex than this simple dichotomy. Despite the intentions of the program, the exterior was never replicated directly as architectural historian and curator Nicholas Olsberg stated about the program, "experiments in new structure, fabrication and materials that borrowed for industry never quite worked for mass housing."[36] Despite the presentation of replicability in the program, this was never really the case. And the various objects and pieces of furniture that the Eames designed have since been both mass-produced and replicated for over 50 years, existing in houses

all around the world today. But it is not just a direct 'swap,' the imaging and marketing of the house meant that the Eames were selling a style, rather than just simply selling things or even architecture. This image of a style has been sold, replicated and distorted many times over and the house as a museum today, exists at least for the Eames Foundation, as the authentic touchpoint for this now widespread dissemination. The house today, if understood as a display case, heightens this tension between interior and exterior but also demonstrates the confirmation of the interior's museumification. With different levels of access between them, the exterior becomes the frame through which to view the museumified interior. The LACMA exhibition could be considered almost as a test to appropriately organise the interior according to the museum standards that would eventually be implemented in the house as exemplified in the CMAI plan. The previously malleable interior has become frozen as an image to retain its authority as the original but also to signify its museumification.

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[1] In 2016 Aldi UK sold Eames chairs for 39 pounds however due to change in European copyright laws this is no longer possible. In Australia, however, it is still legal to sell replica furniture.

[2] Jack Self, "Genuine Replica," *Post- Publication,* 3*,* (2017), accessed December 2019, https://post-post.co/03-Genuine-Replica.

[3] Esther McCoy, *Case Study Houses: 1945-1962,* 2nd ed. (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1977), 54.

[4] McCoy, *Case Study Houses*, 57.

[5] Julian Cooper, *Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles* (London: BBC Film Productions, 1972).

[6] "Conserving Modern Architecture Initiative," Getty, accessed December 2019, https://www.getty.edu/conservation/our_projects/field_projects/cmai/cmai_overview.html.

[7] "Eames House Conservation Management Plan," Getty, accessed December 2019, https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/eames_cmp.html.

[8] Sheridan Burke, Jyoti Somerville, Gail Ostergren, Laura Matarese, and Chandler McCoy, *Eames House Conservation Management Plan* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2018), 161.

[9] Burke, Somerville, Ostergren, Matarese and McCoy, *Eames House Conservation Management Plan*, 162.

[10] Burke, Somerville, Ostergren, Matarese, and McCoy, *Eames House Conservation Management Plan*, 162.

[11] Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums.* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992) 32

[12] David Morgan, *The Embodied Eye: Religious Visual Culture and the Social Life of Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012),106.

[13] Morgan, *The Embodied Eye*, 106.

[14] Steph Berns, "Considering the glass case: Material encounters between museums, visitors and religious objects", *Journal of Material Culture, vol.21, 2* (November 2017), 153-168.

[15]Justus Nieland, *Happiness by Design - Modernism and Media in the Eames Era* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020).

[16] Beatriz Colomina, *Domesticity at War* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2007), 83–110.

[17] Burke, Somerville, Ostergren, Matarese and McCoy, *Eames House Conservation Management Plan*, 41.

[18] Burke, Somerville, Ostergren, Matarese and McCoy, *Eames House Conservation Management Plan*, 41.

[19] Could also be compared to the arrangement of psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud's interiors as analysed by historians including Ro Spankie, Charles Rice and Dana Fuss.

[20] Sylvia Lavin, "The Temporary Contemporary," in *Flash in the Pan* (London: AA Publications, 2014), 12–26.

[21] Helene Furjan, "The Specular Spectacle of the House of the Collector," *Assemblage* 34 (December 1997): 57-92.

[22] Pat Kirkham, *Charles and Ray Eames: Designer of the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge MA; London, England : MIT Press, 1996), 81.

[23] Kirkham, *Charles and Ray Eames: Designer of the Twentieth Century,* 81.

[24] "Eames Office Shop," Eames Office LLC, accessed December, 2019, https://shop.eamesoffice.com/home-accessories/prints/eames-office-prints/beware-of-imitations-print.html.
[25] Today Vitra and Herman Miller are the sole licensed manufacturers of all Eames Furniture. In 1956, Vitra became the Herman Miller licensee for continental Europe. The partnership dissolved in 1984, and the rights to the design of Eames furniture was assigned to Vitra for the UK, Europe and the Middle East, while Herman Miller retained the rights for the Americas, Australia and Asia.
[26] "California Design, 1930–1965: "Living in a Modern Way," LACMA, accessed December, 2019, https://www.lacma.org/press/california-design-1930-1965-living-modern-way.
[27] Adrian Glick Kudler, "LACMA Curator on Moving the Entire Eames House Living Room, Barbie's Scandinavian Dream House, SoCal Modern," *Curbed LA,* (September 29 2011) https://la.curbed.com/2011/9/29/10437360/lacma-curator-on-moving-the-entire-eames-house-living-room-barbies.
[28] "250 year Project," Eames Foundation, accessed December 2019, https://eamesfoundation.org/.
[29] Signs as found on-site in July 2019.
[30] Glick Kudler, "LACMA Curator on Moving the Entire Eames House Living Room."
[31] Glick Kudler, "LACMA Curator on Moving the Entire Eames House Living Room."
[32] Pat Kirkham, "At Home with California Modern 1945-1965," in ed. Wendy Kaplan, *California Modern 1930-65* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: LACMA and The MIT Press, 2011).
[33] Glick Kudler, "LACMA Curator on Moving the Entire Eames House Living Room."
[34] Glick Kudler, "LACMA Curator on Moving the Entire Eames House Living Room."
[35] Whilst the Case Study Program began with intentions of sharing new domestic techniques from architecture circles to the average American, as journalist Esther McCoy reflects, "by 1960 the custom-built family house was being priced out of existence. The Case Study house was a social program; it essentially ended when the house became a luxury." Esther McCoy, "Foreword to Second Edition" in Esther McCoy, *Case Study Houses 1945-1962*, 2nd ed. (Santa Monica: Hennessey + Ingalls), 5.
[36] Nicholas Olsberg, "Open world: California architects and the modern home," in ed. Wendy Kaplan, *California Modern 1930-65* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: LACMA and The MIT Press, 2011).

Chapter 5 - The Tour

The tour began shortly after 2pm. I had navigated my way through the hot July streets of Saint Germain, and after almost entering a medical convention that was occurring next door, I had arrived at 31 Rue Saint-Guillaume. The large timber doors were still closed, but from the gaggle of American students clutching sketchbooks and lingering about, I concluded this was indeed the waiting point. It was not long before the current docent of the house, Andrew, collected us from the tight confines of the footpath and led us into the shared courtyard where we were presented with the familiar, yet surprising, glass brick façade of Maison de Verre.

The sun shone across the pebbled courtyard, not quite reaching the glass wall, and so it remained in shade. The glass bricks, opaque in shadow, were framed by black steel and the wall itself bound by the white render of the upper Haussmannian apartment. Removing the docent, the students, and the hoarding from my imagination, I recalled the many images I've seen of this façade. From the photographs by architect and photographer Michael Carapetian on the trip architectural historian Kenneth Frampton led in 1965, to the snapshots that appear on my Instagram feed from friends and strangers who have visited more recently (figures 30 & 31). The experience of the tour continued much like this. Many familiar images were recalled in my mind, yet in reality, these scenes were slightly changed. Something missing or something added. The images of the Maison de Verre constructed my understanding of the place. Once there, I could see that the house was not frozen in time since 1932 or even 1965.

The Maison de Verre was built in Paris from 1928 until 1932 as the obstetrics practice for Dr. Jean Dalsace as well as the home for him and Madame Annie Dalsace and their two young children. It was designed collaboratively by interior decorator and furniture designer Pierre Chareau, architect Bernard Bijvoet and metal craftsman Louis Dalbet. The current tour of the Maison de Verre presents the house through the lens of the past, through the images and texts that have constructed its history. Key images and texts of and about the place have informed how the story of the Maison de Verre has been told over

time, as evidenced in the current tour and previous tours of the house. These documents and the reading of them over time has led to a particular narrative of the house.

The primary set of these critical documents were produced from 1965-69 by a team led by architectural historian Kenneth Frampton. There is no original drawing set of the design for Maison de Verre.[1] It also has no archive, no fundamental repository where the documents of the house are collectively organised and stored. In response to this absence, a set of documentary drawings that were developed long after the building was completed have come to be the key documents that have informed the interpretation of the house in architectural history. In July 1965, almost forty years after the house was built, Frampton with architects Robert Vickery and Michael Carapetian visited the Parisian house, exhaustively measuring every element to produce a comprehensive drawing set (figure 32) - the results of which were eventually published with an accompanying essay (by Frampton) and photographs (by Carapetian) in the 1969 issue of *Perspecta*.[2] Whilst the house received some recognition when it was built, many have noted that Frampton's 1969 article largely instigated the appreciation of the Maison de Verre as an icon in the history of modern architecture.[3] Without its publication, the house was barely an obscure footnote in the history of modernism, and its emergence in this way foreshadowed the discourse around modern architecture and media, that was led by Colomina, as discussed in Chapter 2.[4] The technique of his investigation depicts an approach of understanding architecture through the building itself, of which the drawings are crucial to its depiction. Frampton did not repeat this exact exercise—however, he continued to redraw other architects' projects to highlight the craft of their construction. Frampton portrays the act of measuring and reconstructing as essential to learn about architecture. This notion links back to the origins of architectural travel.

Historically, travel has been an essential part of architectural research and education. By the 18th century, the grand tour had become a necessary element of an architect's training. The kinds of documents that were brought back informed the format of publications of architectural history—the site visit was integral to the dissemination of architectural documents and the production of architectural history. [5] Today, a site visit to the Maison de Verre involves experiencing it through a particular mode of interpretation. It was

purchased in 2006 by American financier Robert and Stephané Samuel Rubin and whilst it still primarily operates as a house for the Rubins, every Tuesday afternoon at 2pm it is opened to a group of architects and architecture students to tour. The afternoon tour of the Maison de Verre, and therefore access to the house, is highly restricted and controlled. The tour informs the relationship of the house and museum. Are you touring the preserved 1932 Maison de Verre designed by Chareau, Bijvoet and Dalbet for the Dalsace family or are you touring the Paris home of an American family purchased in 2006?[6] For the visitor today, the carefully controlled tour presents the story and construction of the original house amongst its newly decorated interiors. It reveals the tension between the history of the house and its current function as something between house and museum. The tour presents the house to the public, but there is a distance between these layers of mediation and the house as built in 1932 (and lived in until 2006). The tour today is highly mediated, and its prescriptive format renders it a carefully controlled representation of the house. Through a comparison of the current tour with previous 'tours' of the Maison de Verre, examining them as educational tools to inform the construction of the house in architectural history this chapter will raise questions regarding the dissemination of modern domestic architecture and how it is collected, displayed and experienced today.

The tour is the house's dominant mode of display today. However, it is not unique to the current experience. A series of tours have been crucial in the experience of the Maison de Verre and have been essential for its insertion into the history of modern architecture. Previous tours were shared through emerging media—today, the tour is experienced physically. Through a comparison of these tours, the construction of the Maison de Verre's architectural value is revealed.

The first tour to be discussed is a film produced by architect mentioned above Robert Vickery in 1970.[7] Vickery measured and documented the house with Frampton and Carapetian in 1965. In 1965, when Vickery returned to the UK from Paris to teach, he found he had no adequate illustrations of the Maison de Verre, as all the images had "gone with Ken to America when he went to Princeton."[8] So Vickery decided to return to Paris and the Maison de Verre to make his own photographs and a short film with the assistance of one of his students Michael Penny. While Vickery used the film slides for his teaching, it

wasn't until 1997 that the film was first published for an exhibition at the Architectural Association London.[9] The exhibition was opened with a lecture by Sarah Wigglesworth where she presented her rereading of the Maison de Verre through a gendered lens. The subsequent essay, published in 1998, can be understood as part of the movement of architectural research, discussed in chapter 2, that involved reinterpreting gendered perceptions of society and examining how that has manifested in space, particularly the domestic interior.

Film was an emerging form of architectural representation from the early-mid twentieth century as can be seen in the use of film in architectural exhibitions at institutions like the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) from the 1930s. Pete Collard links the MoMA's engagement with this emerging media to the Museum Director Alfred Barr's personal interest stating, "In 1927 he visited the Bauhaus School of Art in Dessau and was impressed by the largely abstract film work being made by tutors László Moholy-Nagy and Walter Ruttmann."[10] Film, through schools like the Bauhaus and figures such as Maholy-Nagy and Ruttmann, was becoming an influential medium to explore architectural ideas. Architects were also using it to document buildings, like photography, and these films also began to be exhibited in museums. For example, the 1930 film by Pierre Chenal titled *L'Architecture d'Aujourd Hui* (discussed in chapter 2) featuring works of Le Corbusier was exhibited at MoMA in 1935.

Despite the interest of MoMA and other institutions, architectural films didn't develop to the same level of saturation as architectural photographs in the 20th century, perhaps due to the difficulty in distribution. Unlike film, photographs could be quickly disseminated through the house magazine or architectural journal. Films, at the time, were limited to galleries and cinemas. Vickery mentioned that the film he made in 1970 'La Maison de Verre', was encouraged by Penny but also made possible due to the technology and availability of the cinecamera. With the developing technology of cameras in the late 20th century, more amateurs could capture architecture on film, but these films weren't necessarily available to a broad audience. It is important to note that the Maison de Verre film was first exhibited at the gallery of an architectural school and so its ties to education were sustained.

Both the film and current tour were instigated for educational purposes. The current tour is only open for architects and architecture students, and the film was first used as slides for teaching then converted to film for an exhibition in an architecture school. In terms of the content of the film, at a 1997 lecture, Vickery presented it as one that depicts the Maison de Verre as occupied by the original clients, that allows you to, "see a house lived in with all the possessions and ornaments of the original owners." For the exhibition, the slides were turned into a black and white video. The monochromatic scenes depict the house as it was in 1970.

Like the current tour, the Vickery film acts as a mediator between the viewer and the site. So whilst it does not involve tourists visiting the house, it does play a comparable role to the tour guide. The 10 minute and 40-second film stitches together panning shots of the house at different points featuring a voiceover from Vickery. The film follows a figure through the house where they open and close various elements to demonstrate use (figures 33 - 38). Comparatively, the docent of the Maison de Verre is a highly crucial component of the house's current mode of display. Through the docent, the Maison de Verre is revealed to the public. From their dialogue to the interaction with the transformability of the house, the visitors' understanding is subject to the docent's performance. Their performance can be equated to the figure in the film. The docent here is the only element of change between the house and its function of exhibition.

The order of processing through the house in the film is almost identical to the tour as I experienced on-site, beginning with the doctor's space on the ground floor progressing to the first-floor living room, then the private salons and then back down to the ground floor. As acknowledged by Frampton in his 1969 essay, due to the many movable parts and mechanical elements the house can be understood comparatively to a piece of furniture.[11] The transformability of the house itself was supported by the original furniture of the Dalsace's, many of which was designed by Chareau. The pieces of furniture like the house can also function in different modes through transformability. Whilst some of the foldable doors and perforated rotational screens were opened simply to allow the group to move through the house, many of the elements' transformability was explicitly demonstrated. On my tour, the docent used

these elements as props to affirm the ideas of his presentation. One of the consistent themes was the use of design to reflect social values - the Dalsace's involvement in the French Communist Party was regularly referred to. The reflection of these social ideas in the design of Maison de Verre was demonstrated in specific moments, such as the explanation and demonstration of a hatch in Annie Dalsace's salon. "Imagine you're sitting here with a girlfriend having a chat, and suddenly you're thirsty, you would like some tea, what do you do? You're a long, long way from the kitchen out the front, you're not the sort of person who would yell... behind this light switch there's a servant's bell call, and when the tea would arrive as if by magic through this pivoting serving hatch you can see here... once again it's this obsession with pivots in this house... you could argue it's a bit Fordist, Taylorist, Communist because it saves the maid having to go all the way around to the salon, however, you could also argue that this is very much an eighteenth-century French tradition of the tableau vivant." As the docent is explaining these ideas, he is demonstrating the pivot of the hatch—the house becomes a prop for the presentation. As stated by the docent on the tour, at the time these elements served many purposes, including acting as labour-saving devices in line with "Fordist, Taylorist, Communist" ideals. But now as the Maison de Verre dances between a house and a space to tour, the elements encourage educational performance. Similarly, both the film and the tour demonstrate the use of the mechanical elements of the house. Watching the film, the moveable parts of the house seem to be the perfect educational prop. Whilst the demonstrations of both the film and tour emphasises the importance and uniqueness of these elements in a domestic space, the explicit demonstrations in an overtly performative way become didactic and educational.

The film, as a compilation of shots that can be captured over time, can employ specific techniques to demonstrate aspects of the house that would otherwise not be experienced in a 2-hour tour. When referring to perforated screens in the living room balustrade, Vickery's voiceover explains that the screens "can be transparent, translucent or visually opaque depending on light or movement."[12] This is further conveyed through a sequence of shots of the screens at different times of the day and from different viewpoints. Further, when outlining the purpose of the external floodlights to light the living room from the outside, the film depicts the scene of the exterior at night and immediately afterwards the interior at

the same time to demonstrate this feature. So whilst there is not the same interaction between the guide and the attendees as the physical tour, due to its medium, the film, in the format of the tour is still demonstrative.

Another tour of Maison de Verre was conducted by historian Tim Benton in a 'radiovision' episode of the A305 course from the Open University, from 1975.[13] Like the previous tours described, this radiovision episode was similarly, and perhaps most explicitly, educational. The Open University was founded in 1969. Part of the socially progressive reforms of the British Labour Party at the time, it was a crucial experiment in distance and adult education. The A305 was a third-year undergraduate arts course, offered by The Open University via television and radio broadcasts between 1975 and 1982. "Open, wireless of the air, at a distance, door to door, by correspondence, extramural, remedial, continuing and adult education – when these notions collided in post-war Britain the tensions between them reorganised the relationship among media, geography and education, transforming the very idea of a university,"[14] stated Architectural historian and curator of 'The University is Now on Air' at the CCA, Joaquim Moreno. Taking advantage of new media at the time, "The Open University extended higher education beyond a typical class of students by using media as a tool to transform both the production and transmission of knowledge. A305 used publication, correspondence, and a complex system of local and regional centres to disseminate that knowledge across an entire country."[15] In many ways, it pre-empted the distance education format that universities across the world employ today.

Some of the A305 courses were taught over television and others over radio. 'Radiovision' was a radio programme that was paired with two booklets—one to be used while listening which included images and notes (figures 39-40) and one to be reviewed after listening and included follow up questions (figures 41-42). In the broadcast, the images in the booklet were referred to by the hosts. The booklet also contained exercises and follow up material that the students could undertake. It is clear from listening that Tim Benton's radiovision episode 15 of the A305 course from the Open University is intended for a specific audience. Whilst episode 15 is focussed on Maison de Verre—there are constant references to other buildings and ideas that have been previously outlined in prior episodes. This assumption of prior

knowledge requires the listener to be a particular character, either engaged in the study of architecture or registered in the A305 course. For example, Benton, wanting to outline the context for the development of the Nevada glass tiles that were used in the Maison de Verre provides some references to buildings that had previously used glass bricks. He states, "You've come across glass bricks before, of course. Hector Guimard used them in the Castel Beranger in 1897-8, and Perret used them in the flats at 25 bis Rue Franklin, and most famous of all, Bruno Taut used them as a key element in his glass pavilion of 1914."[16] In not only listing these references but emphasising that the listener is already familiar with them, there is an assumption made about the audience. Benton later, when referring to construction images (figures 11 and 13 in the radiovision booklet) projects to the listeners, "You can see how important the spatial unity of the whole building was for Chareau. It's almost as if he wanted to preserve the openness of the very first stage of construction."[17] Whilst this is not an explicit reference to learned examples of a building, Benton is assuming an ability to read spatial qualities in a photograph, and this assumption suggests the potential audience has studied or is studying architecture.

Similarly, in the tour that I undertook, there were multiple moments where the docent would ask us a question, (seemingly directed at the students) where he assumed a level of knowledge amongst them. For example, "if you take a classic French interior like Versailles, how did they treat the walls?" A student answers, "tapestries," the docent follows with "and after tapestries what did they have?" and after an uncomfortable pause and the students revealing they didn't actually go inside the building when they went to Versailles the previous week, the docent revealed that "they used to stretch cloth against the wall." The reason for probing for this answer was to provide context for his explanation of the use of a curtain in Annie Dalsace's salon. The docent then presented the group with an A4 printed photograph of Chareau in his apartment with the same curtain system. At that moment, I was reminded that the tour is as much about experiencing the house as it is about being educated. However, like the Open University episode 15, this education is not open to anyone. To reach episode 15 or even to attempt to gain access to the tour today, one must have invested time in an architectural education. The tours of the Maison de Verre, past and present, are limited to the discipline of architecture. It is, therefore, within the discipline where the story of the house has been constructed. This is not only evident through the audiences of the tour

but also is clear in the references made in describing the building. Across the three tours, it is clear there is a desire for it to fit in the lineage of European modernism.

The past tours have informed the current understanding of the Maison de Verre within architectural discourse. The various references made in the tours as well as the areas of the building that are dwelled upon or explained in detail emphasise what is considered important to remember and share about the house by those who gave the 'tours.' Despite the similarities between the past tours and the present-day tour, there is one essential difference. The house is no longer owned by the original family and is no longer explicitly a home. Instead, when purchased in 2006 by Robert and Stephané Samuel Rubin from the Dalsace family, it became a collected artefact.

It was reported that the Rubins approached the Dalsaces in 2004 at the suggestion of architect Brian Bryce Taylor and purchased the house in 2006.[18] The house added to Robert Rubin's already significant art and architecture collection. Rubin, a former Wall Street commodities trader, turned architectural historian, initiated his venture into collecting with vintage cars, which he began in the 1970s.[19] As can be deduced from numerous public interviews, Rubin's interest in vintage cars and general curiosity as a collector lead him to the industrial-like work of architect Jean Prouvé, of who's furniture and prototypes Rubin has been an avid collector of since the mid-1990s.[20] His interest in architecture was further developed when he returned to the Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation at Columbia University, New York as a student of architecture in 2001, where he later worked as a teaching assistant for Frampton. Rubin would go on to buy the Maison de Verre only a few years later.

Collecting architecture has become more common in the last 50 years (yet remains an activity for a group of wealthy architecture aficionados). The Rubin's have joined an elite list of collectors of architecture, including figures such as Lord Peter and Hayat Palumbo, owners of Frank Lloyd Wright's Kentuck Knob and previous owners of Mies van der Rohe's Farnsworth House and Le Corbusier's Maison Jaoul. Writing of the Palumbos and fellow architecture collector Richard Hampton Jenarette, a New York Times article in 1996, Patricia Leigh Brown describes them as, "plutocratic preservationists whose

unquenchable ardour for architecture compels them -- they simply can't help themselves -- to spend millions buying and restoring important houses. Lots of them."[21] However, collecting architecture is not without its difficulties. In comparison to collecting traditional art pieces, the challenge of collecting architecture since the eighteenth century has produced inconsistent approaches and uncertain questions. As outlined by Edward Kaufman in 1990, "Collecting paintings and sculpture is a time-honoured pastime. It is also a relatively straightforward one: in principle, one simply chooses the objects of desire, acquires them, and arranges them according to taste. Collecting architecture is both a more recent and a more puzzling phenomenon."[22] Kaufman outlines the history of collecting architecture, tracing the activity to "the mid to late 18th century - the age of eclecticism and of a growing consciousness of history."[23] He states that the difficulty of collecting architecture and hence the short history of the activity is that unlike paintings or statues, buildings are much more difficult to move, "To be sure, attempts have been made, but on the whole, collectors of architecture since the late eighteenth century have found it easier to channel their acquisitive urges in the direction of more readily collectable substitutes such as drawings and prints, and this displacement of the collecting urge underlies the entire history of architectural collecting."[24] Architectural historian Mari Lending similarly explores these ideas—she states "architecture has remained a challenge for the modern world of collecting and exhibiting. Displayed architecture normally involves matters of representation while most art works can be represented as the real thing, whether de-located or produced for a versatile market."[25] Lending explains that collected architecture, comparative to an artwork, is not easy to display and in-lieu of displaying a building, a culture of displaying architecture through representation has developed. Historian Barry Bergdoll also attests to this, "nearly every lecture on the architectural museum or the architectural exhibition begins by rehearsing the truism that architecture can only be exhibited through simulacra, substitute objects, or representations… created after the building's completion or original design projection."[26] In the last 20 years, the architectural exhibition, now typically the event in which these representations are displayed, has grown in prominence in the discipline. Similarly to interior architecture, the role of the architectural curator is increasingly becoming formalised through degrees and the institutional collection of architectural artefacts becoming more focussed with the development of specific architectural institutions such as the Canadian Centre for Architecture, established in 1989.[27] At the time of its inception, director

Phyllis Lambert wrote, "Architectural artefacts… have long been collected by museums, libraries, and the archives of governmental and private institutions. However, autonomous architectural museums or departments within museums are recent phenomena. They were first recognised as such in 1979 at the organising meeting of the International Confederation of Architecture Museums, in Helsinki."[28] This growing field of the display of architecture along with the difficulty of displaying a building provides a productive framework for understanding how to collect and display an 'original' today.

Whilst collecting can be understood as a personal endeavour, the opening of private homes to the public is not uncommon. At one stage, all three of the Palumbo properties of modern architecture were open to the public. In purchasing the Farnsworth House, they also bought the two adjoining properties to develop the landscape as a sculpture garden for visitors. As Brown stated in 1996, "The Palumbos are following the model of other British lords, who have opened their houses to the hordes. Michael Hill, an editor of *Country Life* magazine in London, said that government aid for home repairs and exemptions for death taxes for owners granting public access has resulted in a surge of country house openings. 'The fact they live there is a main part of the attraction.' "[29] Lady Palumbo explained their approach to ensuring the houses on display still felt like authentic homes, "You have a bit of your soul there, so they're very much alive… There are the children's *Winnie the Pooh* videotapes and my makeup remover, so they're not just a show. That's why English country houses are so wonderful because they're lived in."[30] This is interesting to consider in the case of the Maison de Verre tour. Whilst there are constant reminders that the original owners do not inhabit the house through the furnishings and contemporary artworks. This was particularly noticeable when I was on the tour and a student inquired about an artwork in the original salon of Annie Dalsace. The artwork consisted of film strip grid of John F. Kennedy's assassination. The student asked if it belonged to the original owners. At that moment, the contraposition of the socialist house being a container for an American financier's art collection could not have been more obvious. The tension between the tour of the house of Chareau, Bijvoet, Dalbet and the Dalsace's and the house of Rubin, became uncomfortably apparent. The new furnishings do not diminish the original intentions of the house or detract from that reading, but they do inform the reading of the building as a house rather than museum. Despite the presence of the artworks and furniture, there is little evidence of everyday life,

and the tour avoids the bedrooms and bathrooms that are used by the inhabitants. The house is neither a shrine to the previous and original owners nor does it project itself as "lived in". However, the house as it stands now must be understood as part of the collection of Rubin and not a museum preserving the history of the architects and the Dalsaces alone.

Opening the house is also an important method of obtaining money to support the building's preservation. Since purchasing the house in 2006, the Rubins have carried out extensive means of preservation. In 'Living, Literally in a Glass House, A User's Guide.'[31] Robert Rubin writes, "we saw it as our task to make the structure inhabitable while maintaining, and where possible enhancing, its visitability - that is, the legibility of the original program."[32] Rubin's use of visitability here is curious. It is unclear in this statement if Rubin is claiming their intention, in the preservation of the house, is to make sure the legibility of the original design is evident in the current state of the house, as can be understood by visitors, or if he means something else. In using the term visitability, Rubin inextricably links the ideas of preservation with that of display. As the house is privately owned, unlike a museum or building owned by an institution or National Trust, there is no requirement for it to be opened to the public. Yet explicit in Rubin's desire to preserve the house, is the legibility of the original to the public. Further, as the house is privately owned the procedures in preserving the house are much looser than an institution. In the article, Rubin outlines a set of guidelines that were developed to ensure the house's preservation. The guidelines, as published last year are:[33]

1. Nothing original as of 1932 could be irreversibly modified. On the other hand, original elements that were missing did not need to be replicated.
2. Anything done after 1932 could be undone.
3. Surfaces would be cleaned but not refinished.
4. Contemporary interventions would be reversible, overtly new and not "contextual"; that is, they would be clearly identifiable.
5. All activity would be carefully documented and removals archived

The guidelines, Rubin discloses, were established from his own knowledge after restoring Jean Prouvé's Maison Tropicale (1951) as well as building on the work of "Marc Vellay, Bernard Bauchet and Fernandez de Castro."[34] There is a careful articulation in the guidelines of the respect that must be paid to the house as of 1932 and an indifference to the use of the house after this time. This perhaps links to Rubin's statement that his task is enhancing where possible the visitability of the house and the legibility of the original. However, beyond the finer details of the physical preservation of the house, the tour and the docent are the mediation between the visitor and the legibility of the house. Whilst the house is both the prop and the set—the tour is the performance.

Comparatively, the docent presents the visitors a set of rules before entering the house for the tour. He begins by reminding us that the Rubins are "not under any obligation whatsoever to open it to the public". Extending on this he states that we are welcome to photograph the exterior of the house, from the front courtyard and back garden, but none of the interior, as "it is a private home, the Rubins wish it remain private, it's already amazing that they open it all." And finally, whilst this does seem directed at the students, he reminded us that the house is old and fragile and we are to "behave" as though we are in a museum. Whilst in some way, these rules enable visitors to enter the house, the tone is in stark contrast to the idea that Rubin's task is to enhance visitability. The tour rules put the house again into tension, whilst they are about display, the visitor is assured that they are indeed entering a house and not a museum, but then told to behave as though they are in a museum.

The tour is a carefully constructed mediation of the Maison de Verre for the visitor. The tour performs its historical role as a means of education, and the house cannot be understood as a private home alone. Further, the tours of the Maison de Verre over time, have informed the construction and reinforced the value of the house in the history of modern architecture through their educational format. The tours have assisted in the importance of the house within the discipline of architecture but not beyond it.

After 110 minutes of parading about the Maison de Verre, we descended the main stair and turned to retreat underneath its suspended structure. We removed our shoe covers, and I collected my handbag

from the pile of backpacks. Like a scene from a museum cloakroom, the house could not feel further from home. Whilst, not an institution, the house requires an entry fee, restricts the extent of photography to the exterior only, and is only accessible through a tour. [35] And yet, it is only through the tour that this mode is instigated, for all other hours of the week the house functions as a home for the Rubins. For the architectural visitor, the tour informs the legibility of the house in every way—exposing the construction of the house's history and the complexities of its present condition, but not revealing too much beyond the plotted script.

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[1] This claim is made by Kenneth Frampton in *Perspecta*. Sarah Wigglesworth acknowledges that "Though several sets of floor plans exist to document the changes in the strategic design... a few simple perspectives are the only known drawings to have been made that show the interior of the Maison. Thus the designer could be regarded as a hands-on technician akin to his builders and metalworker, an architect in the craft tradition of designing-as-you-make." Whilst there are early drawings and some perspectives of the Maison de Verre, there was never a complete a drawing set of the building as it was built. Kenneth Frampton, "Maison de Verre," *Perspecta,* Vol. 12 (1969): 77-109+111-128. Sarah Wigglesworth, "Maison de Verre: sections through an in-vitro conception," *The Journal of Architecture*, no. 3, 3, (1998): 269

[2] Kenneth Frampton, "Maison de Verre," *Perspecta,* Vol. 12 (1969): 77-109+111-128.

[3] Sarah Wigglesworth states, "Those who have written about the house, of whom the best known is perhaps Kenneth Frampton, have described the building as a paradigm of the aims of modernism since it uses the most advanced technical means and spatial composition to create an avant-garde home." Wigglesworth, "Maison de Verre," 263.

[4] This position is taken in many of Colomina's writings but is particularly essential to the book, Privacy and Publicity. Colomina, Beatriz. *Privacy and Publicity : Modern Architecture as Mass Media Cambridge*, (Mass., United States: MIT Press, 1994)

[5] Edward Kaufman, "Architecture and Travel in the Age of British Eclecticism," *Architecture and its Image* (Montreal: Candian Centre for Architecture, 1989): 59-85.

[6] Whilst some accounts and the docent recount the house as being purchased in 2005, in an article written by Rubin he states it was purchased in 2006.

[7] "Vickery, Robert La Maison de Verre," AA School of Architecture, Youtube, last modified October 15, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=04tX-qO1x20.

[8] "Sarah Wigglesworth - Maison de Verre: Sections through an In-Vitro Conception," AA School of Architecture, Youtube, last modified November 13, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tg089gqQAdY.

[9] It is now available on Youtube. "Vickery, Robert La Maison de Verre," AA School of Architecture.

[10] Pete Collard, "The modern art of filmmaking: Architecture on-screen at MoMA," *Film, Fashion & Consumption* 7, no. 1 (2018): 7-17.

[11] Kenneth Frampton, "Maison de Verre," 77.

[12] "Vickery, Robert La Maison de Verre," AA School of Architecture.

[13] Joaquim Moreno, Tim Benton, and Nick Beech, *The University Is Now on Air, Broadcasting Modern Architecture* (Heijningen: Jap Sam Books, 2018).

[14] Moreno, Benton, and Beech, *The University Is Now on Air,* 17.

[15] Joaquim Moreno, *The University Is Now on Air: Broadcasting Modern Architecture*, CCA, last accessed January 2021, https://www.cca.qc.ca/en/events/50959/the-university-is-now-on-air-broadcasting-modern-architecture

[16] Tim Benton, *A305 Radiovision Transcript*, 1975.

[17] Benton, *A305 Radivision Transcript.*

[18] Nicolai Ouroussoff, "The Best House in Paris," *New York Times*, August 26, 2007, https://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/26/arts/design/26ouro.html.

[19] Ouroussoff, "The Best House in Paris."

[20] Ouroussoff, "The Best House in Paris."

[21] Patricia Leigh Brown, "Old Houses, Just Gotta Have Em," *New York Times,* December 19, 1996, https://www.nytimes.com/1996/12/19/garden/old-houses-just-gotta-have-em.html.

[22] Edward Kaufman, "A History of the Architectural Museum: From Napoleon through Henry Ford," in Robert Bruegman and Pauline Saliga, *Fragments of Chicago's Past,* (Chicago IL: Art Institute of Chicago, 1990),16-51.

[23] Kaufman, “A History of the Architectural Museum,” 16.
[24] Kaufman, “A History of the Architectural Museum,” 16.
[25] Mari Lending, “The Art of Collecting,” *Volume* 44, (2015): 17.
[26] Barry Bergdoll, “Out of Site/In Plain View: On the Origins and Actuality of the Architecture Exhibition,” in ed. Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen with Carson Chan and David Andrew Tasman, *Exhibiting Architecture; a Paradox?*, (New Haven, CT: Yale School of Architecture, 2015), 13.
[27] Such as the Master of Science in Critical, Curatorial, Conceptual Practices (CCCP) at Columbia Graduate School of Architecture Planning and Preservation which began in 2009.
[28] Phyllis Lambert, “Foreword,” *Architecture and its Image* (Montreal: Candian Centre for Architecture, 1989), 9.
[29] Brown, “Old Houses, Just Gotta Have Em.”
[30] Brown, “Old Houses, Just Gotta Have Em.”
[31] From the book accompanying the 2018 exhibition of Chareau at the Jewish Museum in New York, Esther de Costa Meyer, *Pierre Chareau: Modern Architecture and Design* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).
[32] Robert Rubin, “Living, Literally in a Glass House, A User’s Guide” in Esther de Costa Meyer, Pierre Chareau: Modern Architecture and Design (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).
[33] Rubin, “Living, Literally in a Glass House, A User's Guide.”
[34] Rubin restored Prouve's Maison Tropicale after he returned to Columbia in 2001, Nicolai Ouroussoff, “The Best House in Paris.” Marc Vellay is the grandson of the original owners, Bernard Bauchet is the architect, and Inigo Fernandez de Castro is the builder who they have both been working within the preservation of the house over time.
[35] The tour requires a 20 euro entry fee for students and 40 euro entry fee as standard

Chapter 6 - The Airbnb

Any brochure, guidebook or helpful assistant at the Palm Springs Visitors Centre will quickly inform a tourist that no other city contains a more extensive collection of American mid-century architecture. Originally a gas station, the Albert Frey designed pavilion sits as the entry gate to the gridded desert city that was made famous as the destination of choice by celebrities such as Frank Sinatra and Lucille Ball. Today, the mid-century architecture of the city, interspersed with contemporary additions, collectively forms an outdoor museum presenting suggestions of past lifestyles. In the 1930s when much of the United States was in an economic depression, Palm Springs, only a short drive from Hollywood, began to flourish as the winter playground for figures of the film industry. Despite financial difficulties elsewhere in the country, many continued to attend the cinema as the stories presented on the screen provided an escape from the everyday. This boom in the film industry contributed to the burgeoning development of Palm Springs as a resort town.[1] Far from the conservative restrictions of East Coast architecture, the hotels and houses of the West Coast and Palm Springs by émigré architects such as Richard Neutra and Albert Frey became examples of future modern domesticity in America.[2]

The notion of Palm Springs as a resort town still lives on today—1.6 million tourists visit the city each year, while only 43,000 residents reside there year-round. 1 million of those tourists are staying in hotels and resorts, but a growing market is the 600,000 tourists who are renting private residences[3]. Over recent years with the growth of the short-term rental market due to platforms such as Airbnb, more and more residences have become available. With such a large stock of existing housing and a transient population, Palm Springs became the perfect site to exploit outputs of the sharing economy such as Airbnb.[4] Airbnb which launched in the peak of the global financial crisis in 2008, describes itself as helping "millions of hospitality entrepreneurs monetise their spaces and their passions while keeping the financial benefits of tourism in their own communities."[5] Prospective hosts offer their properties to guests through the Airbnb website, where they can control price and availability. Since launching over ten years ago, Airbnb has grown from existing only as one of the rooms of the co-founders to having more than 7 million properties worldwide listed on the platform and hosting more than half a billion guests.

Whilst many cities across the world have still not regulated Airbnb, in recent years the city council of Palm Springs has introduced a series of regulations including enforcing an occupancy tax and requiring hosts to have rental permits. Hosts are limited to only one short-term rental permit so they cannot be running multiple rentals. Further, the penalty for renting without a permit is to be banned from obtaining another. Hosts must also arrange annual safety inspections as well as be on-site when guests arrive.[6] Whilst the regulations can be seen as a way to control the monopoly of Airbnb—the strict regulations and numerous fees have resulted in inflated prices for rentals which have led to the curation of a particular demographic for the guests visiting Palm Springs. With occupancy taxes at 11.5%, prices for most houses are out of reach for the ordinary tourist. Further, as much of the housing stock in Palm Springs was built over fifty years ago, owners spend a considerable amount ensuring the proper maintenance of their properties. In order for the properties to be profitable to the owners, the prices have to be significantly above the average Airbnb nightly rate.[7]

With Palm Springs' collection of mid-century modern houses and an increased number of them becoming available for short-term rent on Airbnb, the gridded desert streets have become something of a city-wide museum of domesticity on display. One such example is the Grace Miller House, designed by Richard Neutra in 1934. The house was initially built for Grace Miller and her two sons and combined a winter home with a studio for her Mensendieck classes. Miller left Palm Springs in the 1940s, and the house subsequently fell into disrepair (figures 43 & 44). After years of neglect and dereliction, the Grace Miller House was purchased by Catherine Meyler in 2000. After restoring the original house (with slight modifications and material substitutions), Meyler added a guest house that was designed by Neutra for the original owner but was never built. Since 2019 the guest house has been available for holiday rental on Airbnb. Houses such as this, whilst not categorically museums, still deal with the display of modern domesticity which, for a price, the public can experience much more intimately than a guided tour. Nevertheless, due to the restrictions placed by the council, like a museum itself, the 'museum-goer' is similarly curated.

For the modern house, the idea of staging is not new. Closely intertwined with the development of modern architecture was the constructed observations of modernist photography. As Reyner Banham wrote of the International Style, "it must be the first architectural movement in the history of art based almost exclusively on photographic evidence rather than on the ancient and previously unavoidable techniques of personal inspection and measured drawing."[8] The photography of architecture became an essential form of representation. With the growing use of photography as a medium to disseminate modern architecture, architect Adolf Loos commented in 1924 on the distance between the objective truth of reality and the illusion of the photograph.[9] Similarly, it is understood by Charles Rice, "relationships between images and spaces are seen as precisely constructors of the interior, rather than either natural or novel aspects of domesticity."[10] As discussed in Part 1, the use of photography in the 20th century for the dissemination of ideas of new ways of living saw modern domestic architecture becoming the sets for these scenes. These historical photographs become significant today regarding the rental of modern houses on platforms such as Airbnb. The idea and the legacy of the modern domestic interior were primarily shaped by the ideas shared in the photographs taken at the time the houses were built and subsequently shared. Further, these photographs have been used for the restoration of certain houses in order to restore a sense of the original ways of living attached to the houses. Finally, today, the image of architecture overwhelms its physical experience. The dissemination of architecture through digital media has privileged image over text and drawing, and this attachment to the photograph is exploited by platforms such as Airbnb.

As evident in the Grace Miller House, an understanding of the history of modern architecture, and modern domesticity is entangled in the history of photography and architectural media. This notion is encapsulated in the scholarship of architectural historian Beatriz Colomina. Colomina argues in 1998 in *Architectureproduction*, "The history of architectural media is much more than a footnote to the history of architecture. The journals and now the galleries help to determine that history."[11] In mid-century America, there was an unconscious consumption of photographs of architecture through the mass media. However, today in the age of Instagram, perhaps more than ever, the image of architecture overwhelms its physical experience. The dissemination of architecture through digital media has confirmed the place

of the image over text and drawing with the scroll of images of architecture displayed on digital devices becoming inescapable.

Interestingly, the functioning of images of architecture today relies on an understanding of the use of them previously, in the 20th century. Comparable to the coloured pages of lifestyle magazines of the mid-century, social media is filled with carefully curated images of visitors' experiences at the modernist houses of Palm Springs. Looking back at the historical photographs of the Grace Miller House, they carry two purposes: firstly through their collection they establish the house as somewhere of value and secondly they are used today as a reference, as a means to remember and restore what the place was once like.[12] With the shifting of the house to a public space of display through becoming an Airbnb, the historical photographs of the archive come into conflict with the new advertorial pictures.

The role of the historical photographs in relation to the Grace Miller House's current mode as an Airbnb is to create an idea of the place. Neutra is acknowledged as having had an energetic attention to marketing. Through the wide dissemination of his projects in mass media, his houses could be understood as well-designed products that could satisfy the consumerist public of modern America. As historian Alice Friedman states, "significant that a broad swath of American public could see themselves in these buildings and imagine themselves going about their daily lives in these settings."[13] Similarly, Sylvia Lavin discusses the imageability of Neutra's designs, comparing the photograph of the Lovell House in Los Angeles and the well-known photograph of the Kaufmann House, also located in Palm Springs. In terms of the Lovell House photograph (figure 46), she outlines that the building is visually memorable. Hence, the photograph of the house depicts this, "not only does the building organise lucid vision and mandate optical clarity, but it also replicates this mandate in its photographic reception and representation."[14]. Comparably, in the well-known Shulman photograph of the Kaufmann House (figure 47), Lavin suggests the autonomy of the building dissipates into the environment. Instead, the viewer is left with "an ambiance for an imagined way of life."[15] Neutra's way of designing and Shulman's depiction of them, according to Lavin, orchestrated the increasing number of "spectatorial positions" created by the twentieth-century world—the trains contorting spatial perception through speed and the increase in

cars, televisions, aeroplanes and the development of spaceships in the post-war. She suggests that Neutra's "diffuse imageability" as evident in the image of the Kaufmann House, is in response to the "suburban pollution" created by the flooded visual field and the unprecedented number of vantage points brought on by modernism.[16]

Whilst the Grace Miller House was built just prior to WWII, the photographs hint at these ideas. One of Shulman's photographs of the Grace Miller House living room uses the layering of glass to depict an equally diffuse scene (figure 48). With soft lighting entering the space through the translucent windows of the Mensendieck studio, one's eye is drawn instead to the layered reflections on the glass wall between the living room and the internal verandah. There is an overlay of the flowers and objects placed on the interior against the glass wall and the reflection of the mountainous landscape that surrounds the house. Underneath these layers, one can almost make out a figure sitting in the living room (the figure is actually Neutra). Like Shulman's photograph of the Kaufmann House, the photograph shows his "disinterest in legibility"[17]—the form of the house itself is ambiguous yet as architectural historian Stephen Leet argues no photograph better depicts its surfaces and finishes. There is a tension between what is revealed as physical architecture, the environment that the design creates, and what can be depicted in an image. The techniques of these images that Lavin describes were equally potent in the marketing of the house. The depiction of the environment, and a situation that architecture might allow, increased the marketability of the modern house to the general population.

The new photographs of the house as displayed on Airbnb use the established image of Palm Springs but also appeal to the contemporary way of reading images. This can be viewed in the photographs of the Airbnb listing. The opening photograph (figure 49) is a wide-angled shot which includes the Western façade of the house as well as some of the garden but consists mostly of the newly built pool. Perhaps even more than Shulman's image of the Kaufmann house, the building here, pushed to the edge of the frame, is difficult to recognise. The image, with two-thirds of the lower half of the frame filled with the aqua tones of the pool, hints at the modern, hedonistic lifestyle. This notion is made more explicit in the centring of the yellow outdoor cushions lined by the pool edge. The yellow immediately likens the

photograph to Slim Aarons' famous 1970 photograph of the Kaufmann House that became a symbol of Palm Springs modernism (figure 50). Whilst a different house (and different pool), the homage not to the house, but to the photograph, sets up a dialogue with the now historical image of Palm Springs. Without the figures of the Slim Aarons scene, the Airbnb photograph echoes a more subdued sense akin to the photographs of Shulman. Also, it allows the potential renter to imagine themselves in the scene as if the image was taken from their perspective.

Due to the increased ability to collect and share historical images digitally, there is an emphasis placed on architectural imagery and photography to reference historical content. Architects and a general audience have become more accustomed to the presence of photographs due to the internet's endless scroll of images, architectural and otherwise. The inclusion of historical references in the new photographs of the Grace Miller House is therefore not unique but merely a tactic of contemporary architectural photography. Whilst the photographs on the Airbnb listing are perhaps not as formally refined as those of Shulman, Aarons or other contemporary photographers—they are composed for the eye of the Instagram-savvy viewer.

The restoration of the Grace Miller House, by Catherine Meyler, is entangled with original photography of the house and the construction of its image. Originally from the United Kingdom, the current owner Meyler, a location agent based in Los Angeles, developed an interest in mid-century modern architecture after a previous employer, who was heavily involved in the LA Conservancy, gifted her with David Gebhard's *Los Angeles: An Architectural Guide*. The book became her guide to modern architecture in Los Angeles and gave her a new hobby, of touring modern houses. Her hobby eventually developed into a career as a location agent. Meyler has extensive knowledge (and connection with) most of the mid-century modern sites in Los Angeles and Palm Springs.[18]

After visiting Palm Springs in the late 1990s and coming across the house, Meyler purchased it in 2000. As the house was not classified as habitable, it was not able to be mortgaged. Slowly, Meyler began the process of restoration. Beginning with making the house habitable, she first changed all the glass to make

it tempered (and up to code), inserted air-conditioning so that the house could be liveable year-round, dealt with the termites and then began the restoration of the inbuilt furniture. As the house is privately owned and was previously in such poor condition, there were no limits to the restoration (and subsequently maintenance) procedures. Unlike houses owned by institutions such as National Trusts, the restoration and maintenance of the Grace Miller House faces no best practice standards. Instead, the process became more intuitive.

The restoration mostly relied on Julius Shulman's photographs as well as drawings provided by Stephen Leet as he was writing his book *Richard Neutra's Miller House* at the time. Shulman donated to Meyler the complete set of photographs that he made from 1937-41 (figure 45) and Leet donated a set of original plans. Interestingly, as the owner did not have access to detailed construction drawings of all rooms, rooms such as the kitchen that were not photographed became challenging to restore. From the plans, notes from the correspondence between Neutra and Miller as well as observations from other Neutra kitchens designed at a similar time, assumptions were made about the design of the kitchen cupboards. The kitchen, according to Meyler, was one of the "worst rooms." She noted that all the doors were gone from the cabinets as well as the benchtops. A friend offered to help her come up with an approach to restoring it. Whilst the drawings showed the cabinets in silver, they decided to match the lower cabinets to the stain in the other rooms. Many discoveries were made in the restoration of the kitchen. Meyler told of when they took everything out, the uncovering of a hole in the ground under one of the cabinets that connected to a grate outside. They found it was used as storage for root vegetables as at the time the house was built in 1937 Miller had no fridge. She also pointed out a trash chute that connected to the outside so that no rubbish was brought through the house.[19] These features of the kitchen aligned with the principles of Neutra's modern design but were not evident in the documentation of the house and without investigation on site might have been lost. Whilst Shulman's photographs were essential in the restoration of the house, they also presented their limitations.

Comparably, another of Neutra's desert houses was restored in the 1990s. The Kaufmann House (1947), owned by Beth and Brent Harris, was largely rebuilt in 1995 after many additions and changes were made

since the original owners sold the photogenic house in 1955. The house, also photographed by Julius Shulman, appeared in numerous magazines, including the cover of *Life* magazine in 1949 (figure 47). Like the Grace Miller House, the restoration relied primarily on Shulman's photographs. In 1995 *Progressive Architecture* stated that there was a desire to preserve (or reconstruct) the 1947 image of the gloriette, "Neutra's term for the sheltered outdoor room above the living room which (architectural historian) Kenneth Frampton called the 'ambient hedonism' of the desert house."[20] Similarly, in *Architectural Record* in 1999, one of the owners Brent Harris recalls that the image they were familiar with through the photograph was still present before the restoration, "we saw immediately how the window walls met in the corner without anything between them. We slid back the windows — with some difficulty — and went out to the end of the pool and looked back. If you squinted, the house looked pretty much the way it appeared in the photograph."[21] The author of the article, David Hay informs the reader that the photograph Harris mentions is "one of the best-known portraits of California Modernist architecture, it has enhanced the Kaufmann House's fame and reputation."[22] The desire to reinstate the lifestyle as portrayed in the well-distributed photographs became a main propellant for the restoration of that house.

For the restoration of the Kaufmann House and the Grace Miller House, the use of Shulman's photographs was somewhat necessary as access to the original drawings were limited. The drawings of both houses are held in the Richard and Dion Neutra collection at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) Library where they have been since 1998. The collection includes travel sketches, papers, drawings, rolled plans, blueprints, audio recordings, and photographs. While the collection is available to view in the Charles E. Young Research Library, no photographs or scans can be made without requesting their purchase from Dion Neutra.[23]

The photograph has a renewed utility for the restoration of Neutra houses due to the absolute dependence of the archive on the figure of Dion Neutra. Dion as the son of Richard Neutra and eventual 'president' of his studio has spent much of his life since working to preserve many of his and his father's buildings. As stated on his website, his focus was, "to work on the preservation and adaptation of Neutra projects with a view to conserving as many of these icons as possible in the face of their attrition in the

name of progress and change."[24] Whilst Dion Neutra's intentions seemed to be to support the preservation of Neutra architecture, many owners of Neutra properties had difficulty working with him. Dion passed away in November 2019 and his obituary in the *Los Angeles Times* stated that he was "perhaps best known for his work as an aggressive and sometimes prickly steward of the Neutra legacy." Further, the obituary states that "He also discovered that the avowed Neutra fans who bought (the properties) often had little interest in collaborating with him on restorations, interpreting his overtures as meddlesome or his intentions as worryingly purist. "We keep getting people having *their* interpretation of 'what Neutra would have wanted,'" he bristled, "when Neutra is around to be asked." "[25] His position that his opinion is essentially the same as his father's, as well as his boldness in approaching owners of Neutra properties, proved to be intimidating and unattractive to many owners.[26]

In the case of the Kaufmann house restoration, the architects working on the rebuild from Marmol & Radziner spent four months in the UCLA library redrawing hundreds of details from the original documents as the Neutra Institute restricted them from being removed, scanned or traced. As the house had gone through so many alterations over the years, much of what could not be understood through the redrawn details had to be learnt on-site through the removal of the later additions.[27] Likewise, the Institute also intended to charge Catherine Meyler for the drawings of the Grace Miller House, but Stephen Leet offered her the documents he was using in the production of his book. With the approach to the security of the archive so tightly bound to the figure of Dion, the future of its availability is unclear. Nevertheless, for these two house restorations, the financial restrictions on the archive brought the photograph to the fore as a critical source to be replicated.

The photographing of twentieth-century houses became essential to their dissemination to a broader public through the growing mass media, something of which Neutra became an expert. The Grace Miller House was widely published immediately after it was built in 1937, featuring in both architectural media such as a special edition *Pencil Points* on Neutra, a 9-page spread in *Architectural Record* as well as *Arts and Decoration* in 1938 and *Town and Country* in 1945. Whilst the house was only occupied by Miller for a short

period of time, the image of the house and the lifestyle attached to it extended beyond this through the photographs of Julius Shulman.

Shulman's photography became a symbol of American modernist domesticity. At the time he first photographed Miller's house, it was one of his first collaborations with Neutra. As Stephen Leet comments, "A year earlier Neutra 'discovered' Shulman, who, at the age of 26, was largely self-taught and did not consider himself a professional photographer."[28] This first project was to develop into a 30-year collaboration between architect and photographer. Shulman visited the Grace Miller House on 4 occasions over 5 years and his photographs became the key source of promotional material for the house.[29]

The photographs are what was circulated and presented to the public. Neutra was very aware of this, stating in a letter to Shulman in 1969, "Your work will survive me. Film is stronger and good glossy prints are easier to ship than brute concrete, stainless steel, or even ideas."[30] This notion that a photograph is easier to disseminate than that of physical architecture or even the ideas behind the building can be understood to account for the importance Neutra placed on his relationship with Shulman. The beginnings of this relationship are evident in Leet's comments on Neutra that he in accompanying Shulman to visit Miller's house would often suggest frames and compositions to be photographed.[31] Neutra saw the photographing of the house as collaborative. It is further understood as a joint effort in the comments Shulman makes on the contributions of Miller, "Neutra and I spent many days at (Miller's) home... Mrs. Miller was adept at expressing her observations of my photographs. Many of my earliest archival prints have inscribed notes in which she analysed my compositions."[32] Alice T. Friedman notes in *Women and the Making of the Modern House* that the houses that prominent architects of the 20th century "designed for women heads of households are among their most significant works, and many have become monuments in the history of twentieth-century architecture."[33] Further she explains that, "by focusing on their own homes, women clients sought not only to implement change but also to participate in a creative process."[34] For Miller, her thorough correspondence with Neutra, diligent mark ups of drawings and comments on photographs demonstrates her eager desire to be involved in the process of

the designing an avant-garde home and studio for a single woman. The blurred authorship of the photographs of the Miller House highlights the known importance of the photograph as the primary tool of dissemination and publication of the house, of which each of the three had a stake. The image of the house was what was presented through magazines and exhibitions. For many people, the photograph is the experience of the house. Moreover, whilst it is acknowledged that an image cannot entirely capture a building, it has become an essential tool for architects to embrace. The sharing of the house in architectural discourse and the wider public relied upon (and still relies on) on its publication.

The media of architecture forms the canon, what is remembered and what is forgotten and how we are to interpret this. The photograph is essential to this. Photographs, in the mid-twentieth century, became more easily shared and became the focus of many publications. Whilst the Grace Miller House was extensively published when it was first built and again in the early '40s, as one of Neutra's earlier and smaller projects it is absent from many of his monographs. Its absence from Neutra's public oeuvre coincided with its physical decline. When Meyler purchased the house in 2007, it was barely recognisable from Shulman's photographs (figure 2). Subsequently, since Meyler's restoration the house other than being the subject of Leet's book, has featured in other publications on Neutra. The possibility of producing an attractive photograph perhaps aligning with public acknowledgement.

Today, the mediation of modern houses such as the Grace Miller House is multi-layered. Initially, the house was understood in architectural discourse and by a broader public through the representation of the design through the photographs of Shulman. Through the images, a carefully captured idea of modern American domesticity was portrayed. Now with the restoration and subsequent display of the house through the mode of a holiday rental, it is experienced through a secondary mode of mediation. Today, the authorship of these reproductions become blurry. However, this secondary mediation must not be understood as a diluted version of the house and its initial design but instead a filtered framing, a new way of understanding its history.

This framing is not merely a result of the collaboration between Meyler and those who assisted her in the restoration, but the way the house was displayed and shared initially by Neutra, Shulman, Miller and others. The curation of the house's history was then reinterpreted for its display today. As Shulman's photographs were central to the house's restoration, they directly informed decisions as to what, from the as found, derelict house was preserved, what was restored and what was changed. The history of the modern house through its media is what we remember and what we celebrate. This filtered framing informs how one begins to shift an understanding of the Grace Miller House as more than a place to stay on holiday but instead as somewhere that is on display, like an artefact in a museum. It sits between a house and museum.

This tension between the design of a house and its image, between house and museum is further understood in the tension between the original and the additions, both technological appliances and physical architectural elements. Whilst the house has generally been restored to be a reflection of its original, a few changes have been made.

Behind the house, Meyler revealed that what was the garage is now the heart of the home's twenty-first century existence, a domestic machine room complete with appliances that were not common in the 1930s but today are viewed as essential in most homes—a washing machine and dryer, refrigerator and dishwasher as well as a television and couch. The backstage of the house is carefully placed out of sight, hidden from the sympathetic restoration of the original living rooms. It is somewhat apt that the original garage, the space for the car is now the home to the latest domestic technology. Meyler explained that after the first stage of restorations was complete, the house was designated as an historic site. However, this meant that she no longer had the freedom to make any changes that she wished, and the garage filled with 21st century appliances was considered inappropriate. Raymond Neutra, the third son of Richard and Dione, wrote a letter to approve the transformation of the garage, stating that Richard Neutra would have agreed it was appropriate. It was subsequently approved. As the house is still to be lived in, it must for the twenty-first century inhabitant and the garage reminds us that the house is not an artefact but indeed a functioning house.

In addition to the small changes, as mentioned the guest house available on Airbnb was completed in 2007. The apartment was designed initially for Miller in 1938 after she requested another room for one of her sons. However, Miller left Palm Springs in the late 1940s, and it was never built. Miller wrote in a letter to MoMA in 1938 discussing the house. "If I were to build again, I wouldn't change anything, except to build another room, which, in the original plan we imagined as a future necessity. To this end an addition is being made this summer… a guest room that is a guest apartment… a unit complete in itself, planned to be built at right angles to and utilising part of the existing south garage wall. Plans and specifications for this are being made now."[35] Using the plans of this guest room, which were not built at the time, Meyler constructed the guest apartment on the property. The apartment is built to the design of the final iteration of Neutra.[36]

Discussing her purchase of the house, Catherine Meyler said that despite the dilapidated state, she thought that the Grace Miller House was meant to be hers. She explained that like Miller, she was also a single woman and at the time she bought it was a similar age to Miller when it was first built. In some way, she said, it's like Neutra designed it for her. For Meyler, past and present collapse in the house.
In becoming an Airbnb, the Grace Miller House, well at least the guest room, has been opened for the public to experience physically. In this transition of becoming an Airbnb, both the restoration and promotion of the house has required its image and the image of Palm Springs, past and present to come to the forefront. The historical image has influenced its restoration, and through the digital image, the wider public comes to understand something of the place. The physical experience of the house is reliant on its image, both historical and digital. The multi-layered image of the Grace Miller House is of the past but at the same time, entirely contemporary.

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[1] Alice T. Friedman, "Palm Springs Eternal," in *American glamour and the evolution of modern architecture* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2010), 93.
[2] Stephen Leet, *Richard Neutra's Miller House* (New York, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), 20.
[3] "City Profile," City of Palm Springs, CA, accessed December 2019, https://www.palmspringsca.gov/business/city-profile.
[4] Since the Global Financial Crisis in 2008, the sharing economy has exploded through digital platforms as is exemplified in companies such as Airbnb. With less production, a shift in consumption to involve the utilisation of existing stock, including

property introduced a change in how economic value is created and distributed. Jacqui Alexander states in 'Domesticity On-Demand: The Architectural and Urban Implications of Airbnb in Melbourne, Australia', Urban Science. 2. 88, (2018) that Airbnb is a clear example of " 'collaborative consumption': a system set up to extract the latent value of assets (in this case, housing) through short-term leasing or 'sharing.'"

[5] "Airbnb Newsroom," Airbnb, accessed December 2019, https://news.airbnb.com/about-us/.

[6] The current regulations are available to view on the Palm Springs Council website but also considerable reporting has been done on the reception of the laws and their introduction in the community as is evident in the Desert Sun and the LA Times. "Vacation Rentals", City of Palm Springs, CA, accessed December 2019,

https://www.palmspringsca.gov/government/departments/vacation-rentals.

"Voters Choose Sides in Palm Springs short term rental war" https://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-palm-springs-rentals-20180601-story.html.

"Citations are down at Palm Springs vacation rentals as neighborhoods adjust to tourists"

https://www.desertsun.com/story/news/2019/11/18/palm-springs-vacation-rental-citations-down/2577816001/.

[7] Average Airbnb price per night in Palm Springs is $464AUD. The average night for anywhere in the world is $108AUD. (based on Airbnb website "Stays", Airbnb, accessed February 2020,

https://www.airbnb.com.au/s/homes?refinement_paths%5B%5D=%2Fhomes&search_type=section_navigation)

[8] Reyner Banham, *A Concrete Atlantis: US Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture, 1900-1925* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986).

[9] Adolf Loos, "Regarding Economy," (1924), *Raumplan versus Plan Libre: Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier,* trans. F.R. Jones, ed. M Risselada (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers): 173-177.

[10] Charles Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity* (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2007).

[11] Beatriz Colomina, "Introduction" *Architecture Reproduction,* (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, c1988).

[12] From Archives – letter to MoMA, UCLA Special Collections, accessed July 2019.

[13] Friedman, "Palm Springs Eternal," 77.

[14] Sylvia Lavin, *Form Follows Libido* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005), 35.

[15] Lavin, *Form Follows Libido,* 35.

[16] Lavin, *Form Follows Libido,* 35.

[17] Lavin, *Form Follows Libido,* 35.

[18] "Locations," Meyler and Company, accessed December 2019, https://meyler.locations.org/.

[19] This was discussed in conversation with Meyler at the house in July, 2019.

[20] Ziva Frieman, "Back to Neutra", *Progressive Architecture*, (November 1995).

[21] David Hay, "A Modernist Masterpiece in the Desert, is Reborn", *Architectural Record* 187, no.9 (September 1999).

[22] Hay, "A Modernist Masterpiece in the Desert, is Reborn."

[23] My experience from visiting there in July 2019.

[24] "The Firm," Neutra Institute for Survival Through Design. Accessed December 2019, https://neutra.org/.

[25] Mark Rozzo, "Architect Dion Neutra, who fought to save his father's iconic buildings, dies," *Los Angeles Times*, accessed December 2019, https://www.latimes.com/obituaries/story/2019-11-25/dion-neutra-architect-dead.

[26] Conversation with Meyler, Palm Springs, July 2019.

[27] Frieman, "Back to Neutra."

[28] Stephen Leet, *Richard Neutra's Miller House*.

[29] Shulman photographed the house on four occasions in 1937,1938,1940 and finally 1941.

[30] Leet, *Richard Neutra's Miller House*, 146.

[31] Leet, *Richard Neutra's Miller House*, 147.

[32] Leet, *Richard Neutra's Miller House,* 147.

[33] Alice T. Friedman, *Women and the Making of the Modern House: A Social and Architectural History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 15.

[34] Friedman, *Women and the Making of the Modern House*, 28.

[35] Grace Lewis Miller notes on the Miller House 26 October 1967.

[36] As evidenced in the drawings at the UCLA Neutra archive.

Conclusion

On a Saturday morning in mid-July last year, I sat inside at a Palm Springs cafe, waiting for both my iced coffee and the time to inch closer to 10am, the agreed hour that I would meet with Catherine Meyler at her house down the road. Despite the morning hour, the desert heat was already quite intense and so whilst the cafe's tables were full of other customers taking respite in the air conditioning, the streets themselves were bare. This was to be the final house I visited on the month-long trip that took me from Helensburgh, Scotland, to Paris, to Los Angeles and finally to Palm Springs (a trip that seems unimaginable now in a time of travel bans, quarantine, lockdown, and social distancing). Each of the other house visits had occurred in the mode through which any other member of the public would have experienced them but with the Grace Miller House, Meyler had agreed to meet with me on site and recount the years she has spent literally reconstructing the once derelict building, the garden, and the guest room (which is now available on Airbnb). And so, whilst this private meeting with the owner was profoundly different from my trips to the other houses, it also reminded me of how distinct they each were to visit. Through the individual moment of intervention that enabled their conversion, each house has had a unique transformation to a space of display which subsequently shaped their current exhibition.

Whilst the various paths through which a house can become a museum and the various moments of this transition are represented in the case studies, the thesis identifies four distinct types of contemporary domestic museums. These four types, whilst having some overlap, each approach the exhibition of the modern domestic interior in a particular way. With very scant literature on the modern house museum itself, the findings of this thesis present a framing for considering its development. It is the framing of these modern house museums into four contemporary types of display that could be further expanded and developed by future scholars.

To summarise the four types, the first can be defined as the house becoming an artefact and the museum being built around it. This is evidenced in the case study of the Hill House where the chainmail mesh box encloses the entire house both protecting but also providing a new form of display for the visitor. In this

example, the house's process of its restoration is depicted as spectacle. This type is particularly unique, however examples of a variation of this type, where the house enters the museum includes Jean Prouvé's Maison Tropicale (1953) which was previously located at the Centre Pompidou or where the house is enclosed by another structure includes Mies van der Rohe's Haus Lange (1928) which became the centrepiece of a Haus Rucker inflatable titled 'Cover' in 1971.[1]

The second type is the house as a display case for the contained interior which then goes on show and can be discerned in the case study of the Eames House. Understanding the house as a display case heightens the tension between interior and exterior and also confirms the interior's museumification. Whilst the extreme separation between interior and exterior access is unique to the Eames House, Mies van der Rohe's Farnsworth House (1945-51) operates in a comparable manner where you can access the exterior and grounds of the house at a cheaper price than a ticket for the interior tour.

The case study of the Maison de Verre exemplifies the third type which can be defined as when the occupants invite you to see how they experience the house, through a tour. The tour of the Maison de Verre is a carefully constructed mediation of the house for the visitor. It performs its historical role as a means of education and supports the idea that the house cannot be understood as a private home alone. The tour informs the legibility of the house, exposing the construction of the house's history and the complexities of its present condition as a home. Other houses that could be categorised within this type include Frank Lloyd Wright's Kentuck Knob (1953-56) which has been owned by Lord Peter Palumbo since 1986, the Sheats Goldstein House (1961-63) designed by John Lautner which is owned by James Goldstein and open for tours for architecture students and architects and Richard Neutra's VDL House (1932) which is not privately owned but was bequeathed by Dione Neutra to California State Polytechnic University at Pomona in 1990. Like the Maison de Verre it is opened weekly for tours whilst also being a home for members of the faculty of the university.[2]

And finally, the fourth type occurs when you can pay to experience living in the house, as can be seen in the example of the Grace Miller House. As discussed, since 2019 the guest house has been available for

holiday rental on Airbnb. Houses such as this, whilst not categorically museums, still deal with the display of modern domesticity which, for a price, the public can experience much more intimately than a guided tour. Other houses that could be grouped within this type include Jorn Utzon's Can Lis (1971) or Bruno Taut's home (1930) in Berlin, that is described on its website as a 'Rentable Museum'.[3]

Given the increase in the number of modern houses being converted to museums in recent years, alongside the continued rise in demand to theorise the modern domestic interior through anthologies, this seems like an appropriate time to be assessing the development of the modern house museum. The first part of the thesis found a field in flux. With the growing number of anthologies highlighting the desire to solidify the study of interiors, the distinct nature of the two traditions discussed, instead suggested ample space between their inconsistencies to continue to develop and redefine the field.

To return to the framing of types of house museums presented in the thesis, in likening the anthology to the house museum, as both modes of collection and curation, the thesis offers a way of considering this new typology. The four types of house museums identified, exhibit the histories of the houses in four different ways. And if we are to take the position that the museum like the anthology plays a role in defining the field, these four typologies become important not only for understanding the modern domestic interior historically, but also for considering the role of the exhibition of domesticity in providing a contemporary topology of the discipline. Considering the house museum with the same value of contributing, shifting, and challenging the ideas of modern domesticity that have structured the field, it is clear that it is not only the content that is being shared in these houses but the techniques and strategies of making the houses public are of value here.

In addition to the definition of four types of contemporary house museums, another finding of this thesis has been the revelations of emerging notions of contemporary domesticity. As identified in each of the chapters, the reconstructions of these modern houses as spaces of display, can be linked to the historiography of the modern domestic interior. However, their reconstruction also reveals notions how domesticity is considered, framed, and constructed today.

In addition to the primary interventions that define the four types, there are secondary phenomena in each house museum that similarly contribute to the transformation and commodification of these domestic spaces as they went 'on show'. The analysis of these house museums suggests notions of both contemporary museum practice and domestic space. As these houses have gone on show, they represent and have relationships with domesticity. This is particularly evident in the two examples that are both still partially lived in, the Maison de Verre (Tour) and the Grace Miller House (Airbnb). In these two examples, through the house's transition to becoming a museum, the house has been commodified either via the privately run tours that students pay to enter the house or through the entering of the commercial enterprise of Airbnb into the home. And despite this seeming intrinsically linked to the physical 'making public' of these houses, these relationships could be expanded to involve contemporary notions of domesticity more generally. (House tours are common via real estate videos, television shows or design blogs and it is becoming more prevalent to find your neighbour's house is also a holiday rental.) This lens offers a way to consider the conditions of these house museums conversion as architectural intervention strategies in today's city. Like the four types, these ideas too could be further developed by future scholars.

Returning home after visiting each of the house museums, I was left to contemplate what I had experienced, to consider my observations in line with the research I had undertaken on the houses. Whilst the framing of the four types through their interventions was evident in my general research, what became more clear once on site, was the way these interventions entirely determined the experience of the museums. From the most obvious and physical ones like the Hill House's Box and the construction of the guest room at the Grace Miller House, to the less pronounced, like the museumification of the interior contents at the Eames House and the entering of the Maison de Verre into a private collection, it was difficult to absorb anything about these spaces without these interventions overhanging every observation. And whilst the interventions themselves are unique to these house museums and occurred due to particular circumstances, they have led to the definition of the four types. I argue that it is these four types that suggest a framework for considering the conservation and exhibition of the modern domestic interior in the contemporary context and into the future. In grouping the houses into types, we

begin to see the different approaches to domestic displays and can make links to broader contemporary museological and social trends.

[1] "Haus-rücker-co. (*1967) 'cover' Installation Project, Museum Haus Lange, Krefeld, Germany 1971," Online Collection, Drawing Matter, last accessed 10 September, 2020, https://www.drawingmatter.org/index/haus-rucker-co-cover-installation-project-1971-dm-1971/.

[2] "VDL Today and Mission," About, Neutra VDL, last accessed 10 September, 2020, https://www.neutra-vdl.org/about/about-vdl.

[3] "Rentable Museum Apartment And Accommodation For Architecture Lovers," Tautes Heim, last accessed 10 September, 2020, http://www.tautes-heim.de/en/ferienhaus.php.

Figures

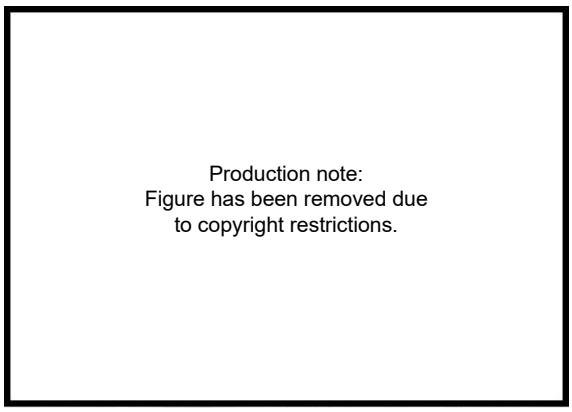


Figure 1. Charlotte Perriand, Model Modern Apartment, Salon d'Automne, 1929

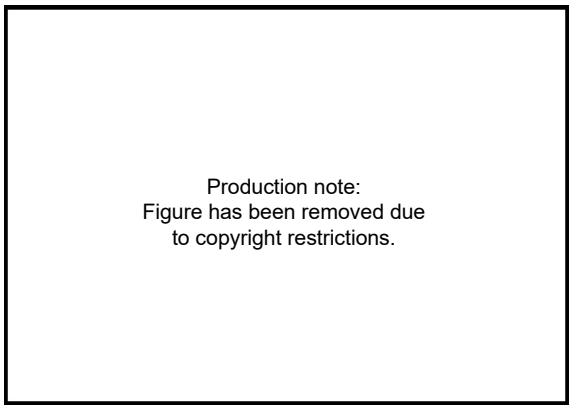


Figure 2. Lilly Reich, Apartment for a single person installation, The Dwelling in Our Time, 1931

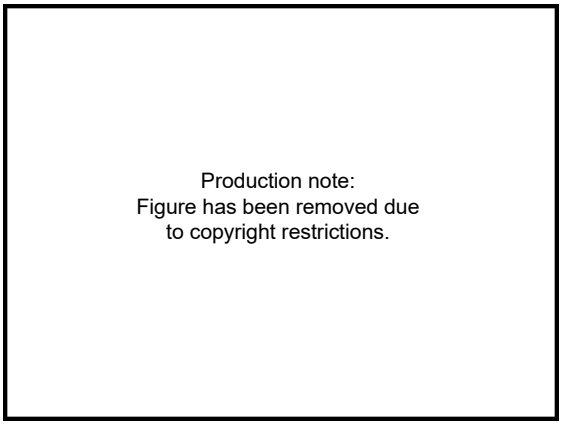


Figure 3. Luigi Figni and Gino Pollino, Ambiente di Soggiorno e Terraze, Milan Triennial, 1936

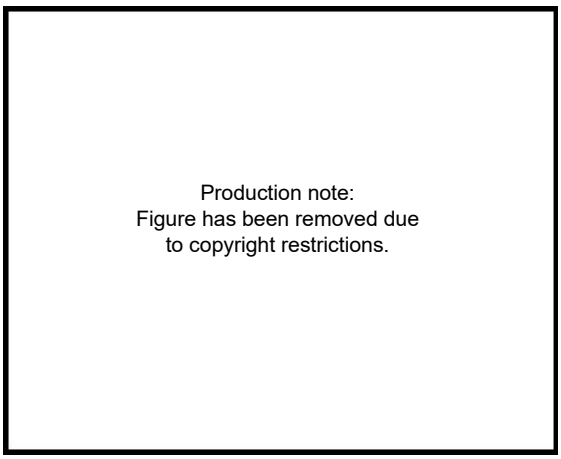


Figure 4. Buckminster Fuller, Dymaxion House, c1948-58

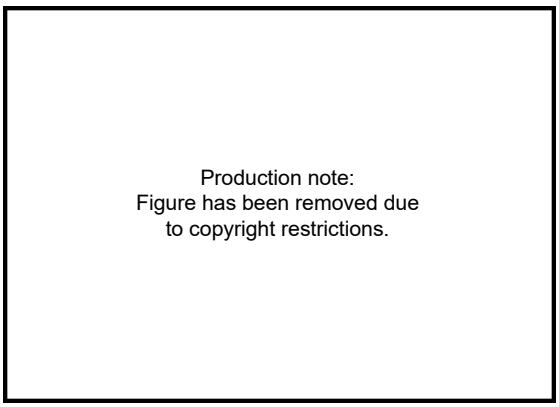


Figure 5. Alison and Peter Smithson, House of the Future, Daily Mail Home Exhibition, 1956

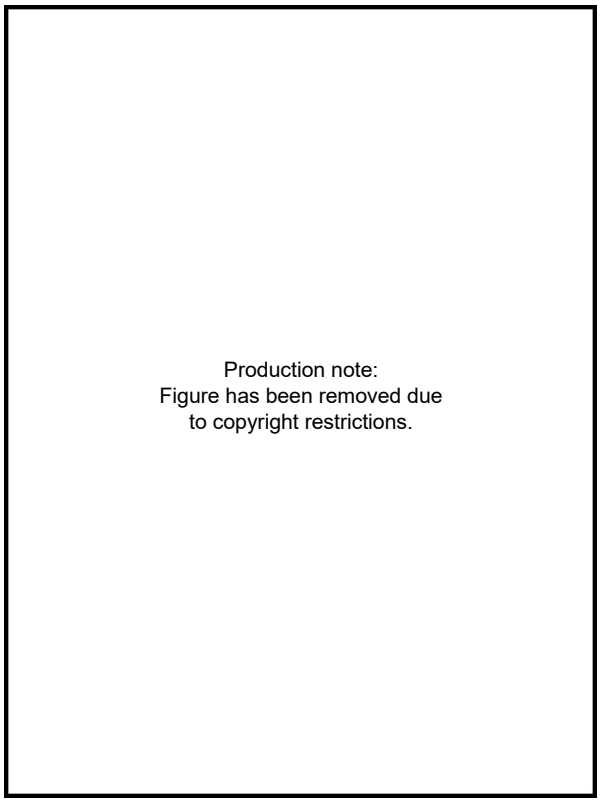


Figure 6. Daily Mail ‘Ideal Home’ exhibition, 1931

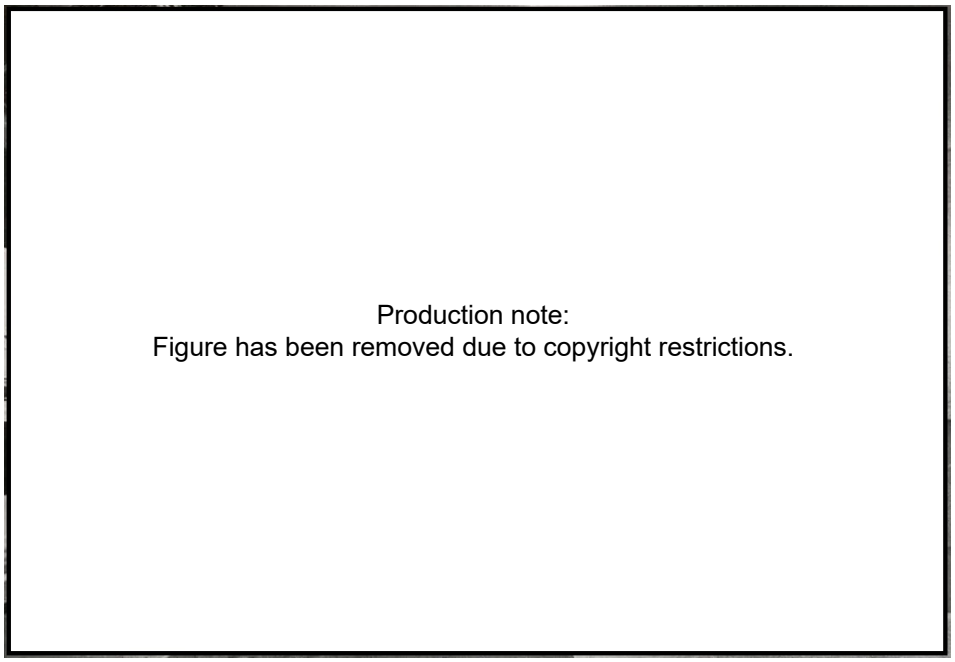


Figure 7. German contribution to the ‘Société des Artistes Décorateurs Français’ exhibition, 1930

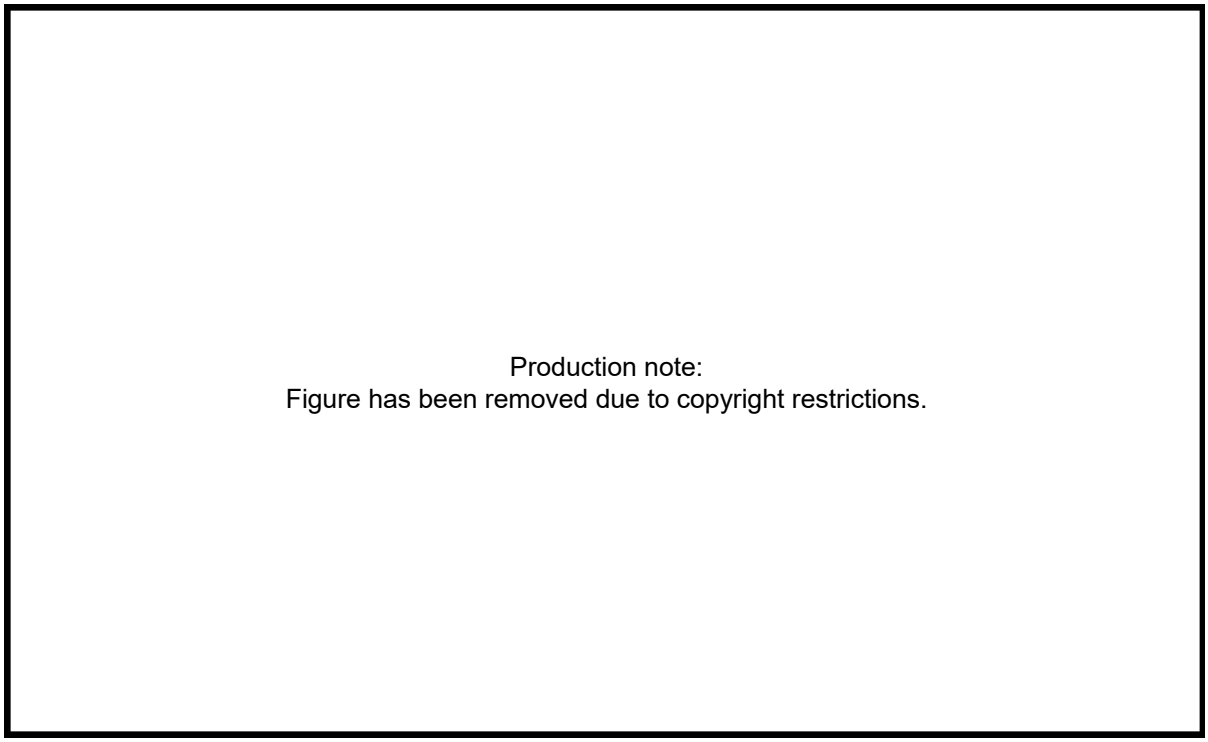
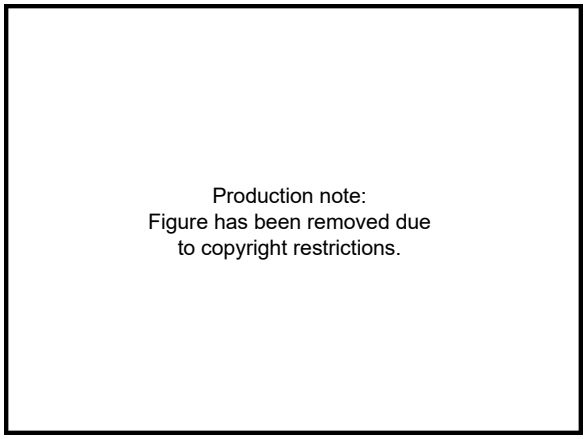
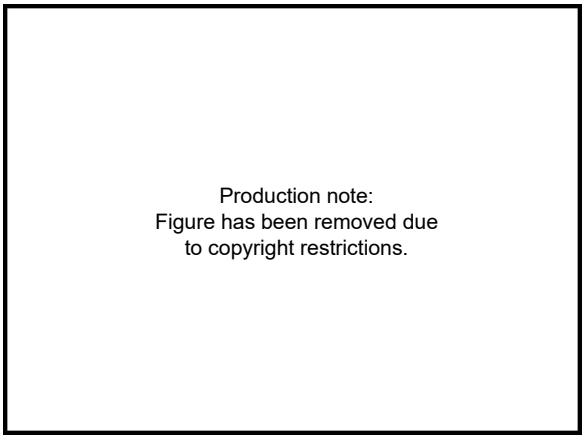
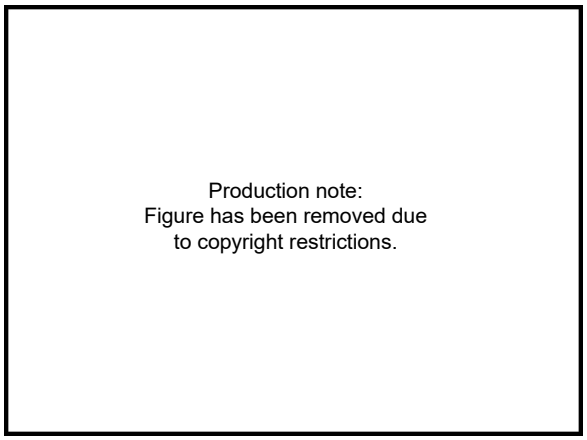
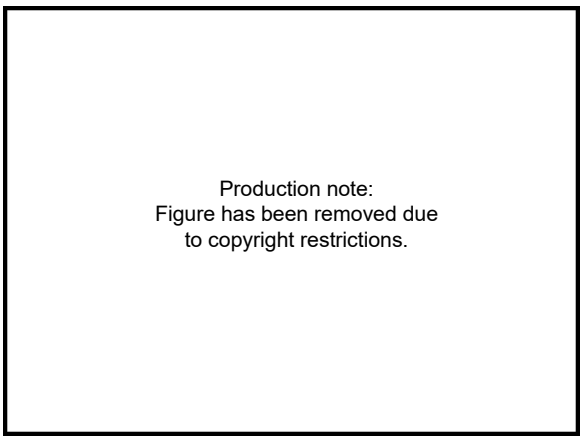


Figure 8. Furniture installation, Playboy Architecture 1953-75, Elmhurst Gallery, 2016









Figures 9., 10., 11., and 12. Stills from Architecture d’aujourd’hui by Pierre Chenal, 1930

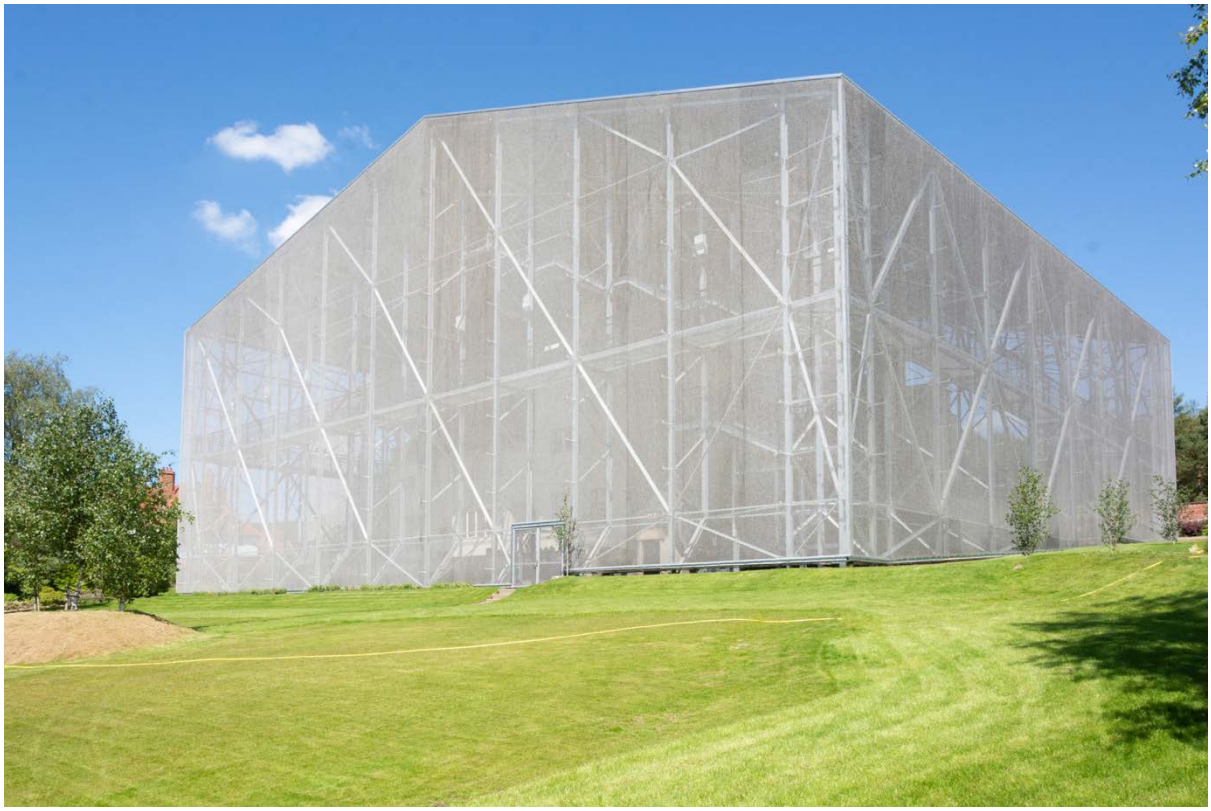


Figure 13. The view of the box from the front garden, 2019

Figure 14. Rendered view of the box from the front garden, published in 2017

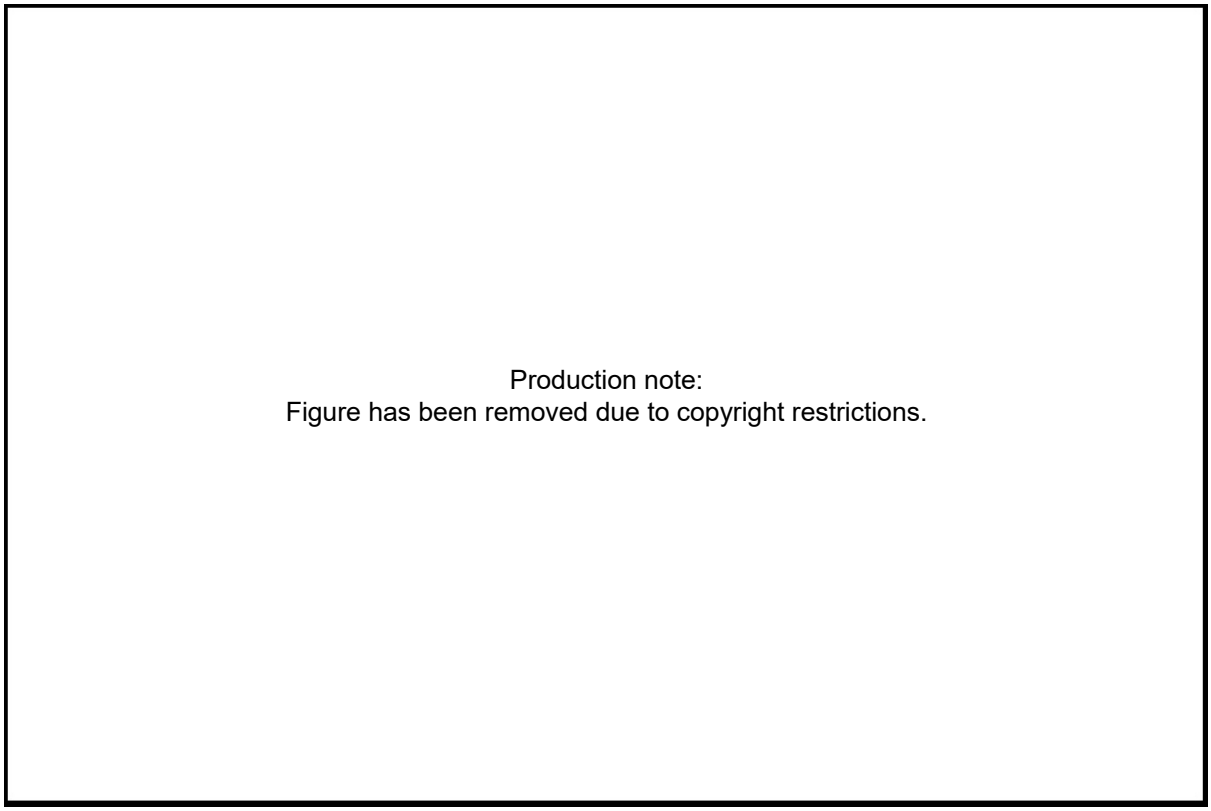


Figure 15. Blocks of the Temple of Dendur in storage in the Metropolitan Museum's North Parking Garage prior to conservation treatment, early 1970s

Figure 16. Looking across at visitors on the walkway, 2019

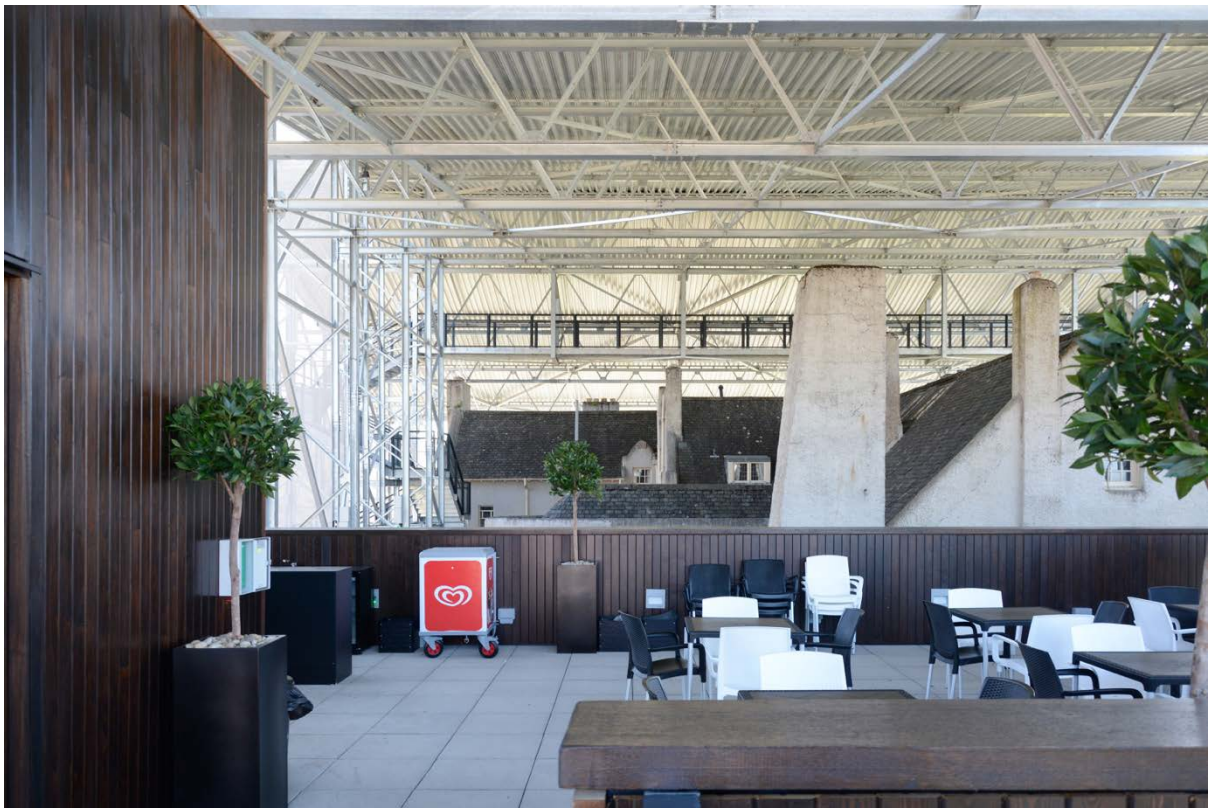


Figure 17. The roof of the house rises from behind the cafe courtyard, 2019

Figure 18. One of the walkways crosses over above the roof of the house, 2019

Figure 19. The walkway above the chimneys, 2019

Figure 20. A damp monitor among the kitchen utensils, 2019

Figure 21. The central courtyard where the postcards, games and toys to purchase are located, 2019

Figure 22. Looking onto the central courtyard where the A3 drawing set is presented, 2019

Figure 23. The reflection on the glass walls obscures the interior view, 2019

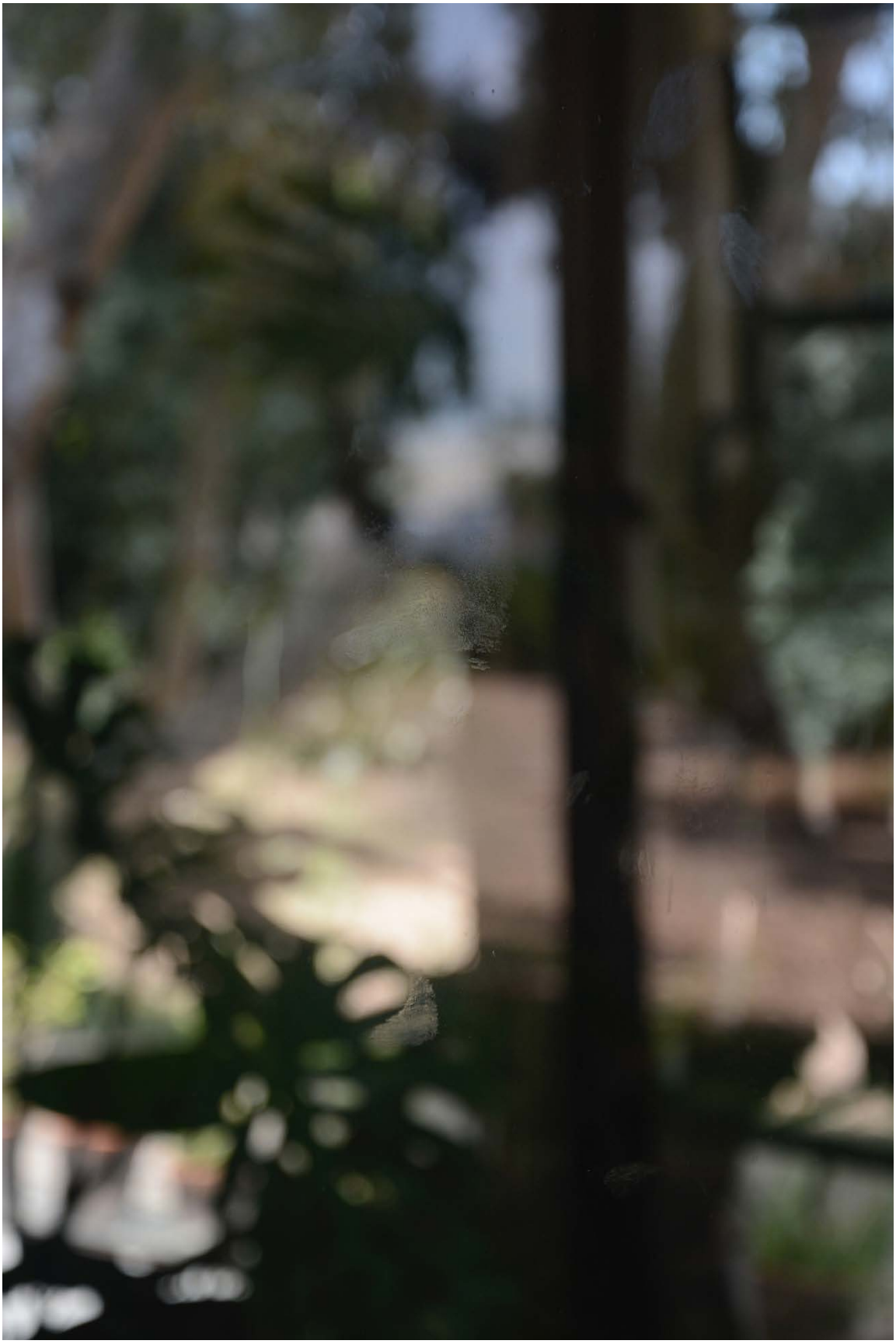


Figure 24. Finger prints left on the exterior walls from visitors pressing up against the glass, 2019

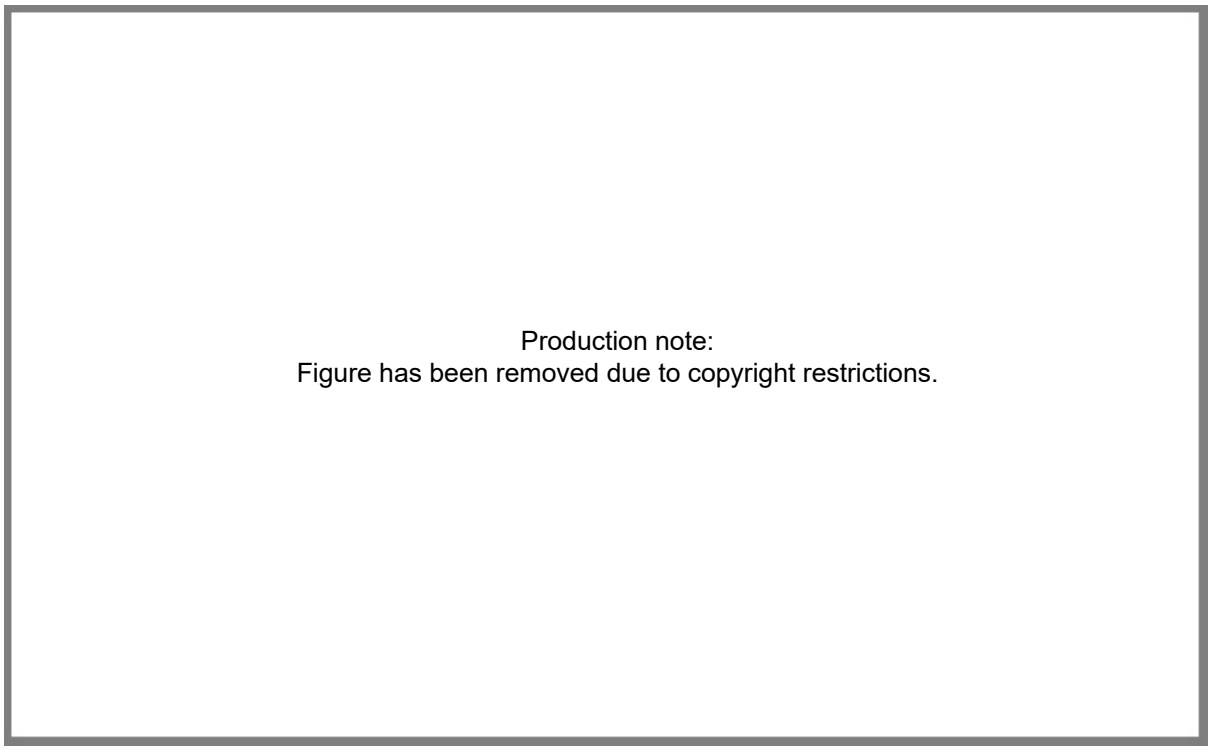


Figure 25. Eames House Installation at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art for ‘Living in a Modern Way’, 2011

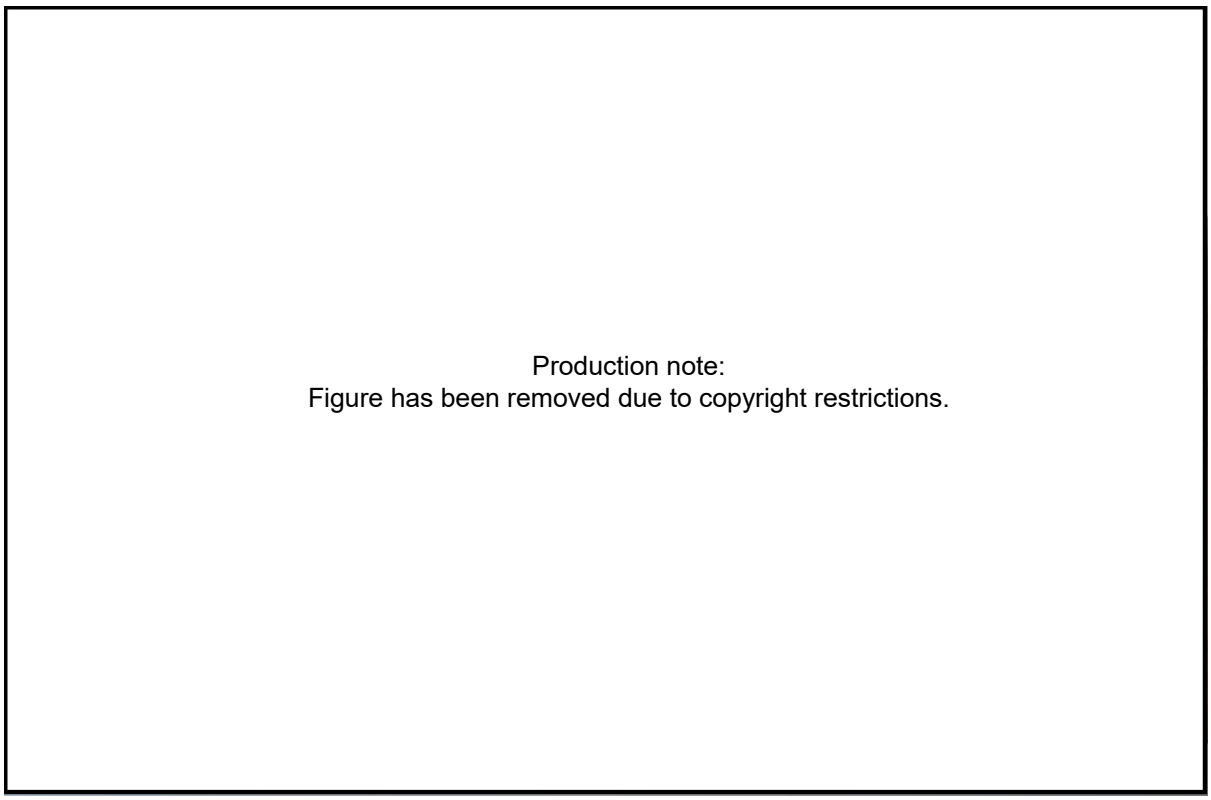


Figure 26. Eames House emptied, and floor tiles replaced, 2011

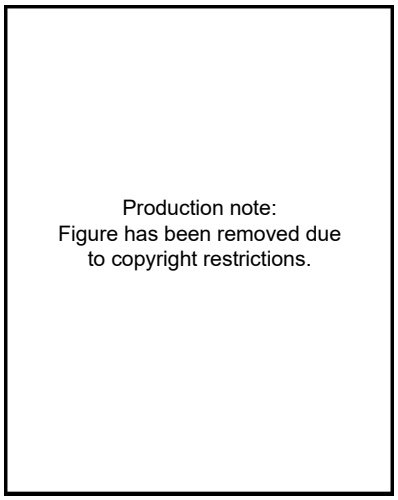


Figure 27. Eames Conservation Management Plan, 2019

Figure 28. Locations of sensors in living room from *Eames House Conservation Project: Investigations 2011 to 2016*

Figure 29. Locations of visible light and UV radiation measurements in living room from *Eames House Conservation Project: Investigations 2011 to 2016*

Figure 30. The facade from the courtyard, 2019

Figure 31. The docent, Andrew Ayers, in the courtyard, 2019

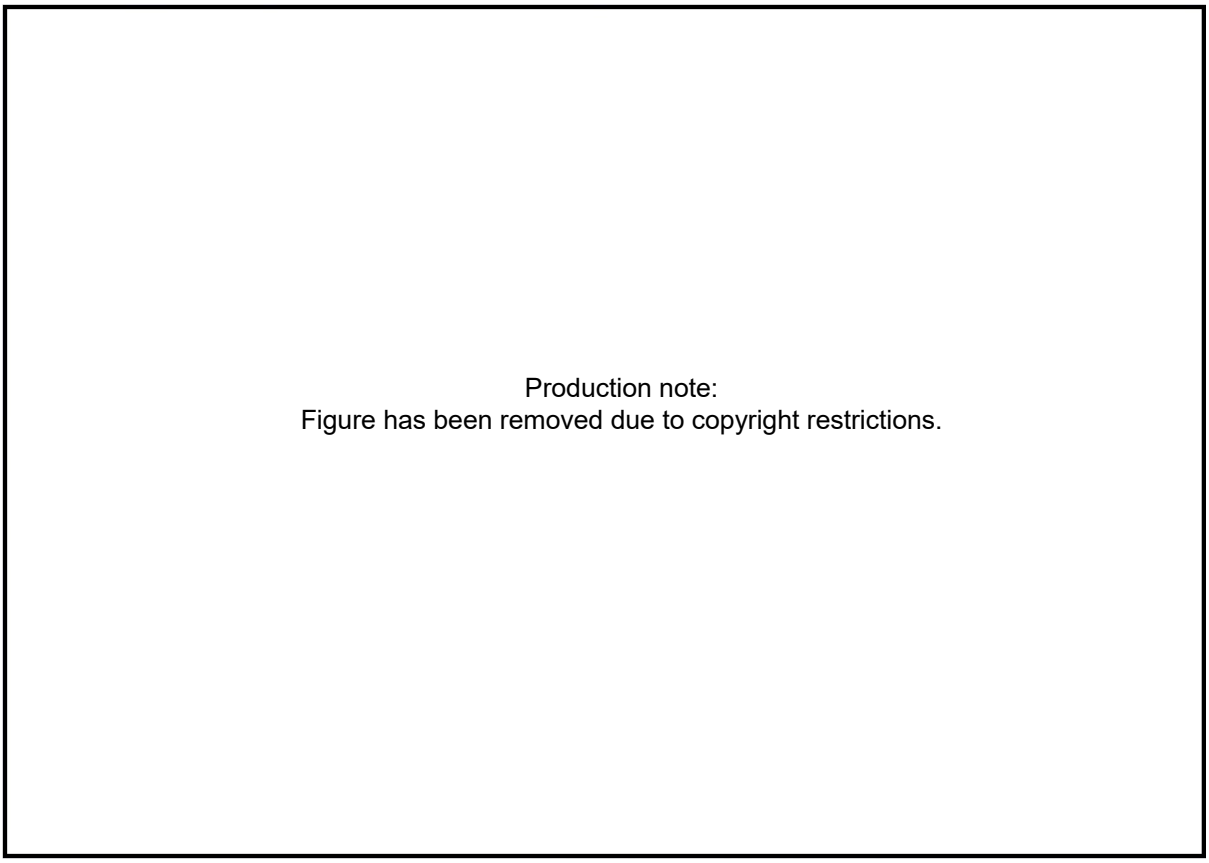


Figure 32. Measured sketch from Frampton, Carapatien and Vickery's site visit circa 1965

Figure 33. Still from Robert Vickery's 1970 Film

Figure 34. Still from Robert Vickery's 1970 Film

Figure 35. Still from Robert Vickery's 1970 Film

Figure 36. Still from Robert Vickery's 1970 Film

Figure 37. Still from Robert Vickery's 1970 Film

Figure 38. Still from Robert Vickery's 1970 Film

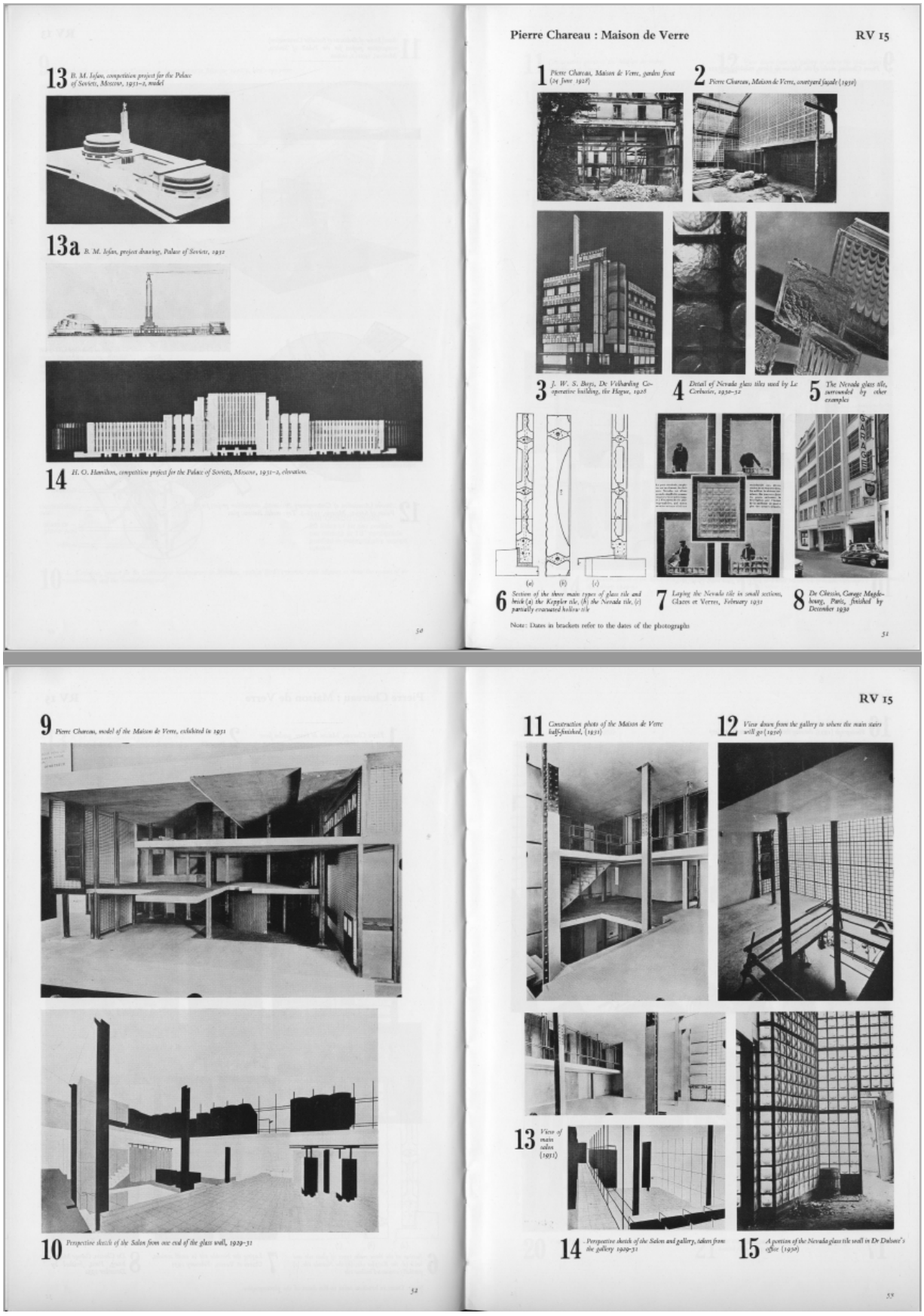


Figure 39. Pages from the A305 Radiovision booklet pages 51-53

Figure 40. Pages from the A305 Radiovision booklet pages 54-56

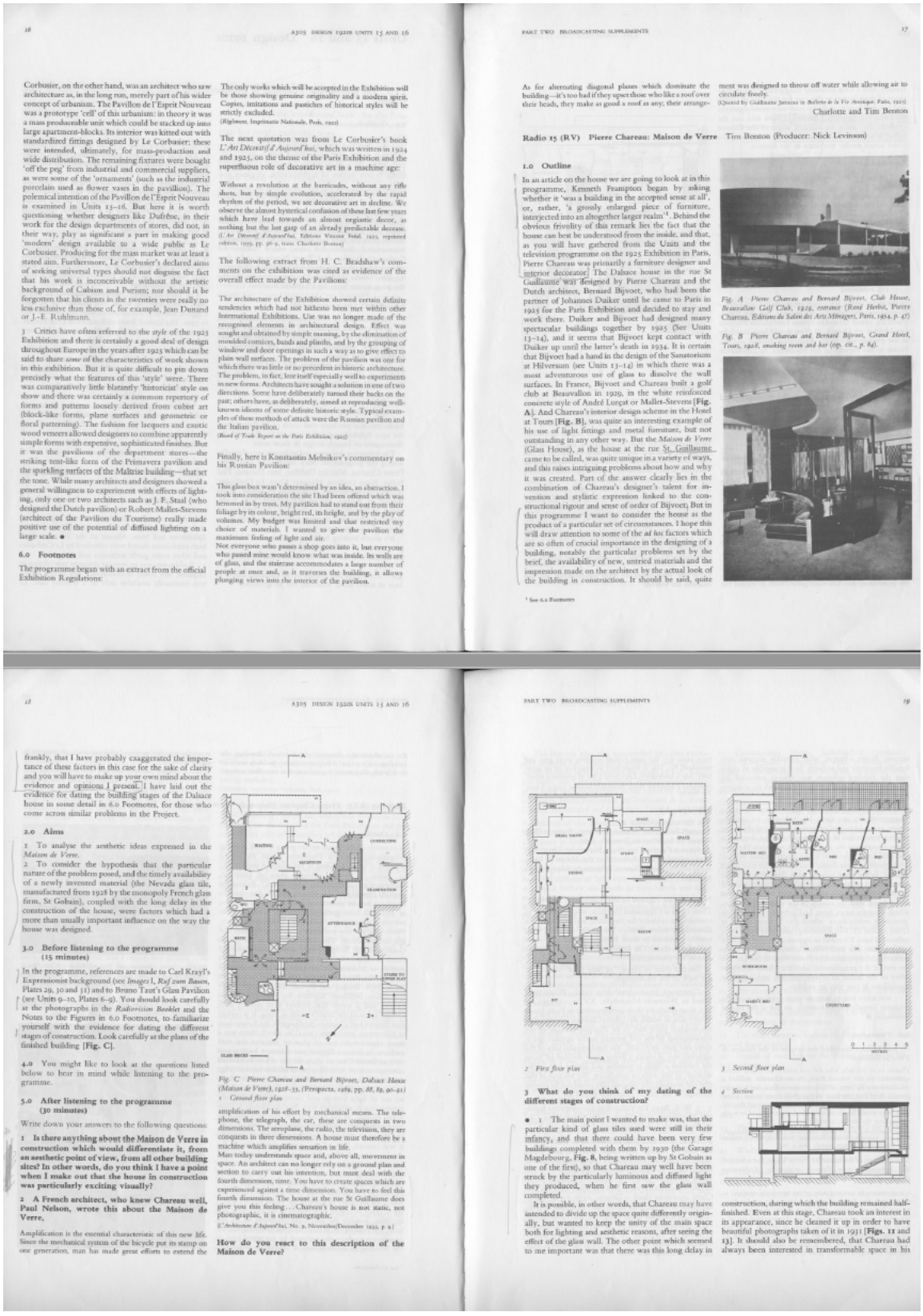
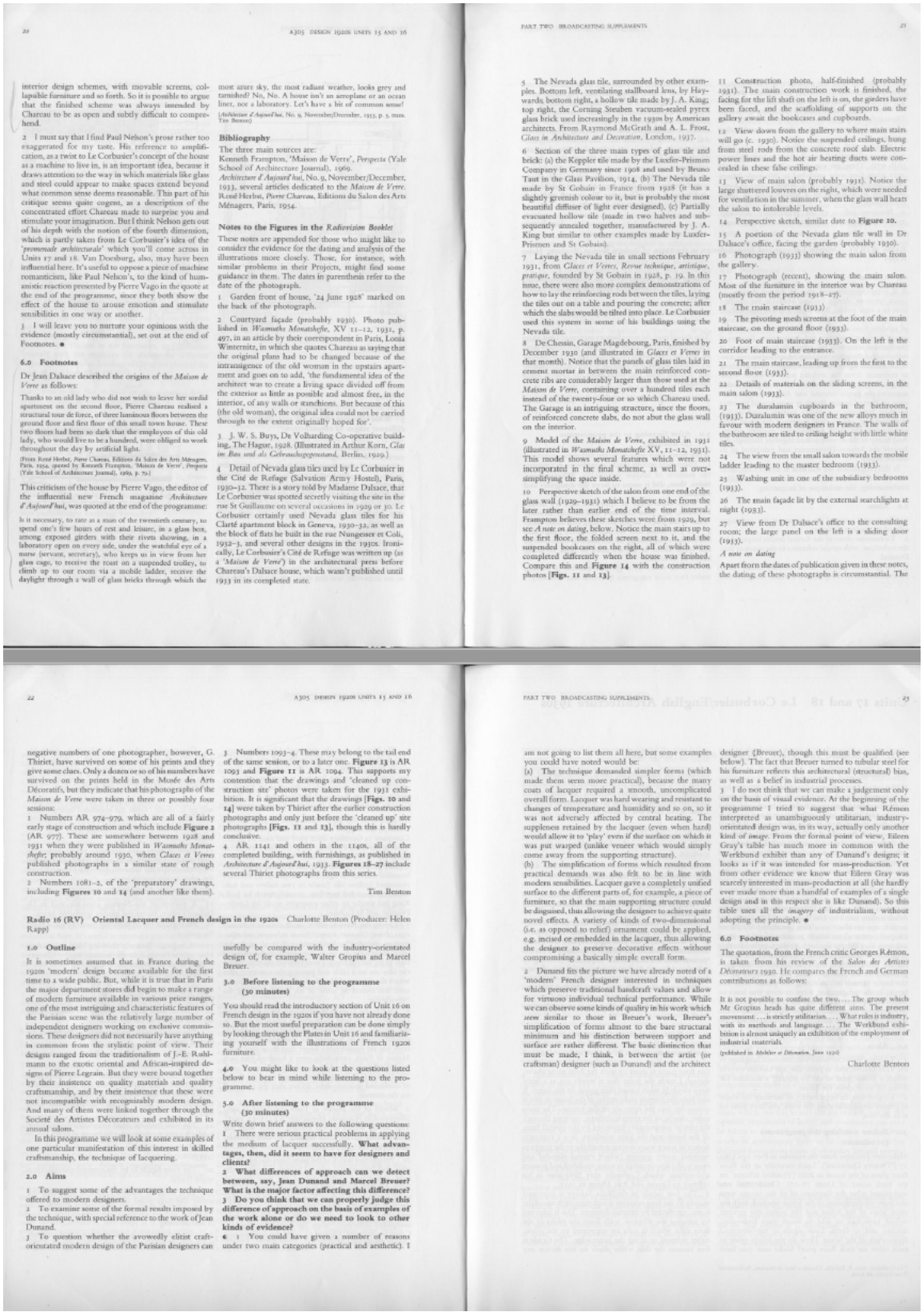


Figure 41. Pages from the A305 Broadcasting Supplement booklet pages 17-19



interior design schemes, with movable screens, collapsible furniture and so forth. So it is possible to argue that the finished scheme was always intended by Chareau to be as open and subtly difficult to comprehend.

2 I must say that I find Paul Nelson's prose rather too exaggerated for my taste. His reference to amplification, as a twist to Le Corbusier's concept of the house as a machine to live in, is an important idea, because it draws attention to the way in which materials like glass and steel could appear to make spaces extend beyond what common sense deems reasonable. This part of his critique seems quite cogent, as a description of the concentrated effort Chareau made to surprise you and stimulate your imagination. But I think Nelson gets out of his depth with the notion of the fourth dimension, which is partly taken from Le Corbusier's idea of the '*promenade architecturale*' which you'll come across in Units 17 and 18. Van Doesburg, also, may have been influential here. It's useful to oppose a piece of machine romanticism, like Paul Nelson's, to the kind of humanistic reaction presented by Pierre Vago in the quote at the end of the programme, since they both show the effect of the house to arouse emotion and stimulate sensibilities in one way or another.

3 I will leave you to nurture your opinions with the evidence (mostly circumstantial), set out at the end of Footnotes. ●

6.0 Footnotes

Dr Jean Dalsace described the origins of the *Maison de Verre* as follows:

> Thanks to an old lady who did not wish to leave her sordid apartment on the second floor, Pierre Chareau realised a structural tour de force, of three luminous floors between the ground floor and first floor of this small town house. These two floors had been so dark that the employees of this old lady, who would live to be a hundred, were obliged to work throughout the day by artificial light.
>
> (From René Herbst, *Pierre Chareau*, Editions du Salon des Arts Ménagers, Paris, 1954, quoted by Kenneth Frampton, 'Maison de Verre', *Perspecta* (Yale School of Architecture Journal), 1969, p. 79.)

This criticism of the house by Pierre Vago, the editor of the influential new French magazine *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, was quoted at the end of the programme:

> Is it necessary, to rate as a man of the twentieth century, to spend one's few hours of rest and leisure, in a glass box, among exposed girders with their rivets showing, in a laboratory open on every side, under the watchful eye of a nurse (servant, secretary), who keeps us in view from her glass cage, to receive the roast on a suspended trolley, to climb up to our room via a mobile ladder, receive the daylight through a wall of glass bricks through which the most azure sky, the most radiant weather, looks grey and tarnished? No, No. A house isn't an aeroplane or an ocean liner, nor a laboratory. Let's have a bit of common sense!
>
> (*Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, No. 9, November/December, 1933, p. 5, trans. Tim Benton)

Bibliography

The three main sources are:
Kenneth Frampton, 'Maison de Verre', *Perspecta* (Yale School of Architecture Journal), 1969.
Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, No. 9, November/December, 1933, several articles dedicated to the *Maison de Verre*.
René Herbst, *Pierre Chareau*, Editions du Salon des Arts Ménagers, Paris, 1954.

Notes to the Figures in the *Radiovision Booklet*

These notes are appended for those who might like to consider the evidence for the dating and analysis of the illustrations more closely. Those, for instance, with similar problems in their Projects, might find some guidance in them. The dates in parenthesis refer to the date of the photograph.

1 Garden front of house, '24 June 1928' marked on the back of the photograph.

2 Courtyard façade (probably 1930). Photo published in *Wasmuths Monatshefte*, XV 11–12, 1931, p. 497, in an article by their correspondent in Paris, Lonia Winternitz, in which she quotes Chareau as saying that the original plans had to be changed because of the intransigence of the old woman in the upstairs apartment and goes on to add, 'the fundamental idea of the architect was to create a living space divided off from the exterior as little as possible and almost free, in the interior, of any walls or stanchions. But because of this (the old woman), the original idea could not be carried through to the extent originally hoped for'.

3 J. W. S. Buys, De Volharding Co-operative building, The Hague, 1928. (Illustrated in Arthur Korn, *Glas im Bau und als Gebrauchsgegenstand*, Berlin, 1929.)

4 Detail of Nevada glass tiles used by Le Corbusier in the Cité de Refuge (Salvation Army Hostel), Paris, 1930–32. There is a story told by Madame Dalsace, that Le Corbusier was spotted secretly visiting the site in the rue St Guillaume on several occasions in 1929 or 30. Le Corbusier certainly used Nevada glass tiles for his Clarté apartment block in Geneva, 1930–32, as well as the block of flats he built in the rue Nungesser et Coli, 1932–3, and several other designs in the 1930s. Ironically, Le Corbusier's Cité de Refuge was written up (as a '*Maison de Verre*') in the architectural press before Chareau's Dalsace house, which wasn't published until 1933 in its completed state.

5 The Nevada glass tile, surrounded by other examples. Bottom left, ventilating stallboard lens, by Haywards; bottom right, a hollow tile made by J. A. King; top right, the Corning Steuben vacuum-sealed pyrex glass brick used increasingly in the 1930s by American architects. From Raymond McGrath and A. L. Frost, *Glass in Architecture and Decoration*, London, 1937.

6 Section of the three main types of glass tile and brick: (a) the Keppler tile made by the Luxfer-Prismen Company in Germany since 1908 and used by Bruno Taut in the Glass Pavilion, 1914, (b) The Nevada tile made by St Gobain in France from 1928 (it has a slightly greenish colour to it, but is probably the most beautiful diffuser of light ever designed), (c) Partially evacuated hollow tile (made in two halves and subsequently annealed together, manufactured by J. A. King but similar to other examples made by Luxfer-Prismen and St Gobain).

7 Laying the Nevada tile in small sections February 1931, from *Glaces et Verres, Revue technique, artistique, pratique*, founded by St Gobain in 1928, p. 19. In this issue, there were also more complex demonstrations of how to lay the reinforcing rods between the tiles, laying the tiles out on a table and pouring the concrete; after which the slabs would be tilted into place. Le Corbusier used this system in some of his buildings using the Nevada tile.

8 De Chessin, Garage Magdebourg, Paris, finished by December 1930 (and illustrated in *Glaces et Verres* in that month). Notice that the panels of glass tiles laid in cement mortar in between the main reinforced concrete ribs are considerably larger than those used at the *Maison de Verre*, containing over a hundred tiles each instead of the twenty-four or so which Chareau used. The Garage is an intriguing structure, since the floors, of reinforced concrete slabs, do not abut the glass wall on the interior.

9 Model of the *Maison de Verre*, exhibited in 1931 (illustrated in *Wasmuths Monatshefte* XV, 11–12, 1931). This model shows several features which were not incorporated in the final scheme, as well as oversimplifying the space inside.

10 Perspective sketch of the salon from one end of the glass wall (1929–1931) which I believe to be from the later rather than earlier end of the time interval. Frampton believes these sketches were from 1929, but see *A note on dating*, below. Notice the main stairs up to the first floor, the folded screen next to it, and the suspended bookcases on the right, all of which were completed differently when the house was finished. Compare this and **Figure 14** with the construction photos [**Figs. 11** and **13**].

11 Construction photo, half-finished (probably 1931). The main construction work is finished, the facing for the lift shaft on the left is on, the girders have been faced, and the scaffolding of supports on the gallery await the bookcases and cupboards.

12 View down from the gallery to where main stairs will go (c. 1930). Notice the suspended ceilings, hung from steel rods from the concrete roof slab. Electric power lines and the hot air heating ducts were concealed in these false ceilings.

13 View of main salon (probably 1931). Notice the large shuttered louvres on the right, which were needed for ventilation in the summer, when the glass wall heats the salon to intolerable levels.

14 Perspective sketch, similar date to **Figure 10.**

15 A portion of the Nevada glass tile wall in Dr Dalsace's office, facing the garden (probably 1930).

16 Photograph (1933) showing the main salon from the gallery.

17 Photograph (recent), showing the main salon. Most of the furniture in the interior was by Chareau (mostly from the period 1918–27).

18 The main staircase (1933).

19 The pivoting mesh screens at the foot of the main staircase, on the ground floor (1933).

20 Foot of main staircase (1933). On the left is the corridor leading to the entrance.

21 The main staircase, leading up from the first to the second floor (1933).

22 Details of materials on the sliding screens, in the main salon (1933).

23 The duralumin cupboards in the bathroom, (1933). Duralumin was one of the new alloys much in favour with modern designers in France. The walls of the bathroom are tiled to ceiling height with little white tiles.

24 The view from the small salon towards the mobile ladder leading to the master bedroom (1933).

25 Washing unit in one of the subsidiary bedrooms (1933).

26 The main façade lit by the external searchlights at night (1933).

27 View from Dr Dalsace's office to the consulting room; the large panel on the left is a sliding door (1933).

A note on dating

Apart from the dates of publication given in these notes, the dating of these photographs is circumstantial. The

negative numbers of one photographer, however, G. Thiriet, have survived on some of his prints and they give some clues. Only a dozen or so of his numbers have survived on the prints held in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, but they indicate that his photographs of the *Maison de Verre* were taken in three or possibly four sessions:

1 Numbers AR 974–979, which are all of a fairly early stage of construction and which include **Figure 2** (AR 977). These are somewhere between 1928 and 1931 when they were published in *Wasmuths Monatshefte*, probably around 1930, when *Glaces et Verres* published photographs in a similar state of rough construction.

2 Numbers 1081–2, of the 'preparatory' drawings, including **Figures 10** and **14** (and another like them).

3 Numbers 1093–4. These may belong to the tail end of the same session, or to a later one. **Figure 13** is AR 1093 and **Figure 11** is AR 1094. This supports my contention that the drawings and 'cleaned up construction site' photos were taken for the 1931 exhibition. It is significant that the drawings [**Figs. 10** and **14**] were taken by Thiriet after the earlier construction photographs and only just before the 'cleaned up' site photographs [**Figs. 11** and **13**], though this is hardly conclusive.

4 AR. 1141 and others in the 1140s, all of the completed building, with furnishings, as published in *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 1933. **Figures 18–27** include several Thiriet photographs from this series.

Tim Benton

Radio 16 (RV) Oriental Lacquer and French design in the 1920s Charlotte Benton (Producer: Helen Rapp)

1.0 Outline

It is sometimes assumed that in France during the 1920s 'modern' design became available for the first time to a wide public. But, while it is true that in Paris the major department stores did begin to make a range of modern furniture available in various price ranges, one of the most intriguing and characteristic features of the Parisian scene was the relatively large number of independent designers working on exclusive commissions. These designers did not necessarily have anything in common from the stylistic point of view. Their designs ranged from the traditionalism of J.-E. Ruhlmann to the exotic oriental and African-inspired designs of Pierre Legrain. But they were bound together by their insistence on quality materials and quality craftsmanship, and by their insistence that these were not incompatible with recognizably modern design. And many of them were linked together through the Société des Artistes Décorateurs and exhibited in its annual salons.

In this programme we will look at some examples of one particular manifestation of this interest in skilled craftsmanship, the technique of lacquering.

2.0 Aims

1 To suggest some of the advantages the technique offered to modern designers.

2 To examine some of the formal results imposed by the technique, with special reference to the work of Jean Dunand.

3 To question whether the avowedly elitist craft-orientated modern design of the Parisian designers can usefully be compared with the industry-orientated design of, for example, Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer.

3.0 Before listening to the programme (30 minutes)

You should read the introductory section of Unit 16 on French design in the 1920s if you have not already done so. But the most useful preparation can be done simply by looking through the Plates in Unit 16 and familiarizing yourself with the illustrations of French 1920s furniture.

4.0 You might like to look at the questions listed below to bear in mind while listening to the programme.

5.0 After listening to the programme (30 minutes)

Write down brief answers to the following questions:

1 There were serious practical problems in applying the medium of lacquer successfully. **What advantages, then, did it seem to have for designers and clients?**

2 **What differences of approach can we detect between, say, Jean Dunand and Marcel Breuer? What is the major factor affecting this difference?**

3 **Do you think that we can properly judge this difference of approach on the basis of examples of the work alone or do we need to look to other kinds of evidence?**

4 1 You could have given a number of reasons under two main categories (practical and aesthetic). I

am not going to list them all here, but some examples you could have noted would be:

(a) The technique demanded simpler forms (which made them seem more practical), because the many coats of lacquer required a smooth, uncomplicated overall form. Lacquer was hard wearing and resistant to changes of temperature and humidity and so on, so it was not adversely affected by central heating. The suppleness retained by the lacquer (even when hard) would allow it to 'play' even if the surface on which it was put warped (unlike veneer which would simply come away from the supporting structure).

(b) The simplification of forms which resulted from practical demands was also felt to be in line with modern sensibilities. Lacquer gave a completely unified surface to the different parts of, for example, a piece of furniture, so that the main supporting structure could be disguised, thus allowing the designer to achieve quite novel effects. A variety of kinds of two-dimensional (i.e. as opposed to relief) ornament could be applied, e.g. incised or embedded in the lacquer, thus allowing the designer to preserve decorative effects without compromising a basically simple overall form.

2 Dunand fits the picture we have already noted of a 'modern' French designer interested in techniques which preserve traditional handcraft values and allow for virtuoso individual technical performance. While we can observe some kinds of quality in his work which *seem* similar to those in Breuer's work, Breuer's simplification of forms almost to the bare structural minimum and his distinction between support and surface are rather different. The basic distinction that must be made, I think, is between the artist (or craftsman) designer (such as Dunand) and the architect designer (Breuer), though this must be qualified (see below). The fact that Breuer turned to tubular steel for his furniture reflects this architectural (structural) bias, as well as a belief in industrial processes.

3 I do not think that we can make a judgement only on the basis of visual evidence. At the beginning of the programme I tried to suggest that what Rémon interpreted as unambiguously utilitarian, industry-orientated design was, in its way, actually only another kind of *image*. From the formal point of view, Eileen Gray's table has much more in common with the Werkbund exhibit than any of Dunand's designs; it looks as if it was intended for mass-production. Yet from other evidence we know that Eileen Gray was scarcely interested in mass-production at all (she hardly ever made more than a handful of examples of a single design and in this respect she is like Dunand). So this table uses all the *imagery* of industrialism, without adopting the principle. ●

6.0 Footnotes

The quotation, from the French critic Georges Rémon, is taken from his review of the *Salon des Artistes Décorateurs* 1930. He compares the French and German contributions as follows:

> It is not possible to confuse the two. . . . The group which Mr Gropius heads has quite different aims. The present movement . . . is strictly utilitarian. . . . What rules is industry, with its methods and language. . . . The Werkbund exhibition is almost uniquely an exhibition of the employment of industrial materials.
>
> (published in *Mobilier et Décoration*, June 1930)

Charlotte Benton

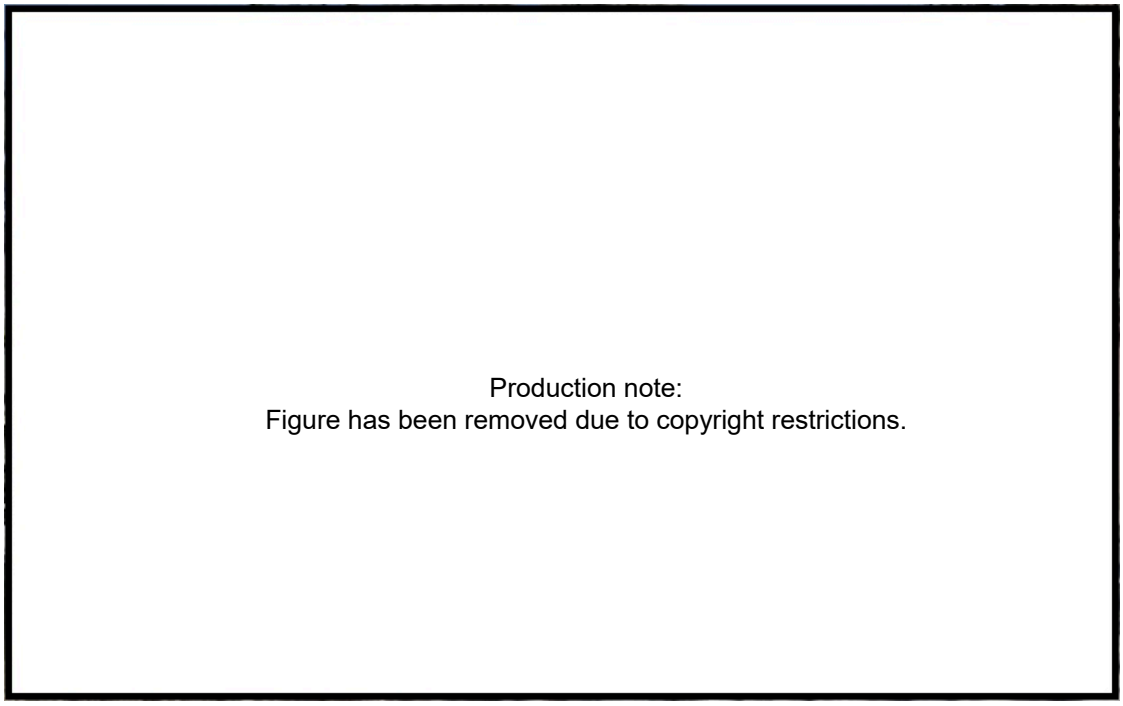


Figure 43. The state of the exterior of the Grace Miller House when Meyler first purchased, 2001

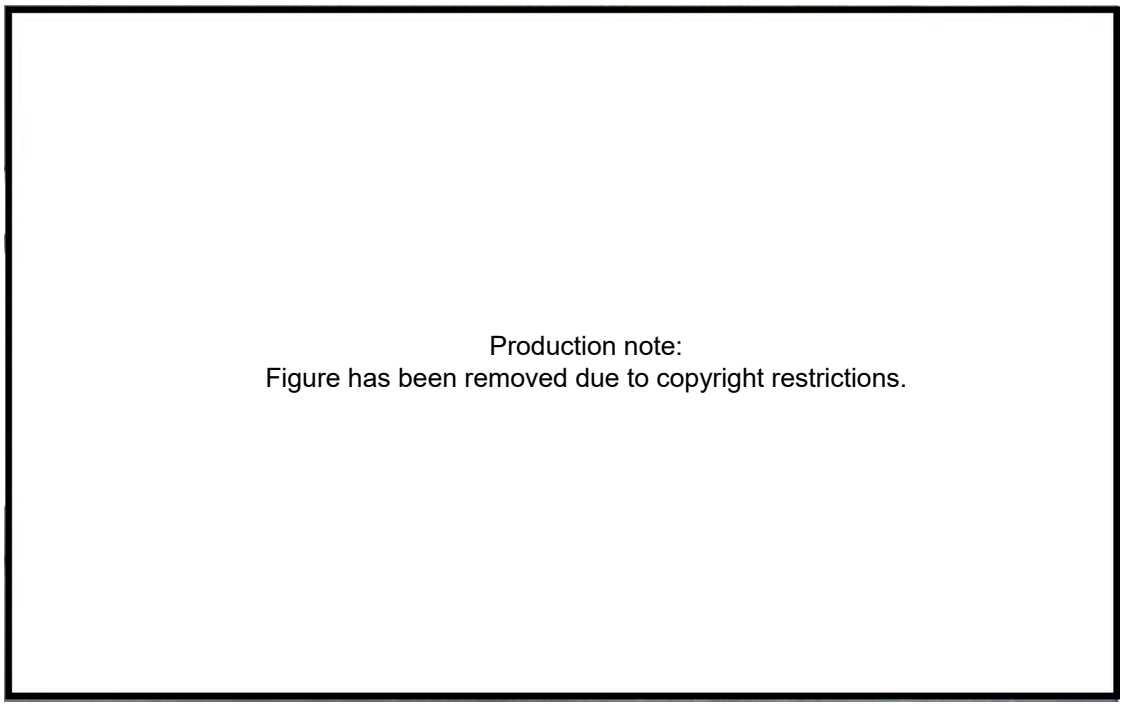


Figure 44. The state of the interior of the Grace Miller House when Meyler first purchased, 2001

Figure 45. Photographer Julius Shulman on site with owner Catherine Meyler, 2008

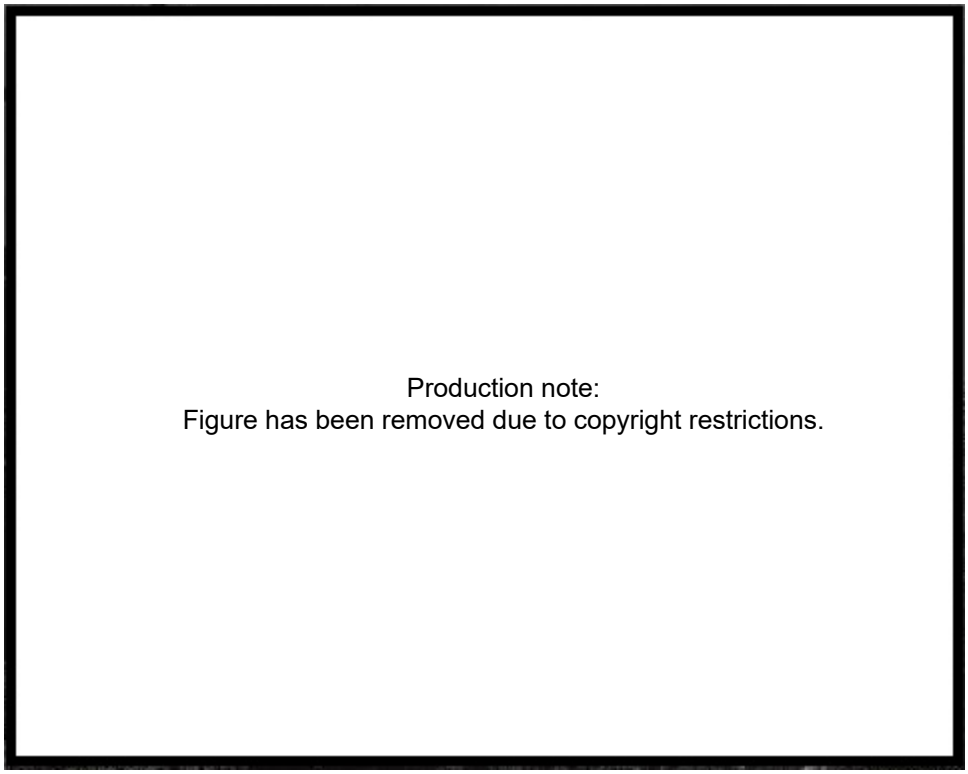


Figure 46. The Lovell Health House, Julius Shulman, circa 1929

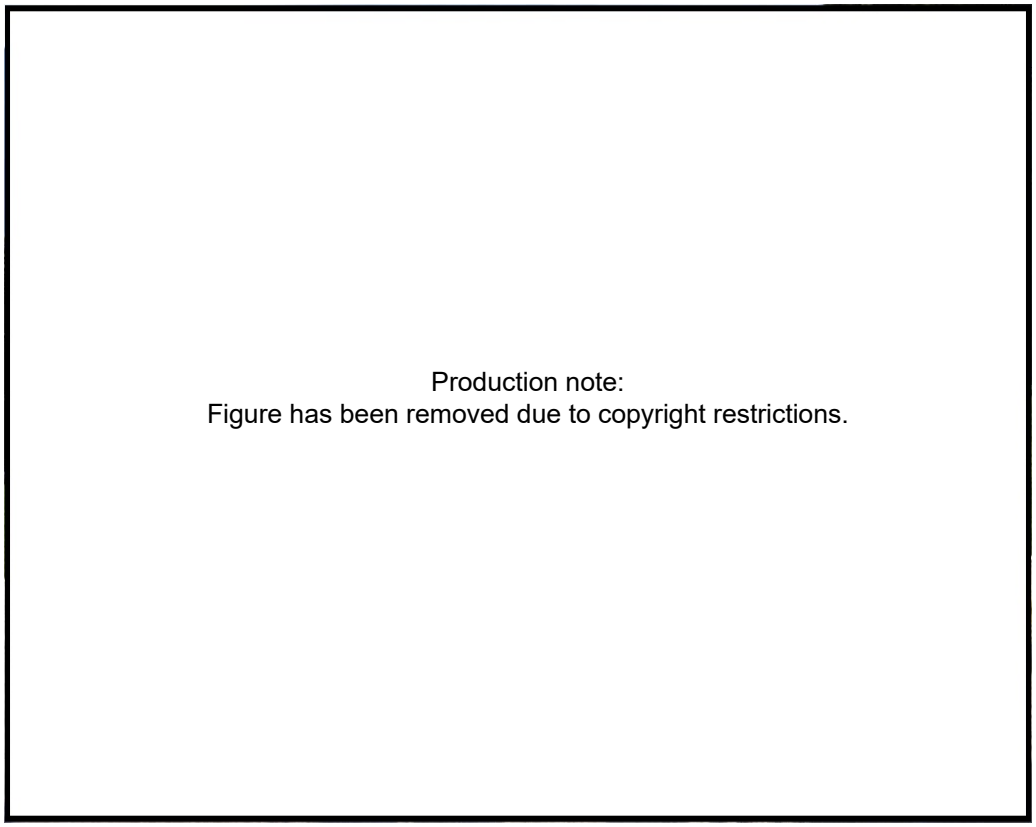


Figure 47. Kaufmann House, Julius Shulman, 1947

Figure 48. Looking into the living room, Grace Miller House, Julius Shulman, (scanned from Stephen Leet's Grace Miller House), 1937

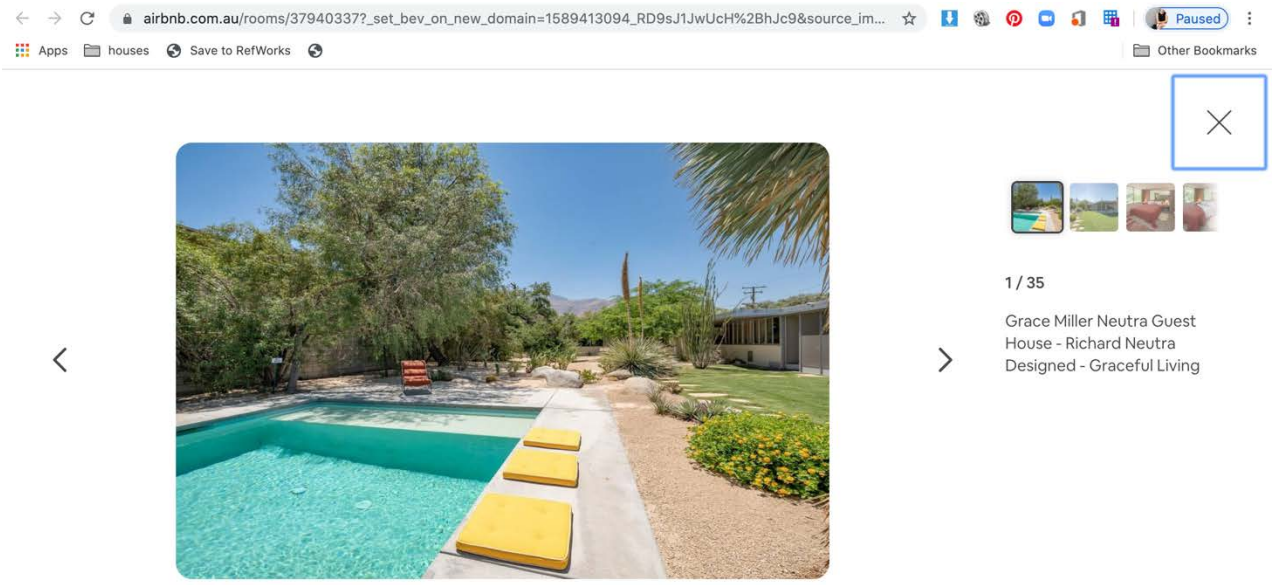


Figure 49. Airbnb Listing, Grace Miller House, 2020

Production note:
Figure has been removed due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 50. Poolside Glamour, Kaufmann House, Slim Aarons, 1970

Figure 51. Grace Miller House, July 2019

Figure 52. Grace Miller House, Julius Shulman, 1941

Figure References

Figures 13. , 16., 17., 18., 19., 20., 21., 22., 23., 24., 30., 31., and 51. were taken by the author in July 2019

Figure 1. Cieraad, Irene, Hans Teerds, and Jurjen Zeinstra, *DASH 11: Interiors on Display: A Representation of Good Living (Delft Architectural Studies on Housing),* Uitgevers: Nai010, 2015, 104

Figure 2. McQuaid, Matilda. *Lilly Reich: Designer and Architect* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1996), 34, above right

Figure 3. Cieraad, Irene, Hans Teerds, and Jurjen Zeinstra, *DASH 11: Interiors on Display: A Representation of Good Living (Delft Architectural Studies on Housing),* Uitgevers: Nai010, 2015, 108

Figure 4. Dymaxion House, Rose Hill, Kansas, between 1948-58, https://www.kshs.org/index.php?url=km/items/view/210100.

Figure 5. Unknown photographer, House of the Future, Daily Mail Ideal Homes Exhibition, London, England: interior view looking down from the viewing platform, March 1956 https://www.cca.qc.ca/en/search/details/collection/object/15366.

Figure 6. Aynsley, Jeremy and Charlotte Grant, *Imagined interiors: representing the domestic interior since the Renaissance*, London: V & A Publishing; New York: Distributed in North America by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2006, 210, fig. 8.19.

Figure 7. Aynsley, Jeremy and Charlotte Grant, *Imagined interiors: representing the domestic interior since the Renaissance*, London: V & A Publishing; New York: Distributed in North America by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2006, 209, fig. 8.18.

Figure 8. Photo: © James Prinz. “Review of Playboy Architecture 1953-1975,”*Architecture Review,* last accessed January 2021, https://www.architecturalrecord.com/articles/11718-review-of-playboy-architecture-1953-1979.

Figure 9., 10., 11., and 12. Chenel, Pierre. *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, documentary 1930

Figure 14. Carmody Groarke, *Hill House Box,* c2017, render, https://www.dezeen.com/2017/12/08/carmody-groarke-unveils-plans-build-transparent-shield-around-charles-rennie-mackintosh-hill-house-architecture/.

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Figure 25. Photo: © Lane Barden. "Under the California Sun Architecture Blossomed," *Architectural Record*, accessed September 2020 https://www.architecturalrecord.com/articles/6196-under-the-california-sun-architecture-blossomed.

Figure 26. Photo: Joshua White © Eames Office. Matarese, Laura, Chandler McCoy, and Gail Ostergren, eds. 2019. *Eames House Conservation Project: Investigations 2011 to 2016. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.* https://hdl.handle.net/10020/gci_pubs/eames_investigations.

Figure 27. Burke, Sheridan, Jyoti Somerville, Gail Ostergren, Laura Matarese, and Chandler McCoy. 2018. *Eames House Conservation Management Plan*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute. https://hdl.handle.net/10020/gci_pubs/eames_cmp

Figure 28. Matarese, Laura, Chandler McCoy, and Gail Ostergren, eds. 2019. *Eames House Conservation Project: Investigations 2011 to 2016. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.* https://hdl.handle.net/10020/gci_pubs/eames_investigations.

Figure 29. Matarese, Laura, Chandler McCoy, and Gail Ostergren, eds. 2019. *Eames House Conservation Project: Investigations 2011 to 2016. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.* https://hdl.handle.net/10020/gci_pubs/eames_investigations.

Figure 32. Sketches of screen in doctor's waiting room, Maison de Verre, Paris, France. https://www.cca.qc.ca/en/search/details/collection/object/493627

Figures 33., 34., 35., 36., 37., and 38. Vickery, Robert “La Maison de Verre,” AA School of Architecture, Youtube, last modified October 15, 2015 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=04tX-qO1x20.

Figure 39. and 40. The Open University, *A305 Radiovision booklet,* Great Britain: The Open University Press, 1975

Figure 41. and 42. The Open University, *A305 Broadcasting Supplement booklet*, Great Britain: The Open University Press, 1975

Figure 43. and 44. Pre-renovation Photograph c2001 Courtesy of C. Meyler, https://tickets.modernismweek.com/f/modernism-week/grace-miller-house.

Figure 45. Photographer Julius Shulman on site with owner Catherine Meyler, 2008, https://juliusshulmanfilm.com/production-stills.

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