

Behind Straight Curtains
TOWARDS A QUEER FEMINIST THEORY OF ARCHITECTURE
KATARINA BONNEVIER



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Introduction
*Enactments of
Architecture*

With this exploration into the queerness and the theatricality of architecture I wish to contribute to a queer feminist critique of heteronormative and sexist structures that repeatedly reduce, ridicule or neglect, gendered and sexual aspects of our built environment. My ambition throughout the thesis is to contribute to an architectural shift; a shift in both the analysis of architecture and the enactment of architecture, towards a built environment which does not simply repeat repressive structures but tries to resist discriminations and dismantle hierarchies.

This is a theatrical queer feminist interpretation of architecture which moves within a series of scenes in order to investigate the performative force of architecture; architect Eileen Gray's momentum building *E.1027* in the south of France, 1926-29 and the literary salon of author Natalie Barney at *20 rue Jacob* held in Paris between 1909-1968 are the main acts together with author Selma Lagerlöf's former home and memorial estate *Mårbacka*, situated in mid-west Sweden, transformed in 1919-23. I look at these cases as different kinds of *Enactments of Architecture*, that vary in scale and temporality, where the actors and the acts are entangled with the built environment. Each exploration of these cases are framed in lecture theatres in Stockholm; seminar room *A3* at the School of Architecture, Royal Institute of Technology (KTH), *Café Copacabana*, Hornstull strand and *Turkiska salongen*, at Wallingatan 3.

In any building activity ideologies and norms are reiter-

ated. What I want to bring into play is that this also works the other way around – subject positions are partly construed through building activities. Feminist and queer perspectives, especially theories of performance, performativity and heteronormativity, are critical strands throughout the thesis to investigate how this happens. *Enactment* is the key term I propose for the study of this entanglement of actors, acts and architecture. It holds an overtly theatrical association along with a performative force. Firstly, I use the term enactment very close to the word *staging*, to exhibit or present on or as if on a stage. Apart from directing the actors, staging also includes the set, the lighting, the costumes, the props, the masks and so on. Secondly, enactment can also be synonymous with *act*, to represent or perform through action – for example when dramatically representing a character on stage by speech, action and gesture. The term *enactment* includes the act and brings into play the interconnectedness of material container, the setting, the deeds and the actors. Thirdly, an enactment is a performance which is also a command or regulation, for instance the passing of a law by a legislative body. It emphasizes the performative force that the term *staging* does not evoke.¹

In 2000 architect Leslie Kanes Weisman noted in her definition of *architecture* for the *Encyclopaedia of Women*:

Even though built space shapes the experiences of people's daily lives and the cultural assumptions in which they are immersed, it is easy to accept the physical landscape unthinkingly as a neutral background. But the spatial arrangements of buildings and communities are neither value-free nor neutral; they reflect and reinforce the nature of each society's gender, race, and class relations.²

Feminist scholars have exposed how knowledge production is governed by a seemingly neutral – natural and invisible – norm but actually is an articulation of “white,” Western, heterosexual, middle aged, middle class men.³ Many feminist architecture theorists have examined the contribution of architecture to the construction of gendered and sexual identities.⁴ A related aim of this study is to supplement the previous research with a queer study of gender and sexuality in architecture that takes a lesbian, or a female non-straight, subject position. Such research would not have been possible without the work that has already been done.⁵ While intersections with several analytical categories – questions of class, nationality and ethnicity – are present in the work, gender and sexuality have been my main concerns and the research is limited accordingly.

Architecture is said to combine, in the words of the Swedish *National Encyclopaedia*, “two inseparable sides; a practical, constructive and functional side with an aesthetic, harmonious and symbolic side.”⁶ Feminist architecture theorists have pointed out how these sides are marked by gender, which is to say the masculine-feminine hierarchy. The latter part of the two is suppressed when not entirely rejected. The anthology *The Sex of Architecture* (1996) re-examines some gender-based assumptions, or “Inherited Ideologies,” that shape architecture: “that man builds and woman inhabits; that man is outside and woman is inside; that man is public and woman is private; that nature, in both its kindest and its cruellest aspects, is female and culture, the ultimate triumph over nature, is male.”⁷ This dichotomy informs the feminist strategy to re-evaluate the feminine. Aside from the already listed dichotomies, feminist architecture theory has also reconsidered the decorative and structural divide. The feminine, decorative aspects – surface and ornament

– are less valued. Architect Jennifer Bloomer has furthered the ongoing discussion concerning the dichotomy of structure and ornament by pointing out the inseparability of the terms; of artefacts both ornamental and structural.⁸ This dichotomy implies that the ornamental has been, and for the most part still is, considered superfluous, while the structural is essential.

In social constructivist theory the architectural term *construction* is used to question essentialist arguments about gender and sexuality. However, within a prevailing architecture discourse *construction* is often not seen as a social and cultural construction at all but appears to be a strangely essentialist term. The construction is driven by so-called *rational* arguments about function and economy far from superficiality, ornamentation or other “effeminate” characteristics.

What counts as feminine or masculine change in time and context.⁹ For example, architect Adrian Forty has revealed how the term *form* was embedded with muscular masculinity for most modernists, while *formlessness* remained the unarticulated “other.”¹⁰ In addition, as shown by literary theorist and poet Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick in *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990) the homosocial paradigm of masculinity is connected to homophobia. Following queer theory, I use the terms masculine and feminine without essentialist ties to anatomy; at the same time, I wish to bend these two categories, both to study the undervalued feminine and to untie the masculine from narrow definitions of a “rational,” heterosexual, stern manliness.

An intriguing example of how the masculine acts as a masquerading surface is the work of architect Adolf Loos at the beginning of the twentieth century. Architecture historian Beatriz Colomina has revealed how Loos used the black suit as a motive for the outer appearance of his archi-

itecture.¹¹ His architecture enacted gender dualism. Apparently Loos himself dressed inconspicuously in dark colours and English tweed suits, while he designed a lavish white mink coat for his wife Lina Loos as well as a bedroom entirely draped in fur. He was operating with the interior as the feminine and the exterior as the masculine. The wall became a celebration of the cliché “opposites attract”.

There are other intersecting categories; for instance the decorative is also a mark of non-western traditions, of the allegedly bad taste of “lower” classes, of amateurishness, of gay culture or of local style.¹² In the influential and widely debated essay *Ornament and Crime* (*Ornament und Verbrechen*, 1908), Adolf Loos not only connected ornaments to criminality but also to “less civilized” cultures.¹³ The ornament in his view was an unnecessary addition and therefore a crime in relation to the taste and social order of modern man. Loos’ outbursts on ornaments are marked by a feverish attempt to elevate the modern man from any mark of femininity, ethnicity, sexuality or class. Beatriz Colomina writes in *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (1994) that “...Loos’ raid against ornament is not only gender-loaded but openly homophobic.”¹⁴ In *Bloomsbury Rooms: Modernism, Subculture and Domesticity* (2004) art historian Christopher Reed explores the process that has marked modernism with a stern heterosexual masculinity. The book adds to the feminist deconstruction of hierarchical binaries; it demonstrates how norms that “rationalize and even celebrate male aggression as a talisman of creativity” simultaneously associate the decorative and cosy with the superficial and unimportant. Reed contests the heroes(heteros)-only versions of modernism that is limited to conventional standards of masculine accomplishment and shows how the “Amusing Style” associated with the

designs of the Bloomsbury group offered a kind of queer modernism.¹⁵

E.1027, 20 rue Jacob and Mårbacka are building constellations tied to a distinct main character but they all involve larger casts of characters. They all housed queer collectives; collectives that were not the hetero-normative family constellation. The singular actor is influential, but nothing without the others. As sociologist Elspeth Probyn has stated:

Space is a pressing matter and it matters which bodies where and how press up against it. Most important of all are who these bodies are with.¹⁶

Eileen Gray (1878-1976), Natalie Barney (1876-1972) and Selma Lagerlöf (1858-1940) share some common traits. They are all heroes of cultural history, largely due to the previous work of feminist scholars. In time their lives spanned the turn of the twentieth century. They were all masters with servants, but masters that deviated from the norms of society. They all had same-sex relationships; Natalie Barney's life and legacy are explicitly linked to a lesbian scene, while the worlds around Eileen Gray and Selma Lagerlöf have been hidden behind straighter curtains.

Despite the fact that women at the time had not yet obtained civic rights, Gray, Barney and Lagerlöf were privileged enough to have the means to engage in building activities. In addition they all had feminist ideas about social change and architecture and with their financial resources they were able to pursue the ideas of how they wanted to live in a way that eludes most people.¹⁷ They all created buildings, but in three different ways; E.1027 was built and designed by Gray as part of much broader research; the Salon at 20 rue Jacob, was an appropriation by Barney of an existing site;

the third building activity was a complete transformation of Lagerlöf's old family farm Mårbacka with the help of the renowned architect's office of Isak Gustaf Clason.

The three interconnected themes in my work influence not only what I write about, but also how I write; architecture, queer feminism and theatricality – all with specific implications, challenges and demands on the work. The main chapters of the thesis masquerade as a series of lectures. They are not manuscripts for lectures but lectures that take place in the text. The writings have borrowed the form and structure of the dramatic script. They are not only about, but operate through, enactments. Visual materials accompany the lectures. A cast of characters act and interact with the architecture. In between the main acts are short entr'acts that shed another light on my pursuit of appropriate representations. After the lecture series there is a chapter called 'Drawing the Curtains' which is a kind of underlayment for the three lecture texts. Here I demonstrate some theoretical and methodological strands, comment on the sources used in the research process and situate this research in relation to existing material and other research; it is also an orientation for further reading. The aim of this formal experiment is not only to explain and critique from a detached perspective but also to create and show architecture enacted. It is an attempt to stay close to the physical matter with a continuous involvement of actors. That means architecture seen not only as a theoretical metaphor but also as a concrete material practice always entangled with subject positions. Jennifer Bloomer wrote in *Architecture and the Text. The (s)cripts of Joyce and Piranesi* (1993):

It is hard to disagree with Audre Lorde's much-cited dictum that the Master's tools will never

dismantle the Master's house. But people have to live in a house, not in a metaphor. Of course you use the Master's tools if those are the only ones you can lay your hands on. Perhaps what you can do with them is to take apart that old mansion, using some of its pieces to put up a far better one where there is room for all of us.¹⁸

This thesis is a search for critically queer architecture; to find strategies for resistance to, and transgression of normative orders.¹⁹ It does not mean that queerness is an essentialist core of some buildings, and not others – the queer perspective is, just like seemingly neutral observations, an interpretation – but the cultural production that surrounds us is not as straight as heteronormativity makes it appear. Queer implies inter-changeability and excess; the possibility to move, make several interpretations, slide over, or reposition limits. To understand buildings as queer performative acts, and not static preconditions, opens architecture to interpretation and makes it less confined within normative constraints. It is a key both to accomplish a shift in how architecture can be understood or analyzed and to my ambition to contribute to a transformation in future building; thereby presenting in a broader sense, *enactments of architecture*.

Notes

- 1 Performance will be explained in 'Living-room', 35-36, 49-51. For an exploration of the relations between performance and performativity see the final chapter 'Drawing the Curtains', 370-380.
- 2 Leslie Kanes Weisman, 'Architecture', Cheri Kramarae & Dale Spender, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Women. Global Women's Issues and Knowledge*, New York & London: Routledge, 2000, 86.
- 3 In the introduction and conclusion to the anthology *Feminism and Methodology*, Sandra Harding discusses the methodological implications of the feminist epistemological shift from a supposedly objective researcher to one placed in the same critical plane as the researched subject. Sandra Harding, ed., *Feminism and Methodology*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987. In *Transforming Knowledge* Elizabeth Minnich argues that there are four foundational mistakes that characterize the ruling tradition of knowledge: faulty generalization, circular reasoning, mystified concepts and partial knowledge. Elizabeth Kamarck Minnich, *Transforming Knowledge*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- 4 See for instance the anthologies; Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Sexuality & Space*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992, Joel Sanders, ed., *Stud – Architectures of Masculinity*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, and Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner & Iain Borden eds., *Gender Space Architecture – An interdisciplinary introduction*, London & New York: Routledge, 2000.
- 5 For an overview of the research situation see the final chapter 'Drawing the Curtains', 391-400
- 6 My translation of "Arkitekturen förenar oåtskiljbart en praktisk, konstruktiv och funktionell sida med en estetisk,

- harmonisk och symbolisk”, Johan Mårtelius, ‘Arkitektur’, *Nationalencyklopedin (Swedish National Encyclopedia)*, [Online]. Available: <http://www.ne.se/jsp/search/article.jsp?i_art_id=117826> [September 15, 2004]
- 7 ‘Inherited Ideologies: A Re-Examination’ was the name of the conference on which the anthology was based. Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway & Leslie Kanes Weisman eds., ‘Introduction’, *The Sex of Architecture*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996, 8, 11.
- 8 Jennifer Bloomer, ‘Abodes of Theory and Flesh: Tabbles of Bower’, *Assemblage*, no. 17, April, 1992, 12.
- 9 For instance Ulla Wikander has written about the process of gendering of technical professions, Ulla Wikander, *Kvinnorbetet i Europa, 1789-1950. Genus, makt och arbetsdelning (“Women’s Labour in Europe, 1789-1950. Gender, power and job divides”)*, Stockholm: Atlas Akademi, 1999, 83, 105-111. (also published in German: *Von der Magd zur Angestellten. Macht, Geschlecht und Arbeitsteilung 1789-1950*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1998.)
- 10 In *Words and Buildings* (2000) Adrian Forty has written about the use of the terms *feminine* and *masculine* within architecture theory. He argues that until the Second World War the terms were in frequent use in architectural production, but what made them unacceptable was “the explicitly masculine, not to say homo-erotic, orientation of culture in the totalitarian regimes of inter-war Europe.”(54) Forty, however, goes on to point out that the organizing structure of gender difference is not renounced but simply appears in another guise. Even if the terms are not in frequent use anymore, the hierarchical divides still have gendered connotations. And, it is worth noting that when direct gender markers are used these refer to the works of female architects; their designs can be described as *womanly*, whereas the designs by male architects are less explicitly gendered. The debate is often essentialist – for instance the term *phallic* can be used to describe some inherently manly characteristics of architecture. Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings, A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, London & New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000, 54-61.
- 11 Loos wrote “When I was finally given the task of building a house, I said to myself: in its external appearance, a house can only have changed as much as a dinner jacket. Not a lot therefore...I had to become significantly simpler. I had to substitute the golden buttons with black ones. The house has to look inconspicuous.” Quoted in Beatriz Colomina, ‘The Split Wall — Domestic Voyeurism’, Colomina, ed., *Sexuality & Space*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992, 94.
- 12 The camp esthetics of gay culture is an example how these marks of deviance have been depoliticized and turned into commerce in late capitalist society.
- 13 Loos, ‘Ornament and Crime’, *Ornament and Crime. Selected Essays*, Riverside, California: Ariadne Press, 1998.
- 14 Colomina also states that Loos’ homophobia (in relation to Josef Hoffman) deserves further research. Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media*, Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1994, 38. My thanks to Catharina Gabrielsson for pointing out this reference.
- 15 Christopher Reed, *Bloomsbury Rooms. Modernism, Subculture and Domesticity*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004, 16, 236-237.
- 16 Elspeth Probyn, ‘Lesbians in Space. Gender, Sex and the Structure of Missing’, *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1995, 81.
- 17 In relation to Gray, Barney and Lagerlöf I use a broad def-

initiation of feminist ideas. There are extensive discussions on how to understand the various feminist political ideas and activities of these personages that exceed the frame of this thesis. What is important to point out is that they had different attitudes and ways of working, which also differed along their respective life spans, but they all had a feminist insight with an active agenda to change women's subordination to men.

- 18 Jennifer Bloomer, *Architecture and the Text: The (S)cripts of Joyce and Piranesi*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993, 166.
- 19 "Critically queer" is a reference to Judith Butler, *Bodies that matter*, New York & London: Routledge, 1993, Chapter 8 'Critically queer', 223-242. *Queer* in the meaning deviant from the expected or normal has been used earlier as an offensive slang term for an openly homosexual person. For decades, queer was used solely as a derogatory adjective for gays and lesbians, but in the 1990s the term has been semantically reclaimed by gay, lesbian and transgendered activists as a term of self-identification. The word is used as a term of defiant pride to overcome limiting identities. Within academia an entire field *queer theory* stems out of the term and it has also become an identity term. In the final chapter 'Drawing the Curtains' I discuss the term further, 373-375

Lecture One

Living-Room

*An interior atmosphere in harmony with
the refinements of intimate modern life ¹*

Orientation

The first main *enactment of architecture* is a written performance that takes place in seminar room A3 at the School of Architecture, Royal Institute of Technology, KTH, in Stockholm. It moves around architect Eileen Gray and the house E.1027 she built in Roquebrune-Cap Martin, close to Menton on the French Riviera, 1926-29.

E.1027 is approached through a prior project by Gray; *Boudoir de Monte Carlo* displayed at *XIV Salon des Artistes Décorateurs* in Paris, 1923. Through Eileen Gray's term *living-room*, which follows the ideas of the boudoir, architecture is presented as both social interaction and material practice.

In this lecture-text theories of performativity, especially in relation to gender and sexuality, are explained, using public toilets as a straightforward architectural example. The feminist critique of architecture as a neutral, value-free, background is introduced as a motive for this research and the queer perspective, with political philosopher Judith Butler as main reference, is shown as a method to interpret architecture. The public toilet forcefully displays the operation of heteronormativity, an intersection of gender and sexuality, in architecture.

The main part of the lecture – the act – focuses on Eileen Gray/E.1027. This house is interpreted as a built suggestion and a critique of heteronormative, male-dominated architectures. The text uses the example of E.1027 to explain how a queer gaze can dismantle buildings accepted as neutral, non-gendered, frames. E.1027 is in this lecture-text understood to critique stable hierarchical categories. For example, there is a discussion of the metaphor of the closet in relation to the distinction between private and public.

Cast of Characters in Order of Appearance

The PHOTOGRAPHER attends the lecture as part of the audience and is not here to photograph. She has accompanied the researcher on all the site visits (there is nothing unprofessional about that).

BEAU keeps a low profile as a queer spectator in the first lecture but will return for more active participation behind the curtains of the last lecture.

The LECTURER – a character closely based on the author/researcher/architect of these writings. Here she is on a professional assignment to deliver the lecture, clearly focused to get her points across.

TABELLE sits on the front row of the audience. Charmingly obsessed by order, she is an old dyke possessed of all the facts of gay and lesbian history.

JULIAN has a close interest in the subjects of the lecture and is a colleague of the lecturer. Julian's gender presentation is ambiguous.

LILY – a historical character, based on writings and interviews; she is the *red duchess*, Élisabeth de Gramont (1875-1954), a partner of the salonnière Natalie Barney and the first person in France to write about the designs of Eileen Gray. She openly opposed the social mores of her time and her feminist and revolutionary politics, as well as her lesbian lifestyle, scandalized her contemporaries. Some of her books and articles were published under her married name; Élisabeth de Clermont-Tonnerre. In 1920 she successfully divorced her abusive husband Philibert. With Natalie Barney she had a non-monogamous partnership contract, which lasted until her death.²

SALLY is mainly here to undermine some heteronormative assumptions in the lecture hall. According to the photogra-

pher, who has made a series of portraits of Sally, she has the looks of a Persian prince of the nineteen twenties.

Via two SPEAKERS connected to a LAPTOP the recorded voices of Mark Kerr, Kristin O'Rourke and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick also contribute to the lecture. The words of other persons, such as Judith Butler, Jennifer Bloomer and Judith Halberstam, are also present, but they appear in a more traditional academic way through quotes made by the lecturer. The dialogues are combined with a system of notes to give proper credit to other writers and thinkers. All quotes and paraphrases can be traced to their original source of publication.

A3

*The lecture takes place in seminar room A3 at the School of Architecture, Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm. The curtains are drawn to shield from the warm sun of August. It is a plain lecture room; white walls with wooden screens, a horizontal floor tiled in white, straight rows of fluorescent strip lights, some concrete semi-pillars and a cassette ceiling of raw concrete. The concrete is marked by the wood that once formed it. There are people – students, special guests, researchers, an unfamiliar, yet encouraging, group of three persons in blonde wigs, lovers, friends and acquaintances, about thirty in total – and props – bags, books, sunglasses, pens and papers. A forgotten model of a student housing project is stuffed into the corner. Extended across one of the shorter walls is a blackboard. In front of it, attached to the ceiling, is a screen of white cloth. The lecturer has pulled it down to catch the projection of a collage of a room full of people. Across the image runs the text: **INVITATION AU VOYAGE**, invitation to the voyage. In lights that flash and glitter the people in the image socialize; two are absorbed in a conversation, two others pose towards the camera, three persons stretch out on the grand-lit, another one dances and one observes the scene over a cocktail. They are all dressed up. The lecturer's cell phone makes a buzz. She picks it up and reads a message, blushes, looks at the audience, fumbles a bit and then turns it off. A person who sits comfortably at the back, the photographer, whispers to the person, Beau, on her left.*

PHOTOGRAPHER: See, I wrote, "picture me naked".

BEAU: Thief, that's my idea...

The lecturer takes a moment to arrange her books in an orderly pile

on a rectangular table beside her. She looks at the first page of her manuscript, puts her yellow pen down and addresses the audience.

LECTURER: What I will talk about today is architecture understood as both social interaction and material practice. The title of this lecture *living-room* refers to this. Living-room is a term I have borrowed from architect Eileen Gray.³ She used it as a formula for the architecture of E.1027. As I understand Gray, a living-room is for all aspects of life. It is an architecture that supports a multitude of situations, but Gray emphasized that it should assure the user liberty, rest and intimacy. The term highlights the interdependency between people and architecture. The first part, *living*, also implies change and activity – it moves. This collage ...

The lecturer indicates the projected image.

LECTURER: ...is a flight of my imagination; some friends having a party in one of the living-rooms of E.1027. It has become a poster for the interconnectedness of actors, acts and built environment that I want to approach in this theory of queer feminist architecture.

She moves back to the computer and shifts image to a projection of two simple doors labeled “LADIES” and “GENTLEMEN”. Still on her feet, the lecturer continues.

LECTURER: Before the public bathroom everyone is obliged to choose sides; the architecture creates two distinct genders. It's a banal but straightforward example of how “architecture behaves as one of the subjectivating norms that constitute gender performativity” as Joel

Sanders put it in his introduction to *Stud – Architectures of Masculinity*.⁴ In short *performativity* can be explained as *doing* instead of *being*. According to political philosopher Judith Butler there is no mystical or essential origin for categories such as *homosexual* or *woman*. Rather they are called into being, constructed socially and historically through performative acts where utterances coincide with actions – laws, words, rituals, clothing or production of artifacts. In *Excitable Speech. A Politics of the Performative* (1997) Butler argues that the performative act is at once performed (theatrical) and linguistic. A performance appears on an individual level whereas performativity can be understood as institutional or structuring. The firm belief in stable unchangeable categories, essentialism, motivates oppression since it establishes fixed reasons for a particular group's “inferiority” or “deviance”. Queer theory aims at destabilizing the certainty of gender dualism, and opening up a more varied understanding of gender. While the constructions may change with time and situation, they are not voluntary. From a queer perspective, the categories man and woman are not automatic or preconditions; in a continuous becoming, through gender and sexual performativity, we are made to become either men or women.⁵ This idea builds on the famous text *Le Deuxième Sexe, The Second Sex* (1949), in which Simone de Beauvoir explained how *woman* is a product generated by civilization and that *man* doubles as both the positive and the neutral pole.⁶

A short scholar in bowtie and grey culottes, Tabelle, who sits on the first row, waves her hand.

LECTURER: Yes, Tabelle?

TABELLE: In 1981 Leslie Kanes Weisman channeled her rage of the built discriminations that stems from these norms into a manifesto.

She recites, with conviction, something she has memorized by heart.

TABELLE: Be it affirmed: The built environment is largely the creation of white, masculine subjectivity. It is neither value-free nor inclusively human. Feminism implies that we fully recognize this environmental inadequacy and proceed to think and act out of that recognition.⁷

Her voice flutters through the seminar room. Sally, an extravagant person next to the window, lifts her eyebrows and throws an amused glance at Tabelle.

LECTURER: “Women’s Environmental Rights” – yes, isn’t it wonderfully invigorating to read in its implacability! What is also interesting in that quote is that Kanes Weisman described the normative as “white” and “masculine” and thus underlined how gender intersects with the analytical category of ethnicity. These lectures involves another category; sexuality. For instance female masculinity disturbs and does not privilege in the same manner as male masculinity because it deviates from the “natural”. Gender and sexuality intersect in the norm that Judith Butler has named the heterosexual matrix. The heterosexual matrix is the invisible norm that makes a natural connection between man, manly and masculine on one side, woman, womanly and feminine on the other, and links their desire. Haven’t we all heard that opposites attract? In the introduction of the book *Female Masculinity* (1998) Judith Halberstam writes

about the “Bathroom Problem” at an airport of a gender ambiguous person who doesn’t fit the binary.⁸

She picks up the book from the pile beside her and holds it for the audience to see; a red and black cover with Sadie Lee’s portrait Raging Bull in white t-shirt and blue jeans. Then the lecturer reads aloud from page twenty.

LECTURER: I strode purposefully into the women’s bathroom. No sooner had I entered the stall than someone was knocking at the door: “Open up, security here!” I understood immediately what had happened. I had, once again, been mistaken for a man or a boy, and some woman had called security.⁹

The public bathroom works on the principle of separation and is an effect of the heterosexual matrix. It constructs men and women as different and relies on a power relation between them. The visual differences between the two rooms are sometimes only the sign posted at the door, but it is not a coincidence that they are two. Gender is repeatedly inscribed in architecture as two stable categories if not always as bluntly as in the public bathroom.¹⁰ The choice between the two spaces wouldn’t be as dramatic if the spaces weren’t inscribed with social relations and expectations; in the example the woman called security probably because she feared sexual harassment.¹¹

Heteronormativity relies on repetition and is even overtly policed as in the tale of the “Bathroom Problem”. Halberstam points out that through intersection with the category nationality, gender surveillance becomes even more intensified in the terminal building.

The lecturer continues to read from Female Masculinity.

Needless to say, the policing of gender within the bathroom is intensified within the space of the airport, where people are literally moving through space and time in ways that cause them to want to stabilize some boundaries (gender) even as they traverse others (national).¹²

This lecture is going to move around an architecture that messes with the boundaries, Eileen Gray's E.1027.¹³ For me, the aim to discover how norms function in architecture goes hand in hand with a desire to find strategies for resistance and transgression of oppressive orders.

JULIAN (*An architecture historian who commands a fairly large space with notebooks and papers on one of the middle desks*): Excuse me, I was thinking about the seemingly neutral design of those two bathroom doors. Door knobs aren't very neutral, are they?¹⁴ The handle corresponds to anatomy of the body...

LECTURER: I'm sorry, I don't quite follow?

JULIAN: Ok, I'll spell it out. To open the door, one must reach down to grasp the doorknob, moving one's hand to a position about level with one's genitals.¹⁵

SALLY: Thus... (*Sally hits an imaginary drumroll*) a kind of foreplay.¹⁶

TABELLE (*growls*): As a matter of fact we do not all have the same anatomy as long tall Sally.

LECTURER: Sure, it is a great analogy...this "preposterous" observation shows how contaminating the analytical category of sexuality is in architecture. The established architecture tradition that insists on the neutrality of measurements, programs, bricks and mortar is part of

the answer to our embarrassment at your suggestion.¹⁷ On the other hand – that hand which is not involved in opening forbidden doors – architecture and sexuality is a popular theme, something our main character in this lecture, Eileen Gray, was well aware of.

The lecturer moves, touches a button on the computer and the projection changes; a corner of a rich room with an abundant daybed, backed by a wall painting – an abstraction of a sunset – and flanked by a couple of block screens. Behind one of the screens, in the very corner, there are some stairs that lead to a painting, which can be mistaken for a door or full length mirror. A thick rug in geometrical pattern covers the main part of the floor. There are two armatures; a plafond and a pendulum. Some books are stacked on the shiny surface of a little round lacquer table.¹⁸

LECTURER: This is Gray's display at *XIV Salon des Artistes Décorateurs* in 1923 which she named *Boudoir de Monte Carlo*. It can help explain the idea of the term *living-room*. *Boudoir de Monte Carlo* was proposed by Gray to be a multifunctional space for pleasure, rest, studies, business meetings and parties. The generous day-bed was the centerpiece.

Everything – clothes, props, places and fittings – can be, and often is, marked by either of the two categories in gender dualism: masculine/feminine. Architecture, our built environment, is no exception. In French society the *boudoir* was historically the first domestic space devoted exclusively to female use and can be compared to the male marked study or cabinet.¹⁹ The *boudoir* has not only been gendered feminine but is also charged with sexual pleasure and privacy. The term *boudoir* – an intimate room – raises a problem since it reinstates

women in the body and sensuality part of the traditional dichotomy where men are associated with mind and rationality, characteristics tied to public space. In *Boudoir de Monte Carlo* Eileen Gray counteracted and queered this gendered simplicity into ambiguity. The boudoir in her interpretation was the most public space of the apartment, as well as the most intimate. There is no spatial opposition between these two categories. Visitors are greeted and entertained in this space, but one can also settle in. No simple norm decides what kind of space this is. That which is being performed in the space, with the help of the architecture, decides what space it is. Gray's boudoir was public on a very direct level as well, since it was the space she chose to put on display in the professional craft exhibit to promote her designs.

For the building project E.1027, which is the main act in this lecture, Gray continued the ideas of *Boudoir de Monte Carlo*. She developed the formula of the living-room out of the boudoir, although *living-room* (the term chosen for the formula) is less obviously marked by sexuality. Unlike *boudoir* it doesn't belong exclusively to one of the categories of gender dualism, but is a variation of both. It is also queer in the meaning of strange as Gray didn't translate the English term into her French practice.

One major reason for my interest in E.1027 is that it can be interpreted as a critique of norms from a queer feminist perspective and thereby contribute to the fields of possibility for architecture. Eileen Gray's design was part of staging queer lifestyles, which doesn't mean that it belongs solely to a separate subculture. It is part of the main stream; Eileen Gray is a heroine of western cultural history and her building E.1027 is extraordinary and one of the most well known buildings of early modernism.

TABELLE (*mutters*): Largely because the work of feminist scholars.

LECTURER (*nods*): Mm, that's right.

Encouraged by the positive response of the lecturer Tabelle continues.

TABELLE: In a culture where women have less economical and juridical power than men because of their gender, cultural production that challenges this becomes significant.

LECTURER: Yes, that is one starting point for the kind of feminist reinterpretation that I am involved in.

As she talks, the lecturer switches image; it is a collage of a façade of a whitewashed building embedded in verdure; a bougainvillea climbs the front balcony, a large aloe plant makes up the foreground and behind the building plantains and pines rise along a mountainside. The text "E.1027 MAISON EN BORD DE MER," E.1027 house on the brink of the sea, is typed in the white sky.

LECTURER: I proudly present E.1027 by Eileen Gray, an architecture that can be understood as a built suggestion, a critique of the male-dominated and heteronormative regime of architecture.

E.1027

LECTURER: On a terrace in the steep rocky landscape about 50 meters from the Mediterranean Sea you find E.1027, architect Eileen Gray's house. It is a project that defies simple divisions and proposes another way of living. It is a luxurious project, designed in detail, but built with the ambition to find ideas to be multiplied. Gray considered E.1027 as a tentative "moment in a much larger study."²⁰

The lecturer shows a text in French with an English translation below. It is a quote of Eileen Gray. Above the text is a photo in profile of a person in a black suit with white collar and bobbed hair. There are some orange color strokes on the hair. The lecturer reads the passage aloud in both languages.

"...a créer une atmosphère intérieure en harmonie avec *les raffinements de la vie intime moderne*, tout en utilisant les ressources et les possibilités de la technique courante."

"...to create an interior atmosphere in harmony with *the refinements of intimate modern life*, all by using the resources and the possibilities of today's technology."²¹

LECTURER: The quote, which describes Gray's ambitions with her architecture, pays homage to "the refinements of intimate modern life." It leaks queerness since the refined intimate modern life Gray herself was part of was the gender-bending Parisian culture of the early twentieth century. Here she is pictured in a photograph by Berenice Abbott in 1926.

Interpreted by a queer eye Eileen Gray's building E.1027 discloses some codes hidden in the heterosexual matrix of architecture. At the same time, it raises the question of opposition and transgression of normative orders. It is in terms of seeking "leaks" in the boundaries of heteronormative architecture and interpretation that some interesting differences occur with E.1027; it is architecture of a nonstraight position.²²

E.1027 was the first entire house Gray designed and built. It took place between the years 1926-29 in Roquebrune Cap Martin close to Monaco on the French Riviera. The building has become surrounded by myths and anecdotes, but I am going to focus on a story that has been little analyzed. Since Gray's part in the canon of modernist design and architecture has been recognized, she has become a female hostage of sorts and is often promoted when the "absent" women in architecture are to be rescued from the historical dust of oblivion.²³ What has been safely disregarded and excluded from interpretations is Gray's sliding sexuality, her non-heteronormative lifestyle – "the refinements of intimate modern life" as she called it – and how these might have an effect on her ways of disturbing the order of things.

Suddenly an elegant woman, in a blue tailored costume, appears at the door of the lecture room. She looks like she comes from another time and place.

LILY: Excusez moi, is this A3?

LECTURER: Lily, welcome! I'm so glad you made it.

The lecturer shows Lily a seat at the front, next to the window. And then turns to the audience.

LECTURER: May I present a very special guest, the critic Élisabeth de Gramont, who has followed Eileen Gray since her beginnings as a designer. Élisabeth de Gramont, openly part of the lesbian scene in Paris, was the first to notice and write about Gray's work in France.²⁴ The long article appeared in the smart journal *Feuilles d'art*, March 1922.²⁵ Eileen Gray (1878-1976) came from Ireland but lived and practiced in France.

The lecturer turns towards Lily.

LECTURER: In your understanding of the nonconformist attitude of Eileen Gray you underline the importance of the Paris scene.

LILY: Coming from that northern island, where the continuous search for something else borders on the impossible, Eileen Gray cannot live and imagine but along the historic quays of Seine.²⁶

LECTURER: This “continuous search for something else”, as you put it, well describes Gray's attitude towards design. And I think I know why you state that Gray could not live anywhere else than Paris.

The lecturer, who has been addressing Lily, turns towards the audience.

LECTURER: At the turn of the twentieth century Paris had not only an atmosphere of artistic revolt, but also an international reputation as the capital of same-sex love among women.²⁷ In 1902, at the age of 24, Gray escaped social and sexual conventions, the family on Ireland, marriage and motherhood, and started to move in the circle of lesbians in Paris, who were the leaders of the literary and artistic avant-garde. Lynne Walker

wrote about Gray in the anthology *Women's Places* (*the lecturer picks up her manuscript and reads*)

In most recently published work on Eileen Gray, her lesbianism and bisexuality have been recognized, but little analyzed. It seems less important what her sexual activities were than to try to explain the role that sexuality played in her life.”²⁸

The Parisian context has implications for the understanding of her production. To think about E.1027 in queer terms brings forward the queerness *in* the building. This does not mean that queerness is some sort of essentialist core, or the only truth about E.1027; the point is rather, as Alexander Doty has stated about mass culture, that “only heterocentrist/homophobic cultural training prevents everyone from acknowledging this queerness.”²⁹

There is a new projection. It shows two drawings labeled rez-de-chaussée haute, upper ground floor, and rez-de-chaussée bas, lower ground floor.

LECTURER: First I'll walk you through the drawings and then I will go back and talk in detail about the different parts of the building. (*She points at the drawing with a wooden staff as she continues.*) E.1027 is a composition on two floors. Gray named them *rez-de-chaussée haute*, upper ground floor, and *rez-de-chaussée bas*, lower ground floor. The house is entered from above. It guards the privacy of the inhabitants since they had to go through the house to reach the lower floor and the garden terraces. Only one small fraction of the composition, the lemon tree garden and the kitchen, is on the explicitly public side of the building.

Apart from the kitchen, there are on the upper ground

floor a main living-room with terrace, a hidden chamber with balcony, a proper bathroom, and a separate toilet.

On the lower ground floor we find the friend's room, the maid's room, the gardener's room, a toilet, a service closet, and, underneath the living-room (which stands on pilotis), a secluded terrace.

Gray designed the habitat from the formula of the *living-room* which would offer all inhabitants total independence, permit rest and intimacy. E.1027 can be read from the bed. A generous bed makes up the largest piece of furniture in the *grande sale*. It is the main section of the building and composes half of the upper ground floor.³⁰ This portion of E.1027 shows what the formula of the living-room could mean, and I will hereafter refer to it as the *living-room*. Singled out as a separate volume held by pilotis and the first space you enter as a guest, it is evident and visible from both inside and outside. The other parts of the upper ground floor rest in the ground and on the lower ground floor.

*The lecturer shows another drawing, a blue print. There are many lines, some thick and some bent; parts, such as the upper ground floor, are recognizable from the previous drawings.*³¹

One background to my interest in E.1027 is that all representations I had seen of E.1027 left me wondering. Gray pushed the representation in drawing; she knew the norms but did not stick to them.³² This is a sheet of drawings by Gray (I have put together the previous ones). There are overlapping drawings in various scales and projections; underneath a tiny plan of the sun-roof is the upper ground floor plan in a larger scale whose left hand corner is surrounded by a magnification of the

encasement of the spiral staircase, in between there are some small wall elevations. Some lines are ambivalent; she marked the end of a ceiling, a screen, a change in material or a moveable carpet in the same manner. There are differences in floor levels and terraced surfaces that on her plan only show as lines and are easily confused with a line marking a change in materials. There are pockets in the walls that are only hinted at in the drawings.³³ There's something queer here; Gray's drawings, just like her architecture, hide and reveal simultaneously. They tell the story of the visually exposed that remains overlooked if you are not familiar with the codes.

Gray's architecture is an exploration of texture and color, lines and layers, drapes and inexact repetitions. In her architecture there are screens transformed into walls and rugs combined with floors. It is as if she folded the surfaces into spaces, into entire interiors, to a complete building – E.1027. Walls, floors and garden, furniture, closets and fittings, screens, windows and textures, names, movements and colors – all are designed into a detailed composition. It is a queer architecture of surfaces where a division between interior decoration and building is impossible. She created –

LILY: A different harmony.³⁴

LECTURER: Yes, “a different harmony.” E.1027 is a house filled with secrets, pockets in walls, sliding passages and tempting clefts.

There is a collage of a passage seen through a half open door. A couple of bare arms push the door. The passage, with a subtly elevated floor tiled in black, is demarcated by a red wall on the right, but only an intense bright light on the left side. At the far end another door opens.

LECTURER: The open passage mediates between the more secluded parts of the building – the chamber, the bathroom and the lower ground floor – and the overt living-room. The chamber, behind the red passage wall, and the living-room, on the other side, have parallel programs repeated as in a distorted mirror.

This one door serves two possibilities. When it closes entrance to the staircase, it opens the passage; therefore it defies the French proverb “A door must be either open or shut.”³⁵ Such social constructions are constantly being repeated and reinstated. Through repetition the norm seems natural, a given truth. It becomes common sense that a door must be either open or shut. Judith Butler emphasizes that a norm “acquires its durability through being reinstated time and again. Thus, a norm does not have to be static in order to last; in fact, it cannot be static if it is to last.”³⁶

The door has no frame or decor on its planar surface. When the door is closed towards the staircase, it is set flush into the wall and masquerades as a plain closet door. The door operates as a masking device that by intervention, when shut towards the passage, divides the one building into two separate spheres. The distinction between private and public becomes more explicit, as convention developed during the nineteenth century would prescribe.

Gray calls the habitation “*un organisme vivant*.”³⁷ A person can set the house in motion. No motor powers this living machine – a player/actor is required. The architecture prescribes a behavior where the body is engaged with the building elements. Walls and screens can slide aside and windows flip into disappearance, the bar can be folded into the wall, tables can be linked, folded

and extended, sideboards and drawers pivot – motion is everywhere.

*There is a new slide with details of windows, mirrors, cupboards, screens and beds.*³⁸

The building underlines the performative aspects of all built environment. Gray’s building calls for action.

Central to performativity theory is the idea of the speech act. Moral philosopher John Langshaw Austin developed the term in his 1955 lecture series *How To Do Things with Words*.³⁹ The classic example for Austin is when the officiator proclaims a couple married. This can be understood as a felicitous speech act; the intentions correspond with the effects. But the effect does not have to correspond with the intention. Philosopher Jacques Derrida looked into what Austin excluded; the infelicitous speech acts, and developed the idea of *iterability*, a simultaneous repetition and change.⁴⁰ When the performative act is reiterated there is always an excess that is non-controllable, the repetition changes it, it exceeds our control. This explains how changes may take place. A failure gives rise to mutations. But some constructions are slower, therefore Judith Butler has added history to the term; “social iterability.”⁴¹ Butler points out in *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (1997) that it is not the intention that makes a performative successful, rather the force of authority is accumulated “*through the repetition or citation of a prior and authoritative set of practices*.”⁴² The vow “I do” receives legal force through the witnesses, the institutions, the spaces and the rituals that surround it.⁴³

E.1027 is an act also in a wider sense. Gray consid-

ered E.1027 as tentative, “a moment in a much larger study.”⁴⁴ Building as a performative act can be understood in terms of social iterability. Re-built, furnished, interpreted or appropriated, any building exceeds itself; nevertheless most bedrooms are felicitous bedrooms. By repeating the same building principles for homes over and over again, these principles are naturalized. At the same time, an escape route presents itself since an exact repetition is impossible. To understand the building as an act and not a static given is ambiguous; it opens it to interpretation and makes it less confined within normative constraints.

The queer perspective discloses heteronormative assumptions that inscribe non-straight ways of living with unnaturalness, deviance or invisibility. As I explained earlier the heterosexual matrix conditions how we understand and enact our built environment. In domestic building activity, the heterosexual matrix is often blatantly obvious, despite the fact that “a number of kinship relations exist and persist that do not conform to the nuclear family model.”⁴⁵ E.1027 performs non-conformism – it doesn’t accept the nuclear family as a given, but rather constructs another kind of person. It is body-building. Through the built-in motions, mentioned earlier, architectural conventions are broken, other social scenes become possible. The act of building can be a way to develop new realities. E.1027 takes place within a given frame, the home, but manages simultaneously to stage something new. The inexact repetition is, consciously or not, pushed a step further.

Another plan is projected; again the upper ground floor can be recognized. There are gaps and single lines, arrows at right

*angles, circles, hatchings and texts; **SOLEIL**, sun, is printed around the right corner.*⁴⁶

LECTURER: The importance of movement in Gray’s way of thinking architecture is clearly seen in her (choreo)graphic scheme. The arrows show how people move, almost always around corners, but the plan also shows the sun’s movement around the house, morning, midday and sunset. The graphic representation of the owner and guests are fully drawn arrows – dotted arrows show how the maid moves.

In technical architectural drawings, the measurable matter of the building is very important. According to the representational conventions of working drawings – plans, sections and details – show the materiality of walls and floors, their thickness and position in scale relation to the physical building. Presentation techniques – maps, sketches, diagrams – are crafted by architects to convey ideas, meanings and critiques.⁴⁷ In Gray’s graphics the movement is recorded and walls are only drawn as obstacles; the plan tells her story of the vivid house. The actors follow individual and sometimes overlapping paths, there is an inscribed possibility for loneliness and togetherness. These movement patterns are not neutral; Gray marked the differences in status between the actors in the house such as the hierarchical relation between home owner and housekeeper. Some norms are transgressed while others are reinstated.

Another feature that emphasizes the interaction between actors and architecture through movement is the formula of the living-room.

There are two images of the living-room; they show the length

*of the room from opposing ends. The upper one is a hand-colored photograph with distinct surfaces, while the lower is a messy collage in a distorted perspective – a woman in front (Mme C) uses a scouring cloth to wipe the floor.*⁴⁸

LECTURER: As I pointed out the living-room can be understood as a development of Gray's display *Boudoir de Monte Carlo* in 1923. Gray's English term for the spatial quality of E.1027 underlines the performative queerness – it is a living-room – and lacks the evident erotic undertone of the boudoir. Meanwhile, the architecture of matter is suggestive; in the innermost corner of the living-room, behind the large bed, is a shower niche, separated only by a screen that does not reach the ceiling. The space is somewhat masked because the screen was painted in the same color as the wall behind it. A strip of mirror in the corner of the screen and the other wall increase the confusion, as the reflection produces the illusion of looking beyond the wall. You cannot be seen when you take a shower, but the sound of water pours through the room.

If you look at the back of the lower image you see the red wall of the passage to the secluded parts. Gray made a great effort to moderate the visibility of the chamber and its adjacent spaces so their presence did not seek the attention of the guests in the living-room. The narrow passage to the disguised spaces is a recess of the living-room. To get to the chamber, guests must go into the wings around corners. The overlapping wall contained a foldable bar. When displayed, the bar Gray fitted into the walls of the passage masks the possible spatial link even more. Nonetheless, the passage-niche can also be viewed as a stage with the bar as part of the scene. Attention is thus attracted to what might lurk

behind. The one who wants to see will see. We can compare this to the “invisible” lesbian: two women holding hands might not just be friends – the informed eye would know whether or not they are lovers.

TABELLE: Excuse me, but I think we need a break now.

LECTURER: Oh. Well, let's say fifteen minutes. We need to circulate the air in here.

Chairs screech and the people move, some stretch and yawn. The lecturer empties a glass of water in one draw. Tabbelle opens a window and pushes the button to the ventilation fan, which starts with a buzz. Conversations start as the crowd move out of the room into the corridor and court. Sally seizes the opportunity to confide something to Lily in a low voice. The serious demeanor of Lily cracks into hearty laughter. Sally's eyes sparkle as she escorts Lily to the Café. The photographer wishes that she had brought a camera.

During the pause the projection has been replaced. It displays a strangely symmetrical architecture with red curtains drawn in the foreground; a red sign, TURKEY in golden letters, hangs in the middle of the opening. Blue and white striped cloth creates a tent-like ceiling above a display case at the center where a person in a red turban sits under a baldachin. Persons in crinolines, long shawls and bonnets and other persons in black suits and top hats converse and look at the exhibit.

LECTURER: Ok, let's see, before the break I was talking about disguises and how the mask hides and reveals simultaneously.

SALLY: I thought you said something about the apparitional lesbian.

LECTURER: Yes, it is all intertwined, but let me come back to that later. Gray's architecture displays a great attention to the surface, the exposed and the masked. To under-

stand architecture of surfaces we can turn to nineteenth century architect Gottfried Semper. Semper designed the Canadian, Turkish, Swedish and Danish exhibition in the Crystal Palace, the great World Exhibition in London, 1851.⁴⁹ (*The lecturer nods towards the image*)

Semper considered architecture mask and decoration. For him the successful disguise was a proof of quality. For instance, the thin veil of paint in Greek polychrome architecture was to Semper the most subtle dress, “for while it dressed the material it was itself immaterial”.⁵⁰ He wrote that the artist “in times of high artistic development also *masked the material of the mask*.”⁵¹

An important idea in Semper’s thinking is the primary importance of cladding, *Bekleidung*. Semper reversed the hierarchical order where cladding is secondary to structure. Cladding and masking are closely connected. While the structure is embedded in the wall, Semper claimed that the significance of the wall is located within its visual surface. This idea of space brings out the importance of the texture of the enclosing wall. Gray was sure of her focus. She stated, “The thing constructed has greater importance than the way one has constructed it.”⁵² The surface signs, in other words; the dresses, are decisive for the meanings inscribed in architecture.

The façades with cladding, paint and ornaments are the coats of the building. The carpets, the wallpaper and some furniture dress the more protected spaces. A contemporary to Gray, interior decorator Elsie de Wolfe, thought of the house as a second container, after clothes, for the person.⁵³

The lecturer shifts to a projection with three images; a façade of a brown stone house with a sub-set front yard; a light dining room

*with doors surrounded by mirrors and chairs with transparent backs; and a portrait of a powdered lady before a little white goat. A smile passes the lips of Lily and she sniffs almost inaudibly at the sight of the portrait.*⁵⁴

LECTURER: De Wolfe, here portrayed by Romaine Brooks, had first become famous as a well-dressed actress, who always designed her own costumes. In the early 1890s theater producer Elizabeth Marbury inherited a house on Irving Place, New York, and moved in with de Wolfe.⁵⁵ It became the first of innumerable transformations of buildings that de Wolfe accomplished. De Wolfe wrote in her bestseller *The House in Good Taste* that the house should express the identity of the woman living there – a person she in her writing called “the mistress”.⁵⁶

The lecturer pulls the book out from the pile, which sways but does not tip over, and holds it up. Some pages are bookmarked and she searches for the right page.

LECTURER: About the transformation of the house on Irving Place she wrote:

And like a patient, well-bred maiden aunt, the old house always accepted our changes most placidly. There was never such a house.⁵⁷

The house, was just like the ladies living there, well-bred and unmarried – queer. De Wolfe feminizes the house when she writes about it; her house is not a gender-neutral container but a feminine dress. It is architecture as drag. I’ll return to this in the last lecture on Selma Lagerlöf/Mårbacka.

I think that the visible cladding is of enormous importance in the relation between people and architecture. Walls define bodies in the same fashion as costumes define bodies, or masks operate – from the outside in. To follow de Wolfe, walls provide a second container, after dress, for the body, but what she did not recognize is that the wrapping also constructs the identity of the inhabitant. To follow performativity theory, the self is constituted in the relation with people (an audience, a lover or a kinship relation) and in interaction with things (a mirror, a chair or a flight of stairs). Material queerness is situated in the surface – that is, in the interrelation between built matter and the active subject.

The lecturer goes back three slides to the projections of the living-room.

LECTURER: Another way that Gray’s architecture shifts definitions is by replacing walls with screens or letting them continue as a horizontal surface. The living-room floor of E.1027 is tiled in white, except for a section in black tiles. The black tiles, as in a folded extension, continue in a rectangle on the whitewashed wall. The bed and a woollen carpet are thicker surfaces placed into this folded composition. A padded surface on the wall mediates between bed and wall-tiles.

Eileen Gray argued that: “The architecture itself should be its own decoration.”⁵⁸ In her architecture everything is part of the composition. A removable painting was considered by Gray to be noxious to the overall harmony.⁵⁹

LILY: Miss Gray wished to create the entire room, from curtains, wall hangings, carpets, cloths to lighting, in

order to form an ensemble as beautiful as a poem.⁶⁰

LECTURER: As heroic as this sounds, there is a double edge here. Gray’s decisiveness with details left little room for the involvement of the inhabitants. I guess it was also a common way for architects to argue for their profession. E.1027 was “thinking through building,” a laboratory in which Gray explored and promoted her ideas on architecture.

What I find interesting is that Gray thinks of architecture as its own decoration. Feminist architecture theorists have pointed out how the term *structure* figures in dichotomy with *decoration*, which is to say, the masculine-feminine hierarchy. The latter term is suppressed when not entirely rejected.⁶¹ Queer theory works to destabilize divisive regimes based on binary thinking and perception, the thinking that constructs male and female as hierarchical oppositions, masculine and feminine, heterosexual and homosexual. A paradox is that the feminine is simultaneously marked by “good taste” – did I mention that Elsie de Wolfe’s book was called “The House in Good Taste”?⁶²

The dichotomy between structure and decoration forms the background to a feminist strategy to re-evaluate the decorative. When Gray merged the terms architecture and decoration it was not because decoration was unnecessary, rather she claimed a queer ambiguity where the decorative wall hangings were composed inseparably from the architecture.

The projections are advanced again to another image of the living-room. In the distant background, behind a person smoking in a black suit, are the balcony fringe and the view of a mountain landscape by the sea. A big red cat approaches.

LECTURER: The upper floor terrace is a rim along the house towards the Mediterranean Sea. The division between the living-room and the balcony is movable and variable. It consists of an accordion glass wall that can be completely folded aside. The instability of the wall has been further emphasized by the lack of frame or height difference between the balcony and the living-room. It is one continuous floor, clad in the same white tiles. Gray furnished the exterior. On one of her photographs of E.1027 published in *L'Architecture Vivante* she staged the upholstered *Transatchair* on the *Marine d'abord*-carpet in the balcony extension of the now open-air living-room and invited the spectator to take pleasure in the view of Monte Carlo and the sea. Here she also set up a dining table with a cork top (to reduce the noise of the silverware) and an adjustable lamp on a brush carpet.⁶³

LILY (*nods approvingly*): Here lies the genius of the artist, who knows how to tame nature by demanding, by the use of rare materials, a different harmony.⁶⁴

SALLY (*purrs a response*): To tame nature by demanding a different harmony – that's up my alley.

LECTURER (*continues as she has not heard*): Through the unpredictable outline the balcony-fringe becomes part of the center, and the living-room becomes part of the outside. E.1027 is folded around itself – the interior is wrapped around the exterior. Gray does not only reverse inside and outside, but she also shifts the meaning of being in or out. The simple division and the connotations of inside and outside are disturbed – queered.

Queer has come to mean dissonance, but as Butler has argued, the term should remain a critical device to transgress categorization. Nevertheless, to think about queer as dissonance is a way to understand more easily

how queer disturbs the clear-cut. Dissonance appears time and again, and messes up the boundaries.

The next projection moves outside. It shows three perspectives of the balcony fringe; one where the photographer has stood on the balcony, one from the terrace in front and the last is a distorted collage from a bird's eye view.

LECTURER: Another carpet, in a geometrical pattern made of tiles and concrete, is laid out in front of the house towards the Mediterranean Sea and makes up a part of the lower ground floor terrace. This horizontal surface before the sea reveals its importance in the overall composition when viewed from the living-room balcony. A thin layer on the ground, it comes through as a mat of different textures – the glossy black tiles of Salernes together with matt bone-white and brick red tiles circumscribe the dust-brown Mediterranean soil in straight lines. Gray here constructed another kind of carpet, not mobile but still perceived as a carpet, for the garden. The tiles, made of clay from the Riviera, sit in the soil. The surfaces of E.1027 and the ground are matted together.

Another dissonance is on the personal level of the architects involved. If Gray had designed the house for a female lover or entirely for herself, E.1027 could have been set into the realm of a separate homosexual culture. Instead, there was Jean Badovici who was not only Gray's client, but also an assisting architect and an intimate friend. The term *queer* unsettles this dichotomy of homosexuality and heterosexuality. Even if the building process of E.1027 also includes Badovici, in respect to their separate production, the building can be attributed to Gray.⁶⁵ The construction of the name E.1027 can also be interpreted as a comment on this: E is for Eileen; 10 for

the tenth letter in the alphabet, J; 2 for B and 7 for G; one architect framed by the other. He was her protégé and Gray's generosity towards Badovici is well documented. A severe blurring of gendered roles is going on here.

However, Badovici played an important role as the editor of the French modernist architecture publication *L'Architecture Vivante* where E.1027 was published in detail. In 1929 the winter issue is called 'E.1027: Maison en Bord de Mer' ('E.1027: House at the Brink of the Sea') and it is entirely devoted to E.1027. The building is well documented; there are thirty three posters with Eileen Gray's black and white photographs, some of which are hand colored; fourteen drawings (two in color, there is even some silver tint on one); and two texts.⁶⁶ The hand-colored photographs and drawings emphasize the importance that color, both the hue and the wrapping quality of color, color as a thin surface, had in Gray's work.

Furthermore, with publication in *L'Architecture Vivante* Gray put the private home on public display to promote her designs and participate in the debate concerning modern living. Professional recognition of E.1027 through this publication is one reason why E.1027 is still around.

*The lecturer shifts projection to a black and white photograph of a wall cabinet. A strip of mirror alongside the cabinet confuses the image, but an armature attached to a screen is reflected in the mirror.*⁶⁷

LECTURER: Gray's naming and playing with texts are significant. She does not use common signs such as "LADIES" and "GENTLEMEN". She uses language provocatively, as if to promote other ways of thinking about her de-

signs and spaces. In E.1027 she stenciled texts onto the architecture. Underneath a strikingly phallic lamp that pokes out of the entrance screen she wrote "DEFENSE DE RIRE" (laughing prohibited).⁶⁸

There are two possible entrances, but Gray is helpful; the text borrowed from the language of road signs, "SENS INTERDIT" (forbidden direction, or, no entry), points out the wrong way – the entrance that would take you to the intimate parts of the building. However, the text plays with double meanings, "feeling forbidden", but if spoken aloud it sounds like its opposite, *sans interdit*, lacking prohibition.

LILY: 'Double meanings', in French we say; *des paroles à double sens*, in English you use our *double entendre* or perhaps "speech acts in double direction"?⁶⁹

JULIAN: Yes, I was just thinking, *sens interdit*, couldn't that also be translated as "forbidden meaning"?

LILY: "SENS", in plural, also signify 'concupiscence', sensuality; *Les plaisirs des sens*.⁷⁰

LECTURER: Gray clearly teases the visitor as to how one should understand her words. She built up a tension and an urge to find out what the passage leads to. For less adventurous visitors "ENTREZ LENTEMENT" (enter slowly), is written on the wall of the proper entrance. She evokes, as Sylvia Lavin observes, "types of movement uncontainable by architectural interiors."⁷¹ Meaning is created through such performative acts. For a less normative understanding of architecture I wish to bring Lavin's statement one step further, since Gray evokes these movements they are in fact containable by architectural interiors.⁷² In E.1027 writings on walls perform with the built structures and create a queer performativity. *Queer performativity* is a term used by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick to describe "what criti-

cal writing can effect (promising? smuggling?).”⁷³ Gray’s mixture of techniques, texts on openings and screens, destabilize given rules. It is a strategy to create a distance to the granted; a dissonance.

*There is a dull black and white image of a large Caribbean map fixed to a wall. To the right, by the Atlantic, on the same level a window continues where the map ends. Some cubic furniture and a rectilinear armature overlap the map below Jamaica. Some texts have been stencilled across the map; in large letters INVITATION AU VOYAGE, a circle segment affirms BEAU TEMPS and in small white letters VAS-Y TOTOR (Go ahead Totor). In the lower right hand corner is a double socket.*⁷⁴

LECTURER: In the living-room fold of surfaces Gray fixed a marine chart of the Caribbean on which she printed “INVITATION AU VOYAGE” in big letters. The normal interpretation of this is that the inhabitant should feel like a tourist and dream away of distant places. The building’s marine and boat-like connotations underline this. Its mobile parts give it a kind of nomadic quality, which Gray called “le style «camping»,”⁷⁵ but an interpretation does not have to stop there. Gray’s stenciled text is also a reference to Charles Baudelaire’s poem ‘L’Invitation au voyage’, from his famous book *Les Fleurs du Mal* (*Flowers of Evil*). The book caused a scandal when it came out in 1857 and Baudelaire was prosecuted for the “immoral,” lesbian content.⁷⁶

*In a garden six women, draped in tunics, dance around a couple stationed in a melodramatic pose. A part of a circular colonnade can be seen behind a bush.*⁷⁷ The text “Là, tout n’est qu’ordre et beauté, Luxe, calme et volupté”⁷⁸ accompanies the photo-

*graph.*⁷⁹ *Lily has an air of recognition. Tabelle nods; she has seen the photograph a thousand times.*

LECTURER: Baudelaire wrote some of his poems to lesbians, where he romanticized their outlaw status and decadence. Baudelaire first had the title *Les lesbiennes* in mind for the book, but was advised against it.⁸⁰ According to German philosopher Walter Benjamin the lesbian was for Baudelaire the ideal heroine of modernism, in reality however he did not stand up for her. Nevertheless his books were popular on the lesbian scene in the Paris of the early twentieth century.⁸¹

LILY: You see, within the framework of modernism he made room for lesbians.⁸² For Baudelaire social exclusion was inseparable from the heroic nature of lesbian passion.⁸³ All the more alluring to us, Baudelaire envisioned another way of living – in extremes.⁸⁴ Modern life is like the ships of ‘L’invitation of voyage’, where nonchalance is combined with readiness for the utmost exertion of energy. (*Lily recites from memory*)

Vois sur ces canaux
Dormir ces vaisseaux
Dont l’humeur est vagabonde;
C’est pour assouvir
Ton moindre désir
Qu’ils viennent du bout du monde.⁸⁵

LECTURER: Bravo! In the poem ‘L’Invitation au voyage’ Baudelaire draws an allegory from the great, drowsy ships which lie sheltered in the canals and dream to sail forth to satisfy any desire. This abrupt juxtaposition signified modernism for Baudelaire.⁸⁶

Baudelaire's ideal travel partners on the ship were the lesbians, the doomed heroines of modernism. In 'L'Invitation au voyage' Baudelaire asks "his child, his sister," to join him where "...all is order and beauty, luxury, calm, and delight."⁸⁷ This can be interpreted as a description of the distant island-haven of Lesbos. Gray's friend, the partner of Lily, Natalie Barney, and some of her kin shared a utopian desire to establish a lesbian colony there. The photograph shows a performance of *Equivoque* in 1906 Barney's homoerotic play on the life of the poet Sappho, in the garden of Natalie Barney's first place of her own in Neuilly in the outskirts of Paris.⁸⁸

LILY: That's Nat at front right.

LECTURER: Were you also part of this performance?

LILY: Non, non, we met later, in 1909, the same spring she moved to Rue Jacob.⁸⁹

LECTURER: Oh, I see. The next lecture will move around the place of Natalie Barney at 20 rue Jacob and her literary salon.

The poem by Charles Baudelaire had also inspired to a surrealist short film *L'Invitation au voyage* from 1927, written and directed by Germaine Dulac.⁹⁰ Dulac, another woman-loving woman, was a central figure in 1920s French avant-garde cinema. Film theorist Anneke Smelik writes that Dulac is not alone but is part of a tradition of gay and lesbian film-making within early cinema. She also tells us that Dulac's films have been read as critiques of heterosexuality.⁹¹ Fantasy plays an important role in this tale of a married woman's night out at a cabaret. Thus the stenciled text not only invites you to far away countries, but reminds the spectator of the fantasies of Parisian night life.⁹²

There are two photographs; one shows a drum of semi-transparent corrugated fiber sheet on top of a flat roof, a couple of lemon trees are in the foreground. And the other is shot inside a spiral staircase lit from above with a closet in the casement.

LECTURER: A spiral staircase runs right through E.1027, but it is only visible from the outside where it shows on the roof terrace. Despite the central position in the house, the stairs are masked behind screens and walls, and not to be seen when you are inside. To reach the stairs from the main spaces beside it, you have to turn round a corner and open the secret door behind which the interior path to the lower ground floor is hidden. A new guest will be under the impression that they have to go outside to reach the lower floor.

The lecturer goes back to the projections of the sheet of drawings by Gray, she points with the staff to locate the stairs on the upper ground floor plan.

LECTURER: The staircase is not treated as a sculptural element in the interior or as a motive in the façade; instead, the beauty in the curve of the spiral concrete, enhanced by the sweeping light from the roof opening, does not reveal itself until the door is found. Here is a detailed plan of the staircase. The masked staircase conceals pockets of closets in its walls, some reached from inside the encasement and others from the surrounding spaces – a kind of double interiority, as well as a double concealment. The biggest secret of E.1027 is that it offers spaces for secrets, having layers of interiors within its interiors.

The lecturer points to the left side of the drawings. At the back of the seminar room Beau shuffles a note to the photographer: "A closeted staircase with closets in the case of stairs... that's what I call a closet case"

LECTURER: The *closet* is an important architectural metaphor that billows out of the heterosexual matrix. You are in the closet when you are hiding your homosexuality and you get out (of the closet) when you state your homosexuality. Several theorists such as literature critic Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick have reflected upon the term closet.⁹³ In an interview she muses over the invitation to lecture at the Architecture Department at Princeton.

The lecturer bends towards the laptop, searches on the screen and opens a recording of the interview. The two tin speakers are surprisingly efficient; an eager voice fills the lecture hall.

KRISTIN O'ROURKE (*Voice Over*): I'm wondering how much of an interaction you have with issues of visual representation, and do you work in any way with art works per se?

EVE KOSOFSKY SEDGWICK (*Voice Over*): The closest I've really come to that has been doing work with architects, and I think this may have started with a misunderstanding. Beatriz Colomina read *Epistemology of the Closet* and I think she may have thought:

"Oh, everybody needs more closet space, she must be interested in architecture."

Or at least she thought she could pass me off to the Princeton architecture school under that pretense.⁹⁴

The lecturer turns of the media player.

LECTURER: In *Queer Space, Architecture and Same-Sex Desire* architecture critic Aaron Betsky attempts to regard the closet not only as a metaphor, but also as a material space.⁹⁵ Ways of thinking and norms become more obvious when they are visualized through architectural metaphors. Like our built environment, they are difficult to shift, challenge or tear down.

When architect Henry Urbach in the essay 'Closets, Clothes, disClosure' compares the metaphoric closet and the material container of clothes, he finds that they are not as different as they might appear.⁹⁶ The homosexual closet helps heterosexuality to present itself with certainty in the same manner as the storage space houses things that threaten to soil the room. Urbach stresses that the stability of these arrangements depends on the architectural relation between closet and room. Their interdependency would mean that when their architectural relation is queered, becomes dissonant, the norm also becomes destabilized.

Urbach defines the material closet as a kind of wall cavity. It differs significantly from wardrobes, chests and armoires, which are freestanding, mobile objects that encase clothes within the precinct of the room. The closet, beyond but adjacent to the room, is rarely elaborated as its own space. It is set within the wall but said to be "in" the room. In the *chambre d'amis* (the friends' room) on the lower ground floor of E.1027, you find an elegant built-in closet. It makes up an entire wall, but the wall appears as a piece of furniture. Gray's wish was "That the very furniture, by losing its individuality, merges with the architectonic ensemble!"⁹⁷ The conven-

tional division between interior decoration and building is pointless in E.1027 since this architecture exists precisely through the blending of the two. Furniture turns out to be architecture.

The closet door conventionally gets concealed with the same wallpaper or paint as the surrounding wall; a closet should be accessible but inconspicuous. But, as always, the mask reveals and hides at the same time. A gap between the wall and the door, the door hinges and handle or the unfurnished space in front indicates the space behind. The staircase in E.1027 is also closeted by its door, which is set flush into the wall of the passage next to it. Furthermore, as I explained earlier, when the door is fully opened, it becomes part of another wall that closes the passage between the service area of the building and the living-room.

There is a projection of two images. The lithography to the left, entitled 'Running the gauntlet', shows a single woman in a late nineteenth century dress who strides in front of a long line of men in similar suits who lean against Doric columns. The men follow the woman with their gaze, she stares fast ahead and her full-length skirt flutters behind her. The other image is a photograph from the 1920's of six women in coats and skirts well above the ankle who walk together as a group but also in three couples. It is a broad sidewalk of a central European city, the women laugh and smoke.

LECTURER: Before the analysis of E.1027 resumes I need to make a detour to Paris. During her years as an art student in Paris at the beginning of the 1900s, Gray was escorted by her girlfriend Jessie Gavin.⁹⁸ Gavin passed as a man and therefore they could move in public, in places and at times impossible for two “lonely” women.⁹⁹ Gray embod-

ied the New Woman: self-assured and professional, with short-cut hair. She had love affairs with both women and men, but lived most of her life with her servant Louise Dany. Such a family constellation counters the norm of the nuclear family, but reinstates class difference.

The new women of Paris in the early 1900s contested the construct of women as private.¹⁰⁰ They smoked in public, sat around in bars and cafés and drove cars. Such scenes suggest, in art theorist Griselda Pollock's words, “the social revolution associated with women's sustained re-invention of themselves.”¹⁰¹ Even if they were considered decadent, fifty years earlier such scenes in Paris would have signified merely the women's status as prostitutes. The nineteenth century model of the respectable domestic woman also explains why interior decoration has been gendered as feminine. Architecture historian Penny Sparke has explained how the interior decorator began to occupy a middle ground, maintaining her commitment to the cultural links between domesticity and femininity but operating outside the home in the context of the “masculine”, public sphere of work defined as professional rather than amateur.¹⁰²

Gray criticized the avant-garde architects' fixation with exteriors: “Exterior architecture seems to have interested the avant-garde architects at the expense of the interior.”¹⁰³ Her statement has gendered implications, since in the simple dichotomy inside/outside, the exterior, associated with the masculine, had a higher status. Gray thought that the interior should command the exterior and not be the accidental consequence of the façade.

LILY: She wanted to create interiors which conform to our existences, with the proportions of our rooms and the aspirations of our sensibilities.¹⁰⁴

LECTURER: A very ambitious and daring attitude! Especially since Gray was well aware of how scandalous was your modern way of living, to paraphrase Baudelaire. Your existences, performed through matter and sensibility, as lesbian feminists provoked the established norms of society. Eileen Gray was a welcome guest in the salon that Natalie Barney staged in her home on 20 rue Jacob in Paris, and where Lily de Gramont was one of the key actors. In *Feminism and Theatre*, Sue-Ellen Case writes about the salon as a personal theater and a place where women have been important forces in the shaping of a public discussion.¹⁰⁵ Barney's salon was important in the staging of a lesbian lifestyle which counteracted the invisibility of lesbians in everyday life. Homosexuality in France at the time was shocking, but there were no repressive laws.¹⁰⁶ In her monograph on Eileen Gray, Caroline Constant writes that "...Gray remained discreet about her relationship during the early 1920s with the famous singer Marisa Damia (pseudonym of Marie-Louise Damien). Parisian society would tolerate such unconventional behavior so long as outward forms of decorum were maintained."¹⁰⁷

Barney had another attitude: she considered a scandal the best way of getting rid of nuisances.¹⁰⁸ There is a multitude of stories of her publicly staged love encounters, in *Bois de Boulogne*, at the opera or in her own garden temple, *Temple à l'Amitié (Temple to Friendship)*. Lesbianism has, as queer theorist Judith Halberstam puts it, "conventionally been associated with the asexual, the hidden, the 'apparitional', and the invisible."¹⁰⁹ There is a heteronormative effort to remove lesbians from sexual activities. The "indecent" sexual activities are not "less important"; they are at the heart of why

same-sex desire was, and still is, provoking – they always nestle within the analysis.

Aaron Betsky, who mainly refers to the cultures of homosexual men, argues that the closet is the fundamental principle for queer space. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick identified the epistemology of the closet as male.

The lecturer turns to the laptop, opens the window of the media player, drags the indicator of the visualizer to another position and pushes play. The recorded voices of the interview with Sedgwick fill the lecture room once more.

MARK KERR (*Voice Over*): In *Epistemology of the Closet* you suggest that the homo/heterosexual crisis, a definition that shapes western concerns about identity and social organization, is endemically male. Since its publication in 1990, have you thought more about what the *Epistemology of the Closet* would mean from a lesbian perspective? Would you say that the closet would function around issues of eroticism for women?¹¹⁰

EVE KOSOFSKY SEDGWICK (*Voice Over*): I'm not sure--I wouldn't start by assuming that "closets" was a useful term. It might turn out to be, but I wouldn't assume that. It doesn't exactly ring a bell with me.¹¹¹

The recorded voices are switched off.

LECTURER: I think the closet is one principle out of many, but not necessarily in every spatial expression of queerness; to insist on the closet limits queer space to a dichotomy of heterosexuality and homosexuality. The act of closeting is a normative way to dismiss queer space to the fringes of normalcy and contain it within

the deviant other. The picture becomes different if the cultures of female same-sex desire are not only added but taken as starting points. In Paris of the early twentieth century women who loved women, such as the poet Gertrud Stein and the interior decorator Elsie de Wolfe, had to be discreet, but it is an oppressive mistake to make them and their spaces less visible than they were. They fought, and became role models, for the freedom to appear independently in public and professional life. The central role of this network in refining and redefining the founding principles of modernism has often been overlooked.¹¹² To put them in the closet only serves homophobia. This explicit lesbian culture was much more at the center of mainstream culture than is normally recognized by historiography. In the 1920s, Gray was among the leading designers in France and did not at all play the marginalized part later ascribed to her.¹¹³

It is correct to think about the closet with regard to lesbians as well, but it seems just as important to relate the spaces of this group to the life in privacy ordained to all women by nineteenth century ideology. It was maybe not an entirely homosexual network of women, but definitely a female homosocial environment that greatly shaped the domesticity of modernity. Penny Sparke observes that Elsie de Wolfe had an “overwhelmingly female”¹¹⁴ network of friends, supporters and clients: “While her homosexuality undoubtedly brought her into close contact and friendships with a number of women [...] it was her ‘homosociality’ that was more significant in bringing her professional projects.”¹¹⁵ De Wolfe’s strategy was a mutual admiration between architect and client in which the creative project became a reciprocal confirmation. In-

deed, it might not be possible to make a clear distinction between homosexuality and homosociality.¹¹⁶

De Wolfe was a queer link between the complementary gendered roles of male architect and female home creator. In *The House in Good Taste* she situated the interior decorator as different from the architect, who was gendered male, and claimed that it was the decor that made the building into a home.¹¹⁷ The line she draws between the professions has to do with her position as a woman; she was able to turn the expected gendered talent for home creation into a profession because she opposed, and complemented, the skills of the male architect. This position continues the tradition of considering women as different and complementary to men, only de Wolfe changed the hierarchy and argued that the significance of the home was in the feminine decor. In addition, it is not always easy to make the distinction between decor and building in her projects, since she transformed buildings rather extensively. Eileen Gray came from the field of interior decoration but sought to bridge the difference between decor and building – as you have seen, she designed E.1027 as a composition of walls, tiles, furniture, windows, soft horizontal surfaces and mirrors.

It was the particular Parisian context that enabled Gray to establish herself as a designer and producer of lacquer works and carpets. In 1921, she opened the interior design shop *Jean Désert* – her masculine pseudonym – from which she sold her designs for furniture, carpets, lamps and mirrors. From the start, *Jean Désert* had a group of supporting customers in the salon; for instance, the painter Romaine Brooks, and the proprietor of the English bookstore *Shakespeare and Company*, Sylvia Beach.¹¹⁸ And a person you’re already acquaint-

ed with, one of the most frequent guests at Barney's salons, Barney's lover and dearest friend, at the time already generating scandal due to her divorce and revolutionary ideas, "the red duchesse" Lily de Gramont was, as you know, the first person in France to write about Gray's work in 1922.¹¹⁹

Women are often constrained to create a room of their own within a structure built by men. The interesting thing about both Barney's salon and Gray's house is that they do not stay within the limits, but rework the very border of the fixed place. Barney's salon was queer because it created, through a network of acts, actors and physical architecture, a dissonance in the spaces of heteronormativity. Her salon was not disguised in the sense of being hidden, but extravagantly masked within the dominant culture. In the next lecture we will go and take a closer look at the salon of Natalie Barney. The theater of the salon and the strategies of E.1027 resist the simplistic division of private and public. Not only do they reverse the hierarchical order between the feminine marked inside "the private" and the masculine marked outside "the public," but also make them slide.

The lecturer shows her plans of E.1027 and points to the constellations of lines in the upper right corner of the upper ground floor plan.

LECTURER: The kitchen of E.1027 operates in a way that confuses the private/public dichotomy. The kitchen, one of the most productive spaces of a home, is gendered feminine but is also marked by the servant. E.1027 was designed with a house keeper in mind. The kitchen is a service space, but Gray did not hide

it. It meets the eye right at the end of the path that leads up to the front doors. It is the most public part of the building.

The kitchen cannot be reached from inside the house; an open, only roof covered, entrance space connects the kitchen with the rest of the building. All the same the kitchen is embedded in the body of the building and on one continuous level with the rest of the upper ground floor. It appears simultaneously as the same and another building, both internal and external. Like a closet for overcoats, the interior of E.1027 is wrapped around the exterior.

The kitchen is repeated in an extension into the lemon grove by a roof-covered summer kitchen with partial walls. Both kitchen parts are set about one meter into the ground of the steep site. "The kitchen is no more than a recess in the yard."¹²⁰ The garden is not definitively separated from the kitchen, since there is no obvious outer wall. The habitation extends into the landscape as E.1027 opens out towards the surroundings. Gray modeled the kitchen on the local practice of preparing food in open air during summer and indoors in winter and bad weather. But she also plays on our understanding of being indoors and outdoors.

The normal division inside/outside is mediated through a sequence of three parallel walls none of which is a proper façade. The innermost wall is hollow as it is mostly made up of storage spaces. The middle partition, between inner and outer kitchen, partly consists of glass panels that fold flat and transform the inner kitchen into an open-air alcove in the courtyard. The outermost, a semi-tall reclining wall, already sits in the garden. The simple division of inside and outside is dis-

turbed – queered. We can recognize the strategy from the instable wall of living-room and balcony.

Let’s look at another space which involves the maid. From the kitchen, once the stage-like entrance was crossed, the maid could pass in the *sens interdit* behind the scenes to her chamber on the lower floor.

The lecturer points to the plan as she talks; the pointer traces the steps of an anonymous maid from the upper ground floor plan to the lower.

LECTURER: The maid’s room is strikingly dissimilar from the rest of E.1027. Gray called it *la plus petite cellule habitable* (the smallest inhabitable space). This can be understood as a full scale experiment, part of the social reform movement of the time to improve working class living quarters.¹²¹

SALLY: The word “cellule” sounds somewhat disquieting...

LECTURER: Yes, disquieting is a good way to describe it, because the room can also be understood as a condescending way of accommodating the maid that reminds her of her “lower” order. Gray argued that the maid’s room was economic yet sufficiently comfortable, designed for uncomplicated movement. It has only one entrance and can not be reached directly from the terrace outside. A ventilation window from floor to ceiling, which could have been a door to the outside, can only be opened slightly and in small parts. The room is contained within the house of the employer and it is much more enclosed than the other spaces of E.1027. It is obvious that Gray strongly connected the maid’s role with the practical and economic, and failed to address the task of her living with the intimate refinement that can be ascribed to the rest of

the building. For example, the ceiling in this room is the only interior displaying the raw concrete of which the building was made. The architecture is a class marker that reminds the servant of her subordination. In addition, the private room of the maid is presented as a spatial type not only for domestic workers but also children.¹²² With a condescending blindness, where the needs of servants and children were produced as similar but different to the prosperous home owner, Gray proposed it as a model to provide no more than the indispensable aspects of well-being.¹²³ Her arrogance is striking in relation to the rest of the building, but at least the housekeeper has a room of her own and is ensured privacy. It is not possible to sneak in on her.¹²⁴

SALLY: Let’s play master and servant...

LECTURER: There are many stories of life-long relations between mistress and maid, Eileen Gray and Louise Dany lived almost 50 years together.¹²⁵ At a time when women were not allowed to travel or live without company the maid granted some freedom acting as a chaperone to wealthy women. Although the maid was hired help, this does not preclude the possibility of an intimate relationship. At least this is not dramatically different from a married woman of the time, who lacked civil and economic rights. In 1910 political activist Emma Goldman published a pamphlet in which she related marriage to prostitution; she argued that all women were forced to sell themselves.¹²⁶ The point is not to speculate on Gray’s and Dany’s particular relation, but to point out that the relation Gray inscribed between home owner and housekeeper in her architecture is also loaded with meaning.

SALLY: But there are lots of queer relations that build upon class difference...

LECTURER: For sure, but I do not draw my analysis from Gray's biography. Remember, she was the architect, not the home owner. Gray's life and love only inspired me to look at E.1027 with a queer eye. Queerness, gender trouble, becomes a method to discover architecture.

SALLY: Yes, but what do we see if we think about the architectural master-servant relation in terms of sexuality? I think you are shying away from the juicy bits...

LECTURER: Well, lucky you, I am now going to show you the more intimate parts of the building; the boudoir-studio.

There is a doubling of the boudoir theme on the upper ground floor of E.1027 – the living-room and the boudoir-studio.¹²⁷

The lecturer circles the left side of the upper floor plan and then the much smaller right side, about one third in size of the living-room.

LECTURER: The former provokingly exposed, with the big bed as a centerpiece, a place to entertain guests, and the latter closeted, being well-hidden from the living-room by a screen and an overlapping wall which contains a foldable bar. Just like the extrovert living-room, the hidden chamber also performs as a multifunctional “Grayian” boudoir, complete with an extravagant bed that emerges from the wall dressed in fur and colored drapes that, even when drawn back, would keep it elegant, a studio portion arranged with a writing table, diffused light and an intricate filing cabinet; and behind the shimmering aluminum-clad *coiffeuse*, a slim screen-like cabinet, running water; a washbowl and a fold-out mirror with a satellite tray for “CHOSES LÉGÈRES” (light things). Unlike the extrovert living-room, however, the chamber is hidden away within the body of the building.

A private balcony with a summer bed supplies the chamber with an exterior hideaway – protected by the corner of the building and out-of-sight from the long balcony of the seaside. Behind the bedroom is another place to wash yourself – a proper bathroom well separated into its own distinct space, providing the greatest privacy in this sequence of closeted spaces. A small exterior stairway makes it possible to exit into the lower gardens; despite the closeness of the bathroom, its independence is assured.

There are three alternative ways out from this interior hidden within an interior: through the bathroom, the living-room, and the balcony. (*The lecturer shows the doorways on the plan*) Additionally, Gray hid the exits from within the chamber. “Thanks to the disposition of this room (by overlapping) the doors are invisible from the inside”¹²⁸ The possibility to both reach the chamber and leave without being seen evokes games of hide-and-seek, secret love affairs and safe escape routes. Despite the extreme interiority of the chamber, there is no sense of being confined. In fact, all the spaces in the building, except the maid's room, have several possible links, as well as a direct connection to the garden. The links between the rooms can be seen as built-in codes for movement. You never enter directly into a room, but always move around corners. As Sylvia Lavin observes, “E.1027 is, in fact, riddled with what might be called secret passages, hidden escape routes that have little to do with conventional windows and doors.”¹²⁹ Doors and windows are normally privileged architectural elements. In Gray's architecture, the doors are hidden and windows are subordinated to ventilation or made to disappear.

The lecturer flips through the projections to the final one. She stands on a balcony a head taller than the old white haired woman with a starched apron next to her. Behind them is a the view of the bay outside Roquebrune.

LECTURER: E.1027 can be understood as a performative challenge to the heterosexual matrix. It is clearly recognizable as a house to live in; simultaneously, it does not conform to the nuclear family. You live in another fashion here; the building is sexually charged and ambiguous. E.1027 seems, in Sylvia Lavin's words, "to offer access to a life outside the rules of civilized behavior and conventional architecture."¹³⁰ If architecture aggravates cultural norms, there is much to be learned from such an instance of subversion. In my opinion, Gray's house offers a built suggestion for a nonstraight lifestyle. Gray sought to build out of sensibility, but "a sensibility clarified by knowledge; enriched by ideas."¹³¹ She opposed, through the search for complexity and nuances, a simplistic architecture of oppositions, the division between thought and body, surface and structure, the beautiful and the practical. Gray did not see the pleasure of the eye as opposed to the well-being and comfort of the building's inhabitants. E.1027, depending on the cultural context, can be understood as a feminist critique of the culture of architecture, a culture that has a dubious relation to (homo)sexuality and maintains a mainstream normative masculinist taste.

JULIAN: What has happened to the building? Wasn't le Corbusier involved in some way?

LECTURER: E.1027 has been abandoned. Le Corbusier, probably the most famous twentieth century architect, was involved in an effort to protect the building for the

future, but the building was stripped of its furniture and fittings and left to decay. Only the murals Le Corbusier executed in 1939 (against Gray's wishes) have been restored, as late as 1994. E.1027 was bought by the Municipality of Roquebrune-Cap Martin a few years ago and has now been listed as a historical monument. Work on its renovation has started – E.1027 will be restored, with all details, colors and furniture of 1929 – the year when Gray considered E.1027 completed – and opened for visitors. Le Corbusier's murals will be covered. The building will become an exhibition of itself and some of its living qualities will not function. There are plans not only to show it as a museum but also make it into a research facility with residences.

SALLY: Good for you...

LECTURER: Actually, I think it is strategically correct from the viewpoint of feminist historiography and hopefully Gray's architectural proposition will appear once more.

My claim is not that this queer interpretation is the only truth, what's significant is the confrontation with the most powerful position: the so called "neutral" gaze of the white, western, heterosexual, middle class male – the position which has the historic and cultural preferential right of interpretation.

The Abbott-photograph of Gray I showed you where she has that sort of early Garçonne-look, and Peter Adam's biography where he writes about Gray's love affairs with women triggered me to see if there are any queer moments in her architecture.¹³² So I threw myself into a queer reading of E.1027 and I felt like the building unfolded itself to me. Suddenly I could see how sexually charged and ambiguous the building is.

JULIAN: Would this "filter" work on any building?

LECTURER: Well, the terms *performativity* and *heteronormativity* for instance are useful analytical spectacles to look at any built environment. And when we study other “normative” modernist projects I think it is important to remember the centrality of the culture of sexual nonconformity for the experimental impulse of the nineteen twenties.

JULIAN: But queerness manifests itself differently in childhood than in adolescence or adulthood. Gay adults may be married, live alone, with children, with elderly parents, with friends, with partners. As it is impossible to generalize, there is no one spatial/domestic manifestation of the issue of queerness. The same space might be lived in and experienced in a variety of ways.¹³³

LECTURER: Yes, but I still think there is more to it. There are the individual and the structural levels. To stop at a statement that you can do whatever you want... wouldn't that be to regress to see architecture purely as bricks and mortar? Architecture is not the only subjectivating norm and not to be blamed for all social inequalities, but what I have tried to show here is how it is inscribed with behaviour and how it is “designed to offer endless narcissistic self-confirmation to the unstable normative systems of sex, gender, and family.”¹³⁴

Oh, I forgot to reference the last image. This is Laurence Marinovich she is now almost ninety, but when she was a child she played with the cat in the garden of E.1027 and met Eileen Gray. I asked her about the house, she remembered how the walls moved. She said:

Déjà c'était les temps modernes, mais avec elle, alors, c'était les temps future!¹³⁵

(Modern times were already here, but with her – well, it was the future!)

Thank you very much!

Notes

- 1 My translation of “une atmosphère intérieure en harmonie avec les raffinements de la vie intime moderne”, Eileen Gray & Jean Badovici, *L'Architecture Vivante – E.1027: Maison en Bord de Mer* (“*The Vivid Architecture – E.1027: House at the Brink of the Sea*”), no. 26, 1929, 23. A major part of the analysis and the words of the lecturer in ‘Lecture One: Living-room’ is previously published in Bonnevier, ‘A Queer Analysis of Eileen Gray’s E.1027’, Hilde Heyen and Gulsum Baydar, eds., *Negotiating Domesticity. Spatial productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, London and New York: Routledge, 2005.
- 2 Francesco Rapazzini’s *Élisabeth de Gramont – Avant-gardiste*, Paris: Fayard, 2004 is a remarkable biography of de Gramont and her world.
- 3 Gray and Badovici, 28.
- 4 Joel Sanders, ed., *Stud – Architectures of Masculinity*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, 13. As explained later in this chapter and in ‘Drawing the Curtains’ *performativity* is a critique of the idea of essence, and underlines how meaning is created in the process of making.
- 5 The masculine/feminine is one of the binaries that queer theory aims to deconstruct. The feminine or the masculine are not absolute categories. The meanings invested in masculinity and femininity change in time and place which also opens up for gender variations. For example, in Jenny Sundén’s study of text-based online worlds there is a list of the possible gender choices for an inhabitant of the *WaterMOO*: male, female, neuter, either, Spivak, splat, plural, egotistical, royal and 2nd. Sundén shows how multiple genders make the certainties of gender dualism collapse. Jenny Sundén, *Material Virtualities. Approaching Online Textual Embodiment*, Dept. Communication Studies, Linköping University, 2002, 45.
- 6 Simone de Beauvoir, *Le Deuxième Sexe*, Paris: Gallimard, 1949.
- 7 Leslie Kanes Weisman, ‘Women’s Environmental Rights: A Manifesto’, *Heresies 11, A Feminist Publication on Art & Politics*, “*Making Room, Women and Architecture*”, Vol. 3 No. 3 Issue 11, 1981, 8.
- 8 Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998, 20-29.
- 9 Ibid, 20.
- 10 I will return to how writings on doors or walls, in Eileen Gray’s E.1027, perform with the built structures to create gender performativity.
- 11 One reason for the separation is to avoid sexual acts; a conclusion based on a heteronormative failure to recognize that single gendered spaces are places for homosocial activities. For examples, public men’s rooms are well known cruising sites. For a further investigation of this in English; David Woodhead, ‘Surveillant Gays: HIV, Space and the Constitution of Identities’, David, Bell & Gill, Valentine eds., *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities*, New York: Routledge, 1995, and in a Swedish context; Margareta Lidholm and Arne Nilsson, *En annan stad. Kvinnligt och manligt homoliv 1950-1980* (“*Another City. Female and male homosexual lives 1950-1980*”), Göteborg: AlfabetaAnamma, 2002.
- 12 Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 20.
- 13 The list of literature on Gray and E.1027 is long, but my main references are two biographies; Peter Adam, *Eileen Gray: architect, designer: a biography*, London & New York: Thames & Hudson, 1987 and Caroline Constant, *Eileen Gray*, London: Phaidon, 2000. Ethel Buisson’s and Beth Mclendon’s analysis have been of great importance to my understanding of E.1027, Buisson and Mclendon (1996),

- 'Eileen Gray', *Archérie*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.irish-architecture.com/eileen_gray> [Date accessed 30 December, 2003]; as well as Lynne Walker, 'Architecture and Reputation: Eileen Gray, gender, and modernism', in Brenda Martin and Penny Sparke, eds., *Women's Places: Architecture and Design 1860-1960*, London and New York: Routledge, 2003 and, referenced previously, Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici, *L'Architecture Vivante – E.1027: Maison en Bord de Mer*, no. 26, 1929.
- 14 Controversially, architect Catherine Ingraham spelled out how the positions of the doorknobs roughly correspond to the height of the genitals. She writes that the formal sameness of the outlines of the doors is how architecture finds its way around the problem of sexual difference; it circumscribes the follies of sexual life and buries it within. Catherine Ingraham, *Architecture and the Burdens of Linearity*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998, 111-112.
- 15 From "To open..." to "...one's genitals." quote from Ingraham, 111.
- 16 Ingraham wrote "Thus opening the door to a room might be seen, accurately, as a kind of foreplay." Ibid.
- 17 Ingraham argues that the insistence of the neutrality of the category of space in the architectural tradition mutes and neutralizes the political and analytical power of many things, but especially the sexual. Which relies on a misapprehension, "as if [...] sexuality possessed nothing of the technical, the geometric, the spatial." Ingraham, 110-111.
- 18 An image of Boudoir de Monte Carlo is published in Adam, 132 and Constant, 50.
- 19 In the notes by Robin Middleton to the English translation of Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières, *the Genius of Architecture; or, The Analogy of that Art with our Sensations* (1780), transl. David Britt, Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1992, 190. For further discussion on the idea of the boudoir in modernism see Anne Troutman, 'The Modernist Boudoir and the Erotics of Space', Heynen and Baydar, 296-314.
- 20 My translation of "un moment dans un recherche plus générale," Gray and Badovici, 28.
- 21 My translation and my emphasis, Gray and Badovici, 23. The quote also shows how Eileen Gray sought to contest an opposition between technology and an atmosphere of harmony. The photo is published in Adam, 184 and Constant, 2.
- 22 Film- and mass culture theorist Alexander Doty defines the terms queer and queerness as "...a range of nonstraight expression in, or in response to, mass culture. This range includes specifically gay, lesbian, and bisexual expressions; but it also includes all other potential (and potentially unclassifiable) nonstraight positions." Doty, *Making Things Perfectly Queer. Interpreting Mass Culture*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997, xvi.
- 23 Many know E.1027 not because of its norm bending architecture, but as the building that obsessed Le Corbusier. Architecture historian Beatriz Colomina has written about Le Corbusier's desire for E.1027 and Eileen Gray in 'Battle Lines: E.1027', Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway and Leslie Kanes Weisman, eds., *The Sex of Architecture*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996, 167-182. Le Corbusier tightly framed the previously solitary E.1027 when he built on the adjacent site. He also marked the very walls of E.1027 with a number of murals. Even if this story is important it victimizes Gray and the attention shifts from her architecture to the dominant male architect. This view is elaborated by architecture historian Sylvia Lavin in 'Colomina's Web: Reply to Beatriz Colomina', *The Sex of Architecture*, 183-190.

- 24 Élisabeth De Gramont and Eileen Gray met during the First World War when Gray drove an ambulance under the command of de Gramont. Andrea Weiss, *Paris was a woman: portrait from the Left Bank*, London: Pandora, Harper Collins, 1995, 120.
- 25 *Feuilles d'art* (approximately *Sheets of Art*) was published on a luxurious paper from 1919. Texts were signed by Andre Salmon, Jean Cocteau, Andre Gide, Jean Giraudoux, Max Jacob, Paul Valery, Anna de Noailles and Paul Morand, and there were illustrations by Pablo Picasso, Kees Van Dongen, Marie Laurencin, Valentine Hugo, Chana Orloff, Helene Perdriat and Andre Derain. Francesco Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont – Avant-gardiste*, Paris: Fayard, 2004, 382.
- 26 From “Coming from...” to “...quays of Seine.” my translation of “Venue de cette île septentrionale, où la recherche continue d’autre chose confine à l’impossible, Eileen Gray ne peut vivre et imaginer que le long des quais historiques de la Seine.” Élisabeth de Clermont-Tonnerre (Élisabeth de Gramont’s name as married), ‘Les laques d’Eileen Gray’, *Feuilles d'art*, no 3, mars 1922, Paris: Lucien Vogel, 1922, 147-48, reprinted in Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 383.
- 27 Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, Paris 1900-1940, London: Virago press, 1987, 47.
- 28 Walker, 104.
- 29 Doty, xi.
- 30 6.30x14 meters, the living-room is the largest interior of E.1027.
- 31 Gray and Badovici, 26-27. Also published in Adam, 196-197.
- 32 Gray did not have any formal architectural education; however, the architect Adrienne Gorska taught her the basics of architectural drawing. Walker, 99.
- 33 Some of these uncertainties were answered on site visits October 17, 2003 and February 25-26, 2004, even though the building looks very different from its heydays. E.1027 has been abandoned and left to decay. Since 1999 E.1027 is listed a historical monument and will through the Municipality of Roquebrune-Cap Martin, the owner of E.1027, be restored, with all details, colors and furniture of 1929 – the year when Gray considered E.1027 complete – and opened for visitors.
- 34 “A different harmony” my translation of “une harmonie différente.” Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 383.
- 35 Marcel Duchamp made such a door in 1927 for his studio at 11 rue Larrey, Paris. (In 1921 Duchamp transformed into Rose Sélavy, the same year Gray invented her male partner or pseudonym Jean Desert)
- 36 Judith Butler, ‘Is Kinship Always already Heterosexual?’, *differences*, No.13.1, 2002, 37.
- 37 Gray and Badovici, 28.
- 38 The movable elements are shown in Gray and Badovici, plate 35, 38, 42 and 58, also in Constant 107, 109 and 112.
- 39 John Langshaw Austin, *How to do things with words* (1962), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- 40 Jacques Derrida, ‘Signature Event Context’ (1972) in *A Derrida reader: behind the blinds*, edited by Peggy Kamuf. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, 83-111.
- 41 Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: a politics of the performative*. London & New York: Routledge, 1997, 150.
- 42 Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 51. (Butler’s emphasis)
- 43 In the final chapter ‘Drawing the Curtains’ the relation of performativity to performance is explained further.
- 44 My translation of “un moment dans un recherche plus générale,” Gray and Badovici, 28.

- 45 Butler, 'Is Kinship Always already Heterosexual?,' 14.
- 46 The plan soleil is widely published, originally in Gray & Badovici, 23, later in Adam, 193, and Constant, 115.
- 47 Drawings are important tools for architects to develop, represent and produce architecture. There is an interesting strand, for example, from the avant-garde designers at the time of the Russian revolution to contemporary paper architects of capitalist Russia, presented in the exhibition: *Russian Utopia: a Depository. Museum of Paper Architecture*, at the Venice Biennale, 1996, Moscow: Utopia Foundation, 2000 [www]. Available: <<http://www.utopia.ru/english/>> [Date accessed: 061020]. The discourse on *paper architecture* is analogous to performance theory discourse on the difference between script and play – see the 'Drawing the Curtains.'
- 48 The hand-colored photo is published in Gray and Badovici, plate 32, and in Constant, 97.
- 49 Gottfried Semper, *Style. Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts; or, Practical Aesthetics*, Introduction by Harry Francis Mallgrave. Trans. Mallgrave & Michael Robinson, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004.13. *Crystal Palace* was a gigantic exhibition building set up for *The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations* in Hyde Park, London, 1851. It is often referred to as the starting point of modernism in architecture. It has come to symbolize the industrial age. Swedish women's rights activist and novelist Fredrika Bremer wrote upon her visit that the Crystal Palace appeared to her as "a troll castle from the world of fairytales". My translation of "ett trollsloft ur fesagornas värld". Fredrika Bremer, *England om hösten år 1851*, Stockholm: Norstedt, 1922, 47 (quoted in Anders Ekström, *Den utställda världen. Stockholmsutställningen 1897 och 1800-talets världsutställningar*, Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag, 1997, 31).
- 50 Semper, *Style*, 379. I have developed the theme of the polychrome and Semper in relation to masks and make-up in Bonnevier 'Vita hus, blonda masker', *ARTES*, journal for literature, art and music, No 2, 2003.
- 51 Gottfried Semper, *The four elements of architecture and other writings*. Harry Francis Mallgrave, intro. and trans., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 257.
- 52 My translation of "La chose construite a plus d'importance que la manière dont on la construit," Gray and Badovici, 23.
- 53 Penny Sparke, 'Elsie de Wolfe and her female clients, 1905-15: gender, class and the professional interior decorator', in Brenda Martin and Penny Sparke, eds., *Women's Places: Architecture and Design 1860-1960*, London and New York: Routledge, 2003, 50.
- 54 Elsie de Wolfe, *The House in Good Taste*, New York: The Century Company, 1911, about the dining-room at Irving Place (1896) 14, 36 and about the fifty-fifth street house (1911), 43, 45, also discussed and shown in Penny Sparke, *Elsie de Wolfe. The Birth of Modern Interior Decoration*, New York: Acanthus Press, 2005, 30-31, 90.
- 55 Sparke, *Women's Places*, 67.
- 56 De Wolfe, 5.
- 57 Ibid., 28.
- 58 My translation of "C'est l'architecture qui doit être à elle-même sa propre decoration," Gray and Badovici, 19.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 From "Miss Gray..." to "...beautiful as a poem." my translation, with a change in tempus from present to past tense, of "Miss Gray veut créer la chambre tout entière depuis les rideaux, les tentures, les tapis, les étoffes jusqu'aux éclairages, pour former un ensemble beau comme un poème." Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 383.

- 61 See the introduction for a further discussion of the feminine/masculine hierarchy.
- 62 Despite her lesbian love life, which Elsie de Wolfe handled with discretion, and her obscure background in theater, which was a mark of loose morals, she was a famous arbiter of taste; her blonde, upper-class femininity ensured her credibility in matters of *taste*. De Wolfe was passionate about fair colors and European classicist design, a preference not entirely unconnected to a racist preference for light skins. Stage acting was compared to prostitution and professional actresses had loose morals according to North American conservative society at the end of the nineteenth century. Sparke, *Elsie de Wolfe*, 15. To discuss taste is to open another forbidden door in architecture, Jennifer Bloomer has written about a related, forbidden, feminine subject; *beauty* in Bloomer, ‘...and Venustas’, *AA files*, no.23, 1993. Also published in a Swedish translation by Catharina Gabriellson, ‘...och venustas’, *MAMA/Divan*, Feb., 1998.
- 63 Gray and Badovici, poster 37 (the carpet, in color, is also presented on poster 50) and 39.
- 64 From “Here lies...” to “...a different harmony.” my translation of “Là gît le génie de l’artiste, qui sait assouplir la nature en lui demandant, avec le concours de matières inusitées, une harmonie différente.” Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 383.
- 65 Walker discusses the problem that in a collaboration between a man and a woman the building often gets attributed to the man. “Cultural assumptions about women’s auxiliary role and subservient nature takes over.” Walker, 100.
- 66 ‘De l’éclectisme au doute’ (‘From eclecticism to doubt’) and ‘Description’, co-written by Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici.
- 67 Gray & Badovici, plate 30.
- 68 This interpretation was given to me by the guide Christine Coulet on a visit to E.1027 who had this from Renaud Barrès, the local architect involved in the restoration of E.1027.
- 69 ‘SENS’, *Dictionnaire de L’Académie française*, 8th Edition, 1932-5, page 2:577, from *ARTFL Project*, Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1991. [www] Available: <<http://humanities.uchicago.edu/orgs/ARTFL/>> [Date accessed October 18, 2006]
- 70 From “SENS...” to “...sensuality.” My translation of “SENS, au pluriel, signifie aussi Concupiscence, sensualité.” *Les plaisirs des sens* translates: “*The pleasures of the senses*”, *ibid.*
- 71 Lavin, 187.
- 72 Architect Brady Burroughs called my attention to how the material poetry of Eileen Gray can be seen as a precedent to the writing on buildings of Robert Venturi/Denise Scott Brown – important figures in the postmodern movement in architecture.
- 73 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Tendencies*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1993, 11.
- 74 Gray named her car *Totor*. Totor, short for Victor, was also a famous clown. Gray bought her first car, a Chenard & Walcker, already in 1908, Adam, 65. the image is published in Adam, 198-99.
- 75 Gray and Badovici, 25.
- 76 Charles Baudelaire, (1821-1867), was put on trial for the “immoral” content; six poems were censored in the second edition. Two of the condemned poems (‘Lesbos’ and ‘Femmes Damnées: Delphine et Hippolyte’) had an explicitly lesbian theme. In the posthumous 1868 edition the prohibited poems were re-introduced. Charles Baudelaire,

- Les Fleurs du Mal (Flowers of Evil, 1857, 1861, 1868)*, Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1942, 229-239.
- 77 Sheila Crane observes that “The small circular colonnade that stood in Barney’s garden in Neuilly served as an appropriately classicizing backdrop for this and other performances. At the same time, the production relied on the broader architectural framing of the landscape whose walls created a space physically and notionally removed from the city and its social norms, as in the rear garden at 20 rue Jacob.” Sheila Crane, ‘Mapping the Amazone’s Salon: Symbolic Landscapes and Topographies of Identity in Natalie Clifford Barney’s Literary Salon’, *Gender and Landscape. Renegotiating morality and space*, Lorraine Dowler, Josephine Carubia & Bonj Szczygiel, eds., London & New York: Routledge, 2005, 157.
- 78 Baudelaire, 58.
- 79 The photograph is published in Diana Souhami, *Wild girls. Paris, Sappho & Art: the Lives and Loves of Natalie Barney and Romaine Brooks*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2004, plate 1 and Weiss, 103.
- 80 There are many speculations as to the choice of title. The title *Les lesbiennes* would have outraged the bourgeoisie and possibly completely halted the publication. Baudelaire, 271-275.
- 81 Walter Benjamin, ‘Modernism’(1969), *Charles Baudelaire*, transl. Harry Zohn, London & New York: Verso, 1997, 90-94. Elizabeth Wilson, ‘The City of the Floating World’, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women*, Berkely: University of California Press, 1992, 6.
- 82 Paraphrase of “He had room for her within the framework of modernism, but he did not recognize her in reality.” Benjamin, 93.
- 83 Paraphrase of “To him, social ostracism was inseparable from the heroic nature of this passion.” Benjamin, 93.
- 84 Paraphrase of “... so his vision of another way of living in the extremes was all the more alluring.” Benjamin, 94-95.
- 85 Baudelaire, 58. In translation by Richard Wilbur: “See, sheltered from the swells, There in the still canals, Those drowsy ships that dream of sailing forth; It is to satisfy your least desire, they ply, Hither through all the waves of the earth.” Benjamin, 95.
- 86 The “shock-like accord” of laziness and great achievement is according to Benjamin what signifies modernism for Baudelaire. Benjamin, 95.
- 87 Cat Nilan’s translation of “...tout n’est qu’ordre et beauté, Luxe, calme et volupté,” Baudelaire, 58.
- 88 *Equivoque* (“*Ambiguity*”), or *Petit pièce grecque* (“*Small Greek Play*”), written by Barney and staged in collaboration with Evelina Palmer, Monday, June 25, 1906. It puts the life and love of Sappho in a homoerotic perspective. BLJD, NCB.Ms.64. Palmer wrote “Notre petite troupe implore l’indulgence...”, “Our little troop implore the indulgence...” (my transl.) BLJD, NCB.Ms.98
- 89 Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 188.
- 90 A small sequence of the film can be seen in Greta Schiller’s, documentary *Paris was a Woman*, peccadillo pictures, 2000.
- 91 Anneke Smelik, ‘Feminist Film Theory’, Pam Cook and Mieke Bernink, eds., *The Cinema Book*, second edition. London: British Film Institute, 1999, 353-365. [Online]. Available: <http://www.let.uu.nl/womens_studies/anneke/filmtheory.html>, Universiteit Utrecht, 15 [Date accessed: December 30, 2003].
- 92 Why a map of the Caribbean? Probably for colonial reasons – for example, Marion Barbara ‘Joe’ Carstairs (1900-93), the butch lover of many famous women (such as Marlene Dietrich), created her own colony in the outer Baha-

- mas. In 1934 she bought an entire island – Whale Cay in the British West Indies. She escaped the public backlash in Europe against “inverts”, masculine women, which followed the *Well of Loneliness* trial in 1928, but became the self-appointed leader of the population on Whale Cay, where she established a plantation, a dock, a school, a church, a fish cannery; she built cottages for her workers, made laws and had a private militia. Kate Summerscale, *The Queen of Whale Cay: the Eccentric Story of ‘Joe’ Carstairs, Fastest Woman on Water*, Fourth Estate, 1998.
- 93 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *The Epistemology of the Closet*, Berkely: University of California Press, 1990.
- 94 From “I’m wondering...” to “...that pretense.” the lines of O’Rourke and Sedgwick, excerpts from an interview by Mark Kerr and Kristin O’Rourke, transcribed and published in the journal *Tvc*. Mark Kerr and Kristin O’Rourke, ‘Sedgwick Sense and Sensibility: An Interview with Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick’, *Tvc (Thresholds: viewing culture)*, University of California Santa Barbara, Volume 9, 1995. [Online]. Available <<http://proxy.arts.uci.edu/~nideffer/Tvc/interviews/20.Tvc.v9.intrvws.Sedg.html>> [Date accessed, April 20, 2005].
- 95 Aaron Betsky writes “If queer space starts in the closet, it forms itself in the mirror”. Aaron Betsky, *Queer Space, Architecture and Same-Sex Desire*, New York: William Morrow and Co., 1997, 17.
- 96 Henry Urbach, ‘Closets, Clothes, disClosure’, Katerina Rüedi, Sarah Wigglesworth and Duncan McCorquondale, eds, *Desiring Practices. Architecture, Gender and the Interdisciplinary*, London: Black Dog Publishing, 1996.
- 97 My translation of “Que les meubles mêmes, perdant leur individualité propre, se fondent dans l’ensemble architectural!” Gray and Badovici, 20.
- 98 Adam, 34.
- 99 For further reading on what male attire could bring to women and the importance of cross dressing to feminist achievements see Rudolf M. Dekker and Lotte C. van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Cross-dressing in Early Modern Europe*, Houndsmills and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989, Tiina Rosenberg, *Byxbegär (“Pants-desire”)*, Göteborg: Anamma, 2000 and Eva Borgström ed., *Makalösa kvinnor. Könsöverskridare i myt och verklighet (appr. “Matchless women. Gender transgressors in myth and reality”)*, Göteborg: AlfabetaAnamma, 2002.
- 100 As Dolores Hayden and Griselda Pollock, among others, have revealed the respectable woman is construed as private during the 19th Century. The female domain became the interior, where she was part of the decor to mirror male property. The honorable man was active in public life, while a *public woman* was a term for women who sold sexual services. See for instance Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art’s Histories*, London and New York: Routledge 1999, 179. Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: a history of feminist design for American homes, neighborhoods, and cities*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981.
- 101 Pollock, 179.
- 102 From “The interior decorator...” to “...than amateur.” Sparke, *Women’s Places*, 48.
- 103 My translation “L’architecture extérieure semble avoir intéressé les architectes d’avant-garde aux dépens de l’architecture intérieure.” Gray and Badovici, 23.
- 104 From “She wants to...” to “...our sensibilities.” paraphrase and my translation of “Elle veut créer des intérieurs conformes à nos existences, aux proportions de nos chambres et aux aspirations de notre sensibilité.” Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 383.

- 105 Sue-Ellen Case, 'Personal Theatre', *Feminism and Theatre*, London: MacMillan, 1988, 46-61.
- 106 Florence Tamange, *Histoire de l'homosexualité en Europe. Berlin, Londres, Paris 1919-1939*, Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 2000, 27.
- 107 Constant, 9-11. Marie-Louise Damien, who went by the stage name Damia, was one of the great practitioners of "realistic songs." These were popular compositions known for their morbid lyrics, typically about a fallen woman whose flirtation with big city ways led to her tragic death by disease or horrible accident.
- 108 Meryle Secrest, *Between Me and Life: A Biography of Romaine Brooks*, London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1974, 275.
- 109 Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 56. The apparitional lesbian evokes the influential book by Terry Castle, *The Apparitional Lesbian: Female Homosexuality and Modern Culture*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- 110 From "In Epistemology..." to "...lesbian perspective" quote from Kerr and O'Rourke, *ibid*.
- 111 From "I'm not..." to "...bell with me." quote from Kerr and O'Rourke, *ibid*.
- 112 Shari Benstock makes a closer examination of this subject in relation to literature in *Women of the Left Bank*.
- 113 Walker, 95.
- 114 Sparke, *Women's Places*, 49.
- 115 *Ibid.*, 50.
- 116 Compare with Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's thoughts about male bonding. "The importance of the category 'homosexual' comes not necessarily from its regulatory relation to a nascent or already-constituted minority of homosexual people or desires, but from its potential for giving whoever wields it a structuring definitional leverage over the whole range of male bonds that shape the social constitution." Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, 86.
- 117 De Wolfe, 6-9.
- 118 Constant, 51
- 119 Gray's work had previously been published in British *Vogue*, late August 1917, 'An Artist in Laquer,' 29. Constant, 248. Christopher Reed points out how *Vogue* in the early 1920s blurred boundaries between fashion and art, avant-garde and mass culture and exemplified briefly the new culture of sexual nonconformity. Reed, *Bloomsbury Rooms. Modernism, Subculture and Domesticity*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004, 242.
- 120 My translation of "la cuisine n'est plus qu'un renforcement de la cour", Gray, 34.
- 121 During this period many architects were involved in housing projects. From 1928 onwards about thirty architects met at annual CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) conferences with themes such as 'Etude de l'habitat humain' ("Study of the human habitation"). At the CIAM congress 1929 le Corbusier presented the experiment *La Cellule de 14 m² par habitant* researched with designer Charlotte Perriand. From 1929 Charlotte Perriand, who sought to improve the quality of life in for instance working-class housing, and Eileen Gray was both organized in UAM (Union des Artistes Moderne) – they sought to unite social modernism with the French tradition of decorative arts. Jacques Barsac, *Charlotte Perriand, un art d'habiter*, Paris: Norma, 2005.
- 122 Gray, 38. The design of separate spaces for children hints at the pedagogical development during the twentieth century where the child was becoming a separate individual with different needs from the adult. The Swedish author and political activist Ellen Key gave the twentieth cen-

- tury the designation *Barnens Århundrade*, “*The Century of Children*.” In E.1027 the space still has to be motivated with economic arguments. Nonetheless, the harshness in Gray’s proposed accommodation of maids and children seems condescending.
- 123 Gray, 38.
- 124 It is worth remembering that the only one who had a room of his own in many private houses by the turn of the twentieth century was the father. The architecture of the *cellule minimum* reminds much of the dramatic concrete buildings of the 1960’s, despite its conservative meanings in the context of E.1027 the style projects into a radical period in future architecture.
- 125 Adam writes about Gray’s life in the 1960s “The only person sharing her solitary life was her faithful housekeeper, Louise Dany, who had joined Eileen in 1927 at the age of nineteen.” Adam, 7 Berthe Cleyrergue also worked half a decade for Natalie Barney, but since she got married her home was slightly more separated from her “mistress” on the opposite side of the court. Ellen Lundgren was in charge of the great household of Selma Lagerlöf and was given two private rooms in the main building in the rebuilding of the manor.
- 126 Goldman argued about prostitution that it was only a matter of degrees if a woman sold herself to one man, within or outside marriage, or to several men. Goldman, ‘The Traffic in Women’ (1910), *The Traffic in Women and other Essays on Feminism*, Albion California: Times Change Press, 1970, 19-32.
- 127 Gray and Badovici, 31.
- 128 My translation of “Grace à la disposition de cette chambre (par désaxement) les portes sont invisible de l’interieur.” Gray and Badovici, 31.
- 129 Lavin, 187.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 My translation of “...une emotivité purifiée par la connaissance; enrichie par l’idée, et qui n’exclut point la connaissance et l’appréciation des acquisitions scientifiques.” Gray and Badovici, 17.
- 132 Adam, 109-114.
- 133 From “But, queerness...” to “...a variety of ways.” paraphrase of Benjamin Gianni, ‘Some Notes on the Project To Date’, Michael Moon and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, ‘Queers in (Single-Family) Space,’ *Assemblage 24* (August 1994), 34.
- 134 Moon and Sedgwick, 30.
- 135 Recorded on a site visit February 26, 2004.

First Entr'act
*Jalousie*¹

Between 2003 and 2004 four seasons of literary salons were staged at café Copacabana on Hornstulls strand in Stockholm.²

Inspired by Natalie Barney's famous salon in Paris of the 1920s the literary salon at the Copacabana now starts its third season. Every first Saturday of the month we present historical and topical cultural and queer feminist themes. At each salon Copacabana offers a menu composed exclusively for the night.³

There was always a long line of people – coming from different circles and representing many styles and generations – who waited in the early dusk for the door to open. They closed one hour to wipe the floor and prepare for the night. The container of the salon, café Copacabana, is situated close to the water on the western most part of the south island of Stockholm. On the other side of the sound are the industries, the piers and the conference center of Gröndal. In summer there are plenty of boats in the sound; because of a steep slope only the larger ones can be seen from the café. The café, on the street level of a block of apartment buildings, has two shop front windows and, between the windows, a glazed entrance door.

For each salon there was an invited guest and a theme; Lisbeth Stenberg talked about 'Selma Lagerlöf and her women', Eva Borgström presented 'Kristina – the king of queens', Elisabeth Mansén introduced the new publication of Oscar Wilde's *De Profundis* and one night was titled 'Suzanne Osten in dialogue with Tiina Rosenberg'. The sa-

lon became a dense enactment of another reality, a reality where there was room for queers. With my friends I often talked about the events as living utopias, how they made me feel surrounded by love and how I wished for this pocket of resistance to grow. This successful enactment was created through careful preparations, tasty drinks and snacks, an enthusiastic audience, an excellent program, and, maybe most important in this quest for queer feminist architecture, an intimate environment.⁴ The café with its choice of furniture and decorations, its very floor, its visual enclosure of windows and walls, and the acts – speeches, presentations, dialogues and flirtations – were woven together in the literary salon by the participants' engagement at a particular moment. What made the literary salon at Copacabana so appealing to me was its overwhelming boundlessness. It acted as a queer scene, connected to political feminist activism. The settings, an everyday hang-out, supported and played part in creating that scene.

Café Copacabana is like a public living-room; a place of dissonance for *people like us*.⁵ It has never been promoted as *homogay*. Their standard advertisement asks the question: 'Who will make the coffee the day after the revolution?' The café is a symbol of a culture that won't stay in place; it refuses binary categories such as heterosexual and homosexual. Part, as it is, of a "threatening" movement that challenges the norms of gender and sexuality.

The screen of large windows that delineates the café from the street is significant in this enactment of architecture. The city is present inside and the activities of the café spill out and incorporate the surroundings. During the salon passers-by speculated on what was taking place. A layer of mist slowly wandered from the corners of the glass panes and stiles. It vanished again as the door was

opened. The audience, some sitting on cushioned benches in the windows, could follow the strollers, the cars and the bikes that went by as well as overlook the sound with its tall bridge and the lights from the industries of Gröndal. This visibility, along with the other advantages of the café, both symbolic and practical, supported the inclusive and public ambitions of these literary salons.

At night, the windows are nowadays shielded by a metal jalousie. The boundlessness of the place unsettles people. On Friday 12 November 2004 a fire bomb was thrown through the window of the café. The entire place was destroyed. The kitchen melted and smoke entered everywhere. All the work invested in the place and the careful atmosphere created were brutally ruined. Two young men, around twenty years old, were arrested. They had severe burn injuries; one boy's face was completely damaged. The café has been vandalized twice before. During a period when the threat was heavy, volunteers of *AEI* (Anti-Fascist Action) patrolled the area. At a literary salon held at Copacabana the participants were told to watch out for each other and not walk home alone.

On Monday 29 November 2004 there was a support gala for café Copacabana, to raise money to install jalousies of metal. *Jalousie* is a shutter made of angled slats but the term also refers to the feeling of jealousy. Through an etymological connection jalousie can be thought of as something that enviously protects against unwanted gazes. More than seven hundred people joined the party. We were asked to 'Keep the fire burnin' – homogay heterogay unite!'

Two months later the place re-opened. At first glance it looked like nothing had happened. Hard work had made the destruction disappear. Everything was back, the light, the people, the large windows; it felt like a fold in time; a re-

fusal to be ruled by hatred and part of the continuous effort to transform the ruthless reality. In a little niche above the toilet door is a memento of the fire; a feminine couple of partly melted miniature figures. The main visible influences of the fire are the metal jalousies, which are pulled down every night after closing time.⁶ This carefully directed visibility (and vulnerability) through adjustable metal curtains is very different from a closet. It is part of staging a culture that refuses to stay in the closeted space at the fringes of normalcy. Even if the café is forced to be shielded when the rooms are empty, the participants of this particular scene do not sit and press against those curtains.⁷ The jalousie is a distinct but flexible outline that refuses the stable binary of the outside and inside worlds.

Notes

- 1 The larger part of this piece is published as Bonnevier, 'Out of the Salon—with Natalie Barney towards a Critically Queer Architecture', *Critical Architecture*, Jane Rendell, Jonathan Hill, Mark Dorrian & Murray Fraser eds., London & New York: Routledge; Taylor and Francis Books Ltd., 2007.
- 2 The central group behind the Literary Salon at Café Copacabana was Pia Laskar, Ingrid Svensson, Susanne Moberger and Ulrika Dahl; in addition several others were involved at the door, in the kitchen, or behind the screen. Together they created an environment for people with a multitude of styles and of different generations. Laskar initiated the salon, struck by the insight that the café would be a perfect place to stage a salon. She and Svensson were the main people responsible for the program during the four semesters it was enacted. Moberger composed menus in relation to the program of the evening. Berthe Cleyregue, celebrated for her cocking at Natalie Barney's salons, would have been flattered.
- 3 From the flyer of the literary salon at café Copacabana, Fall 2004. My translation.
- 4 There were usually about 50 people, many women, many academics, between 20 and 75 years old, with various sexual styles and political attitudes.
- 5 "People like us" refers to the title of the book *såna som oss – röster om sexualitet, identitet och annorlundaskap* (appr. "people like us - voices on sexuality, identity and alterity"), Susanne Moberger ed., Stockholm: Tiden, 2003. The anthology represents some styles and political attitudes of people who frequent Café Copacabana.
- 6 The Café might not be able to keep the jalousies since they were installed without building permission.

- 7 Gender scholar and poet Hanna Hallgren is engaged in a PhD project about the embodied lesbian activist movements in Sweden in the nineteen seventies, Theme Gender, Linköping University. Hallgren has pointed out that the hang-out *Timmy* was hidden behind curtains, there was a saying: “att sitta och trycka bakom gardinerna”, “to sit and press against the curtains.” Hanna Hallgren, presentation at the ‘Queer Seminar,’ *Center for Gender Studies*, Stockholm University, March 1, 2004.

Lecture Two

Out of the Salon

*May our drawn curtains shield us from the world or,
Never trust the decor¹*

Orientation

The lecture begins at a literary salon at café Copacabana in Stockholm in 2006. Copacabana is not a salon, but a café, until the salon takes place. The event transforms the café into a salon.

From café Copacabana the text explores the settings of the salon around author Natalie Clifford Barney, scandalously famous for her overt lesbian lifestyle. She opened her home on 20 rue Jacob, in central Paris, on Friday afternoons for over sixty years, but the focus of this study lies on the first twenty years, 1909 to 1929, demarcated by the span of her book about the salon *Aventures de l'esprit (Adventures of the Mind, 1929)*.² Natalie Barney/20 rue Jacob is an enactment of architecture embedded in fiction that blurs the boundaries between truth and appearance, theater and lived life; this is explored throughout the lecture.

The place is abandoned, but in an imaginary tour of the premises the deserted former home of Natalie Barney is redressed, and in a masquerading representation the salon appears once more. It is an extravagant architecture with a carefully directed visibility in a succession of disguises. Barney was well aware of the transformative power of disguises, to simultaneously hide and reveal. One of Barney's aphorisms was: "Never trust the decor." Barney's performance is influential, but nothing without the larger queer scene.

The salon is carefully chosen as a starting point because it explicitly shows how architecture participates in performativity, in the construction of gender and sexuality. The lecture-text operates as the salon; it is theater and everyday life at once, a kind of masquerade that reworks the constraints of heteronormative society and creates another sociality. This masquerading architecture in writing involves a group of people; it is in the move, in the actions of the

social scene. The lecture-text shows how the salon of Natalie Barney/20 rue Jacob staged a queer feminist culture through a performative appropriation of an existing building constellation.

Cast of Characters in Order of Appearance

The LECTURER – a character who resembles the author/researcher/architect of these writings. She has a taste for Paris and is flattered to be invited to speak at the literary salon of Café Copacabana.

The PHOTOGRAPHER attends the literary salon of Café Copacabana somewhat reluctantly, but has brought her camera to amuse herself. She has accompanied the lecturer to Paris, officially to help documenting the sites.

MADAME W – an evasive woman with many keys.

BASKET – a white poodle named by Gertrude Stein.

JULIAN follows the lecture series with an inquiring mind. Julian is a feminist scholar and architecture historian who works as a journalist.

TABELLE has an encyclopedic knowledge of the gay and lesbian Parisian scene of the beginning of the twentieth century, and is particularly fascinated by the literary salon of Natalie Barney. In her bow tie and grey pleated skirt she looks like a school teacher from another time.

SALLY is known for her critical wit and decisive taste. Self sufficient, she can seduce any woman she desires. At least she assumes as much.

NATALIE BARNEY – a historical character, based on writings by Barney and others; she is 'the Amazone', Natalie Clifford Barney (1876-1972), a feminist and lesbian, author and seductress, who hosted salons at 20 rue Jacob in Paris, 1909-1968.

A LADY OF FASHION – a literary character based upon the “slight satiric wiggling” of Djuna Barnes in *Ladies’ Almanack*.³ ‘A Lady of Fashion’ was Barnes’ pseudonym used in the first publication in 1928.

CAFÉ COPACABANA

Through the large windows of the café on Hornstulls strand in Stockholm the bouncing lights of a space full of people spread to the street outside. A neon sign, Copacabana in undulating letters in the window, identifies the café. Small details in the decor echo the name; a bottle of sand from the beach in Rio de Janeiro stands on the counter. The walls are in white, gold and cappuccino apart from a brisk red concave wall. There is a big painting, graffiti on canvas, of a riot beauty Pink and a couple of gilded mirrors.⁴ A long counter divides the continuous space in two and there are also smaller spaces within the space; nooks and crannies. The guests sit on several levels; there are low coffee tables next to armchairs, café tables with chairs from the fifties and sixties, cushions on benches along the windows and also a couple of tall tables, where some stand and others sit on bar stools. A slow fan rotates in the ceiling in an unsuccessful attempt to refresh the air. On a clothes hanger in the corner is a forgotten dress in white brocade. A flyer on a table announces: “The Literary salon at Copacabana proudly presents: Out of the Salon – A Queer Tour of Natalie Barney’s 20 rue Jacob, Paris.”⁵ The lecturer, next to a table stacked with books, stands in the projection of the street entrance door of 20 rue Jacob. The porte-cochère⁶ is projected onto the convex wall, which widens it in a fish eye distortion.

LECTURER: Behind this door in a private garden in the 6^{ème} arrondissement of central Paris is the former home of Natalie Clifford Barney; the home where she staged her literary salons on Friday evenings from four to eight almost every season from October 1909 to 1968.⁷ Natalie Barney was a feminist, writer and poet and one of the main characters of a lesbian avant-garde. She had the mind, the fortune and the relative freedom to live inde-

pendently.⁸ She staged her life as art. Born in Dayton, Ohio, USA, she found her home in Paris by the turn of the twentieth century. Natalie Barney was not only a literary person and a *salonnière*, but also a legendary seductress – she “saved” women from heterosexuality, a mission she carried on well into her eighties.⁹ *The lecturer smiles*. From 1909 Barney rented the place at 20 rue Jacob where she held her salons. She did not own it, but she and her party appropriated it.¹⁰ I am particularly interested in how Barney’s salon was part of staging a queer/lesbian culture and especially the role played by architecture; the building constellation, the settings and the décor, as well as the different rooms with their furniture and things. Her salon assembled Anglophone and French writers, painters, some aristocrats – the ones who accepted such a scandalous poet – designers, politicians and actors of all sexes and diverse sexual preferences. Her salon was a queer space in that it crossed borders of gender and sexuality in the midst of the male-dominated bourgeois society.

In brief Natalie Barney’s home consisted of a two story pavilion with two salons and a boudoir, some additional rooms in the adjacent house, a large garden, and a small Doric temple at the north cove of that garden. The temple is called *à l’Amitié* (*To Friendship*). Barney’s pavilion is reached from the back of a courtyard via a passage, wide enough for a car, behind this door of the street building.

The lecturer gestures towards the image behind her.

LECTURER: That is, if you have the code; in case you’re on your way to Paris it is #761031. It is a landmark, but

private property, so be discreet. Or, you can, as the photographer encouraged me to do on our first visit, sneak in when someone leaves. If it wouldn’t have been for her, I would probably not have dared to enter. It was late at night; we had been following the guide book *Walks in Gertrude Stein’s Paris*,¹¹ via the book shelves at Shakespeare & Co, the house where Isadora Duncan had her dance studio, Gertrude Stein’s and Alice Toklas’ place on *rue de Fleurus* to *rue Jacob*, in the darkness we stood staring at a mute door.

PHOTOGRAPHER (*whispers to a neighbor on another table*): We’d stared at closed doors and dark windows for hours and she was still excited. I just longed to soften up with a glass of rosé.

LECTURER: In 1963 Natalie Barney let her premises for a film set, Louis Malle’s *Le Feu Follet* an adaptation of a 1930s novel by Pierre Drieu La Rochelle – who once had frequented her salon.¹² I will show you the sequence where the character Alain, played by Maurice Ronet, follows his former confidante Jeanne, played by Jeanne Moreau, home. In the film she lives at 20 rue Jacob with a decadent group of people.

She starts the film; the projection starts to move through a passage with pigeonhole mailboxes. The camera follows the characters from behind. They walk a few steps across a paved court with a two story building covered in ivy and closed shutters at the far end.

LECTURER: That’s Barney’s pavilion.

The characters turn aside; the left wall of the court ends with an iron gate which Jeanne and Alain enter. A car is parked on what has been a lawn inside the gate. The spacious, untidy garden is taken over by

some fine large trees. At the entrance gate the neighboring buildings can merely be glimpsed through the vegetation. The camera moves around to the right side of the couple, behind them is now the pavilion of Barney. The lecturer freezes the image. The part of the building that faces the court has two stories. Its short end, towards the garden, has a symmetric, classicist gable, with three balcony windows, corner pilasters and two medallions. It is overgrown by ivy. Behind the tall pavilion is a single story addition. It looks modern, with a wall almost entirely made up of glass. It is a brick structure.

LECTURER: The lower part, which looks like a studio or small factory, is probably an early twentieth century addition to the pavilion that was built in the eighteenth century. On the ground floor there is one large salon in each part of the building, the literary salon took place in both. What I find remarkable with this façade is the mirror.

She points to the tall part of the building. A large mirror, the size of a window, is mounted on the wall between the two glass doors of the ground floor. The lecturer reverses the film and plays it again. The mirror reflects Jeanne and Alain, the leaves and branches of the garden and a fraction of the light sky as the camera passes.

LECTURER: It is like the mirror extends the garden into the salons of the building, the pavilion is not only inscribed in the garden; the garden decorates its façade both with the ivy that grows on it and indirectly through the mirror. The mirror that also, in an imaginary space, reflects the garden and the activities that take place there into the body of the building; into the salon. You can also see yourself inscribed in the setting, looking out from the wild garden in the midst of the salon. I will come back to the intriguing relation between salon and garden later on.

*She lets the film continue. Jeanne and Alain continue to walk. They pass the windows of the addition (Julian to the person beside her: “Was that a trick of the light or did I glimpse Natalie Barney in the window?”) and another modern structure appears behind it. Between the studio-like addition and the stone wall that marks the end of the garden is a garage. The garage is open at both ends with large glass doors. The couple walk around the corner of the addition, through the garage, and another piece of garden is seen in front of them. At the far end of this garden is a small temple. The camera leaves the couple and zooms in on the portico of the temple. Above the four columns are the words *À L’AMITIÉ*. The lecturer turns the film off and the first projection of the street entrance is seen once more.*

LECTURER: The single window above the entry belongs to the apartment where Berthe Cleyrergue (1904-1998), who worked as a house manager for Barney from 1927 and on, used to live with her husband Henri.¹³ She just had to cross the courtyard to get to work. On the other side of the building she had two windows facing the court and the pavilion. From her home she could see everyone going in and out, not that she kept a record.¹⁴ For Barney she played many parts, *gouvernante* of the salon, famous cook, maid, confidante, librarian and accountant. The bookkeeping was known to be as impeccable as the rest of the house.¹⁵

To me, the architecture of 20 rue Jacob is nothing without the stories of the social scene that occurred here. What strikes me is how much this setting depends on the “personal theater” of Natalie Barney; the literary salon, which in its turn can not be separated from the built environment.

A *salon* is a material container but also an event con-

tained in a salon. The living-room of a private house is often called the salon, but the salon as an event can exist beyond that room. The salon is architecture of matter and event. In the case of Barney, the salon moved across the ground level, within the walls of the house but also into different parts of the garden with its *Fountain of Serpents* and little Doric temple. In the case of this evening's salon at Copacabana, its container is not a salon, but a café, until the salon takes place. This is what's interesting from an architectural point of view; the event transforms it into a salon. The architecture appears in the event, or the act. It shows that architecture plays a part in performativity. The architecture of the literary salon is in the move; in the actions of the social scene. The salon as a model for architecture can help us gain a better understanding of how our built environment plays a role in the construction of gender and sexuality. I also think this is one key to understanding and creating architecture other/wise, to make it less determined, more supple and transformative. This is a key motive for my interest in the salon.

I also want to state my view that the salon Natalie Barney staged in her home in Paris was important for architecture on an individual level as well. For instance, Eileen Gray, the architect of modern domesticity whose work I showed you in my first lecture, was involved.

To clarify, an architecture that appears in the event does not mean that architecture is a neutral frame in which anything can take place. Our actions shape the architecture and we, in turn, are shaped by the architecture. The house participates in the construction of the inhabitant, just as masks and clothes create character. The material container suggests rules but does not de-

termine the actions. In a proscenium theater for instance the salon is where the audience sits and is separate from the stage. The layout prescribes a behavior but does not hinder experiments where the ensemble leaves the stage or the audience sits on the stage. In the literary salon the distinction between performer and audience is vague and not built explicitly into the architecture.

The lights of a huge ship that pass in the darkness outside Copacabana interrupt the lecturer for a moment. Several of the café staff slip outside to have a smoke.

LECTURER: In the salon the distinction of theater and life is blurred. What is remarkable is that the term *salon* lends itself to different containers, both public and intimate. A literary salon in a private home has an exclusive tendency with a restricted access. The salon at Café Copacabana relies on the network of the queer scene of Stockholm but counteracts the exclusivity by taking place in an everyday hang out; a public living-room.

The salon is exclusive but also creates a sense of belonging, which is why I am particularly proud to be here with you tonight. Yes, as Sally Munt writes in "The Lesbian *Flâneur*": "Lesbian identity is constructed in the temporal and linguistic mobilisation of space".¹⁶ There has to be a collective of masquerading identities, a social system, to give me a sense of belonging. And they, we, who perform this scene, are always on the move in, or around, the corners of architecture.

Tonight we're going to move around the corners of a site in Paris. In *Women of the Left Bank, Paris 1900-1940* Shari Benstock¹⁷ reveals the central role of Barney's salon in the twentieth century culture of literature; and

still an unceasing production of new texts are generated by these women, their texts and spaces continue to provoke and affect. An essay that has been very helpful in my understanding of the interrelations between the physical and fictional architecture of 20 rue Jacob is Amy Wells-Lynn's text "The Intertextual, Sexually-Coded Rue Jacob: A Geocritical Approach to Djuna Barnes, Natalie Barney, and Radclyffe Hall".¹⁸ Wells-Lynn states (*the lecturer reads loud from a bunch of photocopies where certain sentences are highlighted in light green*)

These women go beyond just creating a space within Paris; they create a new Paris on the whole – a Paris where women can write, publish, have public sexual relations with other women (and/or other men), and dance naked in their gardens.¹⁹

In other words, they redraw the map on their own terms, which overthrows exclusive phallogocentric assumptions in favor of a Paris devoted to female (same sex) desire. Wells-Lynn has studied the sexual codes in the spatial relations of the triangle: the salon of Natalie Barney, Djuna Barnes' book *Ladies' Almanack* and Radclyffe Hall's novel *The Well of Loneliness*.²⁰ In these two classics of lesbian literature, both published in 1928, the salon and the salonnière Natalie Barney play important roles. For instance when the main character, Stephen Gordon, of Hall's story moves to Paris she buys a house on Rue Jacob based on the home of Natalie Barney.²¹ In a fictional turn it is even the character Valérie Seymour, based on Natalie Barney, who encourages Stephen to move there: "If you want a house, I know of one in the Rue Jacob; it's a tumbledown place, but it's got a fine garden."²² Wells-Lynn knows that readers familiar with the "community" will immediately recog-

nize the address with the implication that the location is lesbian-friendly.²³

There are many scholars who have studied the importance of the salon as a place where women shaped and participated in the political and social agenda of their time. For example, Dena Goodman shows the fundamental role played by the salon for the creation of the Republic.²⁴ In *Feminism and Theatre*, Sue-Ellen Case writes about the salon as a *personal theater* and a place where women have been important forces in the shaping of a public discussion.²⁵ Case points to the class aspect of the culture of the salon – the women of the salons were privileged – but she argues that there might be other oppressions that make the salons into places of disturbance.²⁶ Barney's salon was important in the staging of a lesbian life style which counteracted the invisibility of lesbians in everyday life. Homosexuality in France at the time was, if shocking, at least not criminal as it was in Sweden until the nineteen forties.²⁷ Another important context when discovering this culture is that French women did not achieve the right to vote until after the Second World War.²⁸

A short middle aged woman, Madame W, makes her determined way through the crowd. Her fox colored suede coat risks being stained by latte and wine as she makes her way through. She comes up to the lecturer and sneaks in behind her. It all happens very quickly.

MADAME W: S'il vous plait, can you help me with this. (*She murmurs something incomprehensible in French.*) Sorry I am late. I was delayed at the office and then I had forgotten the keys at home.

Madame W fiddles with a door handle and a lock, her glasses halfway down her nose. The lecturer turns and examines the wall. The curved wall hides a door, not larger than a closet door. Madame W fails to turn the key with her shaky hands. The lecturer puts the pen and manuscript down and grabs the key. The door glides open into an eerie space lit from above.

MADAME W (*enters and disappears*): Shut the door behind you, there are so many tourists around.

Through the opening there is a dim reflection of a room full of people. The café and everyone inside stares back from a mirror.

LECTURER (*inhales and sighs*): It's the *Temple à l'Amitié*, the Temple to Friendship! *She recites*

In the vast garden, a small temple from the first Empire with Doric columns, carry the inscription 'A l'Amitié'.²⁹

There is a stir in the café as the guests rise and lean forward to see more.

LECTURER: Barney used it as a small salon for a limited number of guests, but also as a prop and back-drop for her literary salons... Hemingway mentions it in his account of his Paris years.

She turns some pages in her manuscript and finds a quote from A Moveable Feast and reads aloud:

Miss Barney had been a friend of Rémy de

Gourmont who was before my time and she had a salon at her house on regular dates and a small Greek temple in her garden. Many American and French women with money enough had salons and I figured very early that they were excellent places for me to stay away from, but Miss Barney, I believe, was the only one that had a small Greek temple in her garden.³⁰

PHOTOGRAPHER: Hemingway... come on. What are we waiting for? Friends, let's go!

The lecturer who stands in the door opening and looks in, there is a cold draught coming through, says over her shoulder with a smile:

LECTURER : Of course, come on in, but "*Entrez lentement*". We don't want to scare the shadows away.

20 RUE JACOB

The lecturer enters and the friends follow. It is a round space, about four meters in diameter. It gets crowded but everyone fits. A pale light slips in from a round lantern in the center of the domed ceiling. The wall of the circular space is divided in eight sections by light marbled pilasters with pink capitals and bases on a grey background. Each section contains a niche. The last person that enters closes the closet door. The grey blade of the door fits flush into the grey wall and almost disappears. The cold draught stops. They have left Copacabana and Stockholm behind and are now in the St Germain district of Paris.

The upper part of the niche right of the closet has a mirror so does the one facing the latter and the niche left of the closet. These three mirrors array the space with other spaces that curve away from the first space. The crowd is multiplied two or three times depending on your point of view.

There is a fireplace below the mirror of the niche left of the closet. It is opposite the pair of wooden entrance doors which makes up an entire niche. One of the doors is not entirely closed; Madame W must have left that way. A gleam of light comes through the gap and falls on the grey doors that are decorated with six pointed stars and white mouldings; the motive is a rosette in a circle framed by a square, there are four on each door. The three other niches are filled from floor to lintel with bookshelves.

LECTURER: This *Temple à l'Amitié*, which stands in a secluded nook of the garden, attracted Natalie Barney to 20 rue Jacob. Embedded in myths and dedicated to friendship, with the inscription A L'AMITIÉ in the frieze, this small Doric temple was a reason why she started to rent the place in 1909. When Natalie Barney moved in she

transformed the temple to a small salon; furnished it with chairs and chandeliers, a daybed, a portrait and a bust. She chose the grey tones and pink details of the walls.³¹ The temple functioned as a backdrop for recitals and plays during the literary salons, but also, with an unlocked door, as an intimate stage or “darkroom”. Sometimes the entire gathering went inside, for instance in 1917 Barney held anti-war meetings in the temple.³²

Every year on her birthday, October 31, she had a Scorpio lunch here for a group of friends born under the same astral sign.³³ This personal tradition to bring together an inner circle of friends in the Temple to Friendship shows the significance of the temple as a metaphorically loaded material container and backdrop for the resident. Friendship, *amitié*, was embraced by Natalie Barney as a life philosophy. Furthermore, architecture historian Sheila Crane has unraveled how the model of friendship and the temple has become inseparable from Natalie Barney and her oeuvre.³⁴

In the history of women’s rights the ideal of friendship has been raised as an alternative to patriarchal hierarchy. For instance the seventeenth century salonnière Madeleine de Scudéry models a love relation based on *amitié*.³⁵ Friendship, or partnership, was seen by Barney as an alternative to the repressive order of heterosexual marriage. Never monogamous, she tied lifelong bands of friendship with the women she loved.³⁶

Natalie Barney’s social model of *amitié* was based on the legends of the Greek lyric poet Sappho. The group of women poets that surrounded Sappho gathered for mutual inspiration to share literary creations and erotic relationships.³⁷ At the turn of the twentieth century the poetry of Sappho was resurrected from heteronorma-

tive interpretation and the homoerotic legends of her life were popular. Female homosexuality was known as “Sapphism” and Paris was nicknamed the Sapphic capital. Nicole Albert has written about the ambiguous position of the “Sapphic disciples” caught between fascination and disapproval.³⁸

Barney’s philosophy of friendship combined feminist ideals and Sapphic eroticism, to create a utopian meeting place for people that deviated from the sexual norms of society. *Amitié* became the model, in the words of Sheila Crane, for a “modern sociability constructed through creative exchange and fluid erotic bonds in which female homoeroticism occupied a privileged position.”³⁹ And the place that accommodated, and formed, this modern sociability was 20, rue Jacob. The Temple to Friendship embodies the model of friendship; the classicist Doric order references the antiquity of Sappho as well as the modern rereading by Natalie Barney. As part of a social event, or unpeopled, it pays homage to present or absent friends and the ties of friendship. A found structure, the temple was appropriated during the years of Barney’s residency to become inseparable from her activities.

À l’Amitié was originally built sometime between 1810 and 1820, but the history of its origin and first century is lost in obscurity. In the farthest corner of a Parisian garden built by some hand in a time of repressive politics, it belonged to a secret society, possibly a Freemason’s lodge.⁴⁰

I guess it is hard for everyone to see the intarsia in the parquet?

The lecturer points to the floor below her feet at the center of the

temple. There are three capital letters, DLV, of dark wood inserted in the oak parquet.

LECTURER: DLV, it is probably Latin, perhaps representing *Dieu le veut* (God wants it).⁴¹ DLV is also inscribed on the front façade. On the outside it is placed in the center of the pediment, surrounded by a crown of laurel with undulating bands. When I first saw it I thought it represented a year but that doesn’t make sense, in Arabic numbers DLV is 555.

Five hundred and fifty-five is a magic number which supports the theory of the Masonic ties of the temple; the Masonic order is constituted by symbolic numbers.⁴² Anthony Vidler has written about the architectures of the Freemasonry.⁴³ He describes how intrinsic were the meeting places to the rituals, symbols and ideology of these secret brotherhoods; it constructed their social relations.⁴⁴ The “asylum of friendship” – a Masonic term used to characterize their meeting place – should protect, isolate and form the group.⁴⁵

Architects held a prominent position in the Masonic order; they were seen as delegates of God because they possessed the geometric wisdom received from the “Great Architect of the Universe.”⁴⁶ *À l’Amitié* is loaded with geometric meaning. For instance, since it is four meters in diameter the space is 12,56 meters ($\pi 4$) in circumference and has the area 12,56 m² ($\pi 4$).⁴⁷ Geometric equivalences like this have divine meaning for a Christian secret society like the Freemasons.⁴⁸ In general the Masonic temple is a symbol of the *Temple of Salomon*, the original divine building which, according to Vidler, provided proportions and specifications for the lodge buildings.⁴⁹ For the Freemasons architecture symbolized social

development, which paradoxically aimed to reestablish an “original” Masonic order. The classicist style was appropriate for the temple because it evoked the classical origins of Greek architecture thus a symbol for a return to the origin.⁵⁰ The garden that surrounds the temple symbolized mankind’s regeneration.⁵¹ *À l’Amitié* was probably part of the initiatory ritual; a route where the Masonic candidate moved, symbolically and physically, through a sequence of trials.

A very limited, exclusively male and secret group of people knew about the temple before Barney’s time. Barney decorated and used the temple to become an integral part of her literary salons and the norm bending culture it cultivated. The salon of Natalie Barney was definitely not a secret men’s club, and her male heterosexual guests had to face the inverted privilege attributed to female sexuality at her salons.⁵² As Sheila Crane points out Barney’s appropriation of the temple can be understood as a critique of both contemporary social practices and institutional structures. And it was a staged critique that was scandalously open.⁵³

What I find exciting and provocative is that the activities of Natalie Barney (which includes sex acts between women) made the temple famous. Barney not only wrote about the temple, she also had it photographed. Many salon performances – poetry readings, tableaux vivants, and political protests – took place in front, on the steps or in the portico of the *Temple à la Amitié*. The image of the front façade, the temple gable with the inscriptions and the four Doric columns, became an emblem of her salon. She even considered using the temple to promote a fund to help authors financially.⁵⁴

Through Barney the temple has given rise to new

stories, for instance both Djuna Barnes and Radclyffe Hall used the temple in their writing as a sexually coded place.⁵⁵ In *Ladies’ Almanack* Djuna Barnes changed the name to *Temple of Love*, probably evoking the *Temple de l’Amour* of the “Sapphic” queen Marie-Antoinette in the landscape garden at *Petit Trianon*, Versailles.⁵⁶ Terry Castle has showed how in the late nineteenth century Marie Antoinette was coded as an underground symbol of passionate love between women.⁵⁷ An example of this is when the main characters, Steven Gordon and her former private teacher, the grey, queer little Miss Puddleton, “Puddle,”⁵⁸ of Radclyffe Hall’s *The Well of Loneliness* are taken to Versailles by Jonathan Brockett and visit the “*Temple d’Amour*”[sic!]. By referring to Marie Antoinette’s intimate relation to *princesse de Lamballe* Brockett finds a way to speak to Stephen about same-sex desire.⁵⁹ Just a few pages later Stephen first meets the infamous Valérie Seymour (Natalie Barney) and on her recommendation finds a home in Paris on rue Jacob. As I already mentioned, the fictional character Stephen inhabits the home of Natalie Barney. Immediately as Stephen sees the house she decides to buy it and a few lines later the temple appears again: “In the farthest corner of the garden someone had erected a semi-circular temple, but that had been a long time ago, and now the temple was all but ruined.”⁶⁰ The temples are linked through a Sapphic tension. Both Barnes and Hall celebrate Barney and inscribe her temple with desire, as Amy Wells-Lynn argues; the fictions write into reality the possibility of female same-sex desire.⁶¹

Natalie Barney’s method was the masquerade, the mask that gets the attention but also draws the attention away from the less apparent. She was in your face,

hyper visible as Judith Halberstam has put it.⁶² The heteronormative gaze makes women who desire women invisible. It makes *out* a very difficult thing to be, it is much more than to be *open*. It needs the theatrical disguise, if you find it in the closet or behind the curtain. Natalie Barney's little "Sapphic" temple played a significant part in this masquerade. She shared it, made the temple known, if not accessible to everyone. Surrounded by its mystic past, veiled by greenery in the farthest corner of the garden, the hidden position of the temple was a precondition for making it into a safe place for same-sex desire. This negotiation between publicity and privacy is how the salons of Natalie Barney operate as a queer space; an indirect but significant dissonance in heteronormative society.

By 1972 the temple was in a terrible condition and faced restoration. And here comes the ultimate recognition that Barney's salon completely presides over the temple; the Commission of Cultural Affaires in France decided that *à l'Amitié* should be restored to what it had become in its known period, in other words when Barney made it famous, at the beginning of the twentieth century. They decided against trying to recreate its original state of the early nineteenth century. The salon and the public strategy of Barney had overtaken *à l'Amitié* and outshined its earlier history. This is an explicit example of how Natalie Barney and her party appropriated an existing structure and turned it into something else.

So the temple was restored to the *petit salon* of Natalie Barney with the help of her photographs from 1909. As you see, her furniture, paintings and statues have been dispersed.

This recognition by normative society of Barney's salon and the importance it has gained at the center of culture is significant from the point of view of lesbian historiography. Perhaps the recognition happens at the expense of some of its norm-bending provocation; it becomes *proper*. In relation to the restoration in 1975 the salon was only described as an upper class, extremely stylish environment – i.e. the queer and political aspects were concealed. (*The lecturer flips through her papers and finds a copy of an article with an image of the temple façade at center.*⁶³) The Chief Architect of Historical Monuments Monsieur Melicourt wrote that the temple was annexed to Barney's salons "where art and literature frequent, in a precious and intimate refinement, the most brilliant fashion of the capital."⁶⁴ Natalie Barney made it difficult, but the heterosexist and homophobic denial of female same-sex desire tries to reaffirm itself even in relation to her. It takes a queer perspective to see what the "intimate refinement" in the quote could mean.

On the other hand, such recognition shows that the salon is not confined within a separate "homosexual" sphere. What queer theory can teach us is that it is always there, right in the centre of straight culture, telling stories of empowerment. Natalie Barney's public attitude – an exaggerated display of same sex culture – has ensured her salons a place in history. The *Temple à l'Amitié* wouldn't have been here today, and looked the way it does, were it not for Natalie Barney. Ironically, her romantic attitude would probably have favored leaving it to decay, to become a thought-provoking ruin. To restore the temple to what it looked like at a specific historical moment makes it much less "alive". Barney did not think much of restoration; in her book about

the salon *Aventures de l'esprit* (*Adventures of the Mind*, 1929) she claimed that decay was fundamental to the clever adventures her home was dedicated to.⁶⁵

*There is something at the door. A paw and a black nose nudge the door open; a white poodle appears. The dog is so perfectly groomed that it seems to be enameled.*⁶⁶ *There is a whistle and a voice calls:*

“Basket!”

The dog looks at the people in the temple for an instant and scampers off. There is a movement in the group to follow the dog outside. Through the door opening you can see a couple of Doric columns, part of the portico of the temple, some green, green grass, about fifteen meters away from the backside of a small white building; the view ends, some seventy meters away, with trees, buildings and a fragment of grey sky. There is no doorstep between the round room of the temple and the portico. The floor extends on the same level into the portico. The stone floor of the portico even continues inside the niche; within the circle of the pilasters it changes to wood. There are compartments in at least three of the four pockets in the corners between the rectangular outer shape of the temple and the circular room. Three of them have doors. The fourth, north corner comprises a very thick wall.

LECTURER (*tries to speak fast*): On your way out, notice that there isn't any doorsill as you pass between the two pilasters, the floor emphasizes the inseparability and continuity in the sequence of spaces...

*The photographer is already outside – on her way out she looked into the two *poché* spaces on each side of the entrance, but found nothing of interest – she has continued down the stairs into the garden. Some friends follow her. They disperse in the garden. A small group, comprising Sally, Julian and *Table*, stay close to the lecturer. The*

*great garden of the pavilion is surrounded by tall buildings. There are stone walls covered with ivy, and many windows facing the garden. The garden is clean and has just been remodeled. A hammock swings between two trees. The lecturer, who still carries her bunch of papers, stands with *Table*, Sally and Julian in the portico. The photographer comes running to take a photo of them.*

PHOTOGRAPHER: Don't move – you look like a pop group.

LECTURER: These columns are of the Doric order; at the time when the temple was built this style was recognized as masculine. The architecture theorist Nicolas Le Camus de Mezières wrote a treatise on the architecture of the aristocratic home, the *hôtel*, and claimed that the Doric order “lends elegance and produces a rich and masculine ensemble.”⁶⁷ Look at the inscription in the entablature.

*She moves forward, down a couple of stairs and turns to look at the temple gable. *Table* and Julian respond to her suggestion; they move ahead and twist to see the writing above their heads.*

LECTURER: The aesthetic code of the temple means that whoever built *à l'Amitié* at the beginning of the nineteenth century wanted it to express masculine values. The words were inscribed to celebrate friendship, possibly male homosociality. We're in the most reclusive part of Barney's garden. That is the backside of her pavilion.

She turns and points at the low building that extends from a large apartment block. They walk down the stairs, which lands in the central axis of a narrow lawn framed by two stone walls. The lecturer looks back at the large buildings behind the temple, she points at the far end of the row.

LECTURER: Eileen Gray lived there for sixty years, in the same block, but on the corner of rue Bonaparte. She attended the salon at least a few times.⁶⁸ Some years before Natalie Barney moved in the author Colette used to live there (*the Lecturer points to a building slightly closer*), a few doors down on number 28, on “that dreary and wretched rue Jacob,”⁶⁹ as Colette wrote herself. It was before her affair with Barney. This site is embedded in art and literature history.

They tread as lightly as they can across the lawn towards the backside of the pavilion.

LECTURER: The pavilion is said to be built in the eighteenth century by the actress Adrienne Lecouvreur (1692-1730) of the *Comédie Française* who was also a *salonnière* with a taste for the extravagant.⁷⁰ She had a success in the lead role of *Phèdre* by Jean Racine (1639-1699), who has also lived alongside this garden.

According to the legend *Temple à l’Amitié* houses the ashes of Adrienne Lecouvreur who died under suspect circumstances.⁷¹ The mysterious north corner of the temple might comprise a secret incrustation... However, this is almost certainly untrue. Lecouvreur was dead by 1730 and the temple wasn’t built until the 1810s.

They start to move around the building. All windows have shutters, and all shutters are closed.

PHOTOGRAPHER: There is none at home. Let’s unhinge a shutter.

LECTURER: No! Please...don’t! I’m sure we’re observed.

PHOTOGRAPHER: Calm down, crackpot, I was only joking. I

also feel the eyes of the neighbors following our moves.

LECTURER: In Barney’s time several large trees obscured the wild and overgrown garden.

They have now passed the longer side of the pavilion and reached the broad part of the garden, the sous-bois, on the other side of the pavilion. They stand in front of the short, end façade of the pavilion.

LECTURER: Le Corbusier built himself a studio on top of that house (*She moves towards the court and points at the roof of a tall building*), overlooking the court and parts of the garden. He seems to have had a *faiblesse*, a weakness, for building sites next to these ladies. Above Eileen Gray’s E.1027 he built a hut from which you could see not only the sun roof but also the private balcony of E.1027. Barney disliked him. She was one of the first to install electricity and a few years later she found out that Le Corbusier had hooked himself up to her electricity. It resulted in a court case.⁷²

The rest of the group has sated their immediate curiosity. They start to join the party again.

LECTURER: There is a series of built structures that guard the garden. First is the outer layer of the block; the buildings at the streets. Next come the buildings of the court including the pavilion. And finally the last protective layer is made up of the iron fence and the garden walls. The succession of layers continues in the details of the building. Ivy climbs the façade, just as it did in Barney’s days. Barney used the many doors and window openings of the building deliberately; they were screened and covered in more or less permanent fashions. We’re

in the center of Paris, her place is well known and still completely disguised.

JULIAN: It is like the mosque in Marakesh that was hidden within the maze of the medina but still present because of the myths that surrounded it.

LECTURER: That sounds interesting; I'm not familiar with that legend.

JULIAN: Yes, I was there. In the alleys you scent the blossom of the orange trees behind the tall walls. But it's impossible to find the entrance.

LECTURER: That's a difference then – this place is easy to find, the address 20 rue Jacob is well known which doesn't mean that it was ever easy to be admitted. Barney's place was hidden yet shared; "within the garden walls" it was "safe from intrusion of the outside world" as Shari Benstock states.⁷³ Nevertheless her disguises, the way that she created herself and how she appropriated this architecture, are of the kind that attracts attention just like a masquerade dress. Radclyffe Hall wrote that "...nearly all streets in Paris lead sooner or later to Valérie Seymour"⁷⁴ (Valérie Seymour was Radclyffe Hall's fictive character created out of Natalie Barney). Barney's place was more than a retreat, a secret love nest for same-sex desire. It was a personal theater-salon of great importance, especially for women, which provided a supportive semi-public place for actions and critiques, influences and contacts.⁷⁵ As Amy Wells-Lynn put it, she goes beyond just creating a space within Paris; she and her friends create a new Paris on the whole.⁷⁶

The ordinary accesses to the garden are through the pavilion or that iron gate next to it.

She points to a wide and tall iron-gate with metal plates welded to it on the left side of the pavilion and reads aloud from her paper.

LECTURER: Since 1947 the building constellation of 20 rue Jacob is listed in the supplementary inventory of French historical monuments as *protected buildings*. The motivation describes the setting:

A long vestibule leads to a court on whose far end an isolated house in the form of a pavilion is situated.⁷⁷

So, the façade of Barney's pavilion, nine meters wide, with more windows than stone – there are seven balcony doors with shutters – forms the end wall of the narrow courtyard.

Maybe you can make out the imprint of the courtyard beyond the gate? The main entrance to the house is in the left hand corner of the court, just where the wall of the pavilion connects directly to that adjacent, but much taller, court building. Some of the spaces of the home are in that building. There are a few steps that lead up to the entrance. In the great flood of 1910, when Natalie Barney was a new resident, the Seine flooded the streets of the left bank; it came to the third step of her front stairs.⁷⁸

The lecturer points to the house.

LECTURER: The house has changed a lot since Barney's time. Here on the wall between the two doors was that large mirror which reflected the garden you saw in the film sequence I showed you. On the other side of the wall there

is a large salon, or antechamber, which was used for the Friday salons. At one point, Barney also had a lean-to greenhouse, a conservatory here next to the wall.⁷⁹

It is easy to see that the house has been extended. On the left, next to the courtyard, you have the eighteenth century pavilion in two stories, and to the right, you have a single story addition. The addition is slightly hidden behind the corner of the pavilion; its façade doesn't align with the older part.

The extension was probably done in the early twentieth century. Even if there weren't building regulations as definite as today, it was still a considerable intervention. It was probably constructed in the years before Natalie Barney moved in, but it could actually have been built by her. It housed one of the fundamental components for Barney's salon; in the writings about 20 rue Jacob it is sometimes referred to as *salle à manger*, dining room, sometimes as *salon*. I will call it the salon.

François Chapon, who is an expert on the personal theater of Natalie Barney and conservator of the Barney collection at *Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet*, mentions some building activity on Barney's behalf in his introduction to the archive material.⁸⁰ (*The lecturer consults her manuscript*) Here it is:

A temple to friendship, constructed there more than a century ago, at the end of an alley – the view of which, with her [Barney's] Anglo-Saxon pragmatism, she interrupted by the construction of a garage – completed this theater...⁸¹

I don't know if it was pragmatic but she did construct a garage. You saw it in the film quote from *Feu Follet*. It was

here, between the back wall of the pavilion extension and the stone wall of the garden. The simple construction was basically a roof over the passage. At both ends, on this side and towards the temple, there were garage doors in glass and iron. The garage was a roof covered part of the rowdy garden that both separated and linked the two parts; the large *sous-bois* and the rear garden with *à l'Amitié*. In addition it framed the temple; when the garage doors were closed the construction even put it behind glass, and turned it into an image.

JULIAN: But didn't you say that she rented the place? How come she built here?

LECTURER: Yes, she rented it, she was not interested in ownership; rather I think it is more accurate to say that she presided there. She used her financial independence to live, not to collect property.

It is a speculation, but actually she could have built both the single story addition and the garage. I am sure she would have extended the building if that was her will.

The single story addition was not clad like it is today, but was a low and wide construction of raw bricks with an entire façade of windows. If you recall the *Feu follet* film sequence it looked like a small factory or an artist's studio. The inside on the contrary was entirely dressed in several layers.

Before the two additions, the *Temple à l'Amitié* was seen beside the pavilion from the general garden. At the end of the constricted back garden the temple used to be set in a kind of central perspective that was emphasized by the narrowing site framed by two walls. The interruption of view, which is caused by the early twentieth century constructions, emphasizes the enigmatic quality of the temple and creates a secluded back

garden for it; an outdoor theater – the temple offers both a stage and a backdrop – or a place to spread a blanket and make love under the green leaves of May. The most famous part of Natalie Barney’s salon the *Temple à l’Amitié* is the most hidden.

As you can see, the bricks of the pavilion extension are not exposed anymore. Today the windows and the plaster cladding of the twentieth century addition imitate the eighteenth century pavilion, perhaps as a futile gesture to conceal the addition? It has a white neo-classicist cladding, there are corner pilasters and smaller, neatly framed windows. The garage is completely erased.

In the early seventies, with newly established building regulations, the building was prepared to house the prime minister and family, and the “factory-look” was deemed inappropriate. The extension was transformed to pass as an earlier addition, and made to appear as if constructed at the same time as the pavilion. This more representational cladding made the construction less evident as an addition; it made it more like part of an ensemble. Dressed in such a “power suit” it was better protected from possible future claims of building conservationists; the “ramshackle” creation ran greater risk of being pulled down. In the next lecture, about Selma Lagerlöf and the transformation of Mårbacka, I will talk more about cladding in relation to gender performance and how it can transform buildings to create other meanings.

With the Temple as a background the photographer takes some portraits of Sally, who poses on the stairs.

tographer) were here we entered the garden. Two dear friends had joined us. I had managed to borrow the key to the garden gate from the gardener, a young man who knows all the plants and trees but very little about the landlady. She has not moved in yet. I think she wants to remodel and restore the house first.

The iron gate is opened and Madame W appears again. She quickly passes in front of the group as she muses.

MADAME W: Do you know that she mounted her horse here in the garden ... naked!

and disappears around the corner. The lecturer tags along. Many of the friends sneak out through the gate, into Paris. A small group, Sally, Julian, Tabbelle and the photographer, follows the lecturer. Again Madame W tries to open a door, this time it is the back door to the pavilion. The keys rattle and she is frustrated.

MADAME W: Excusez-moi, can you give it a try?

The lecturer puts her books on the ground. But just as she is about to take over for Madame W, the door opens with a groan. Madame W enters while sweeping off some dry leaves on the floor with her feet.

MADAME W: It is dark in here, I’ll see if I can open some windows.

She sets off into the house. Again the small group follows. The lecturer quickly talks them through the house as they try to keep up with Madame W. The lecturer steps from the tiny hallway into the first room.

LECTURER: The second time we (*she gestures towards the pho-*

LECTURER: On the lower floor there are two living rooms; first, this, the salon, or dining room.

The lecturer moves into the middle of the room.

LECTURER: We are in the addition, the single floor part of the pavilion. It really has changed a lot since Barney's time.

One after the other the photographer, Sally, Tabelle and Julian enter, at first they can hardly see a thing, just some streaks of light that enter through the gaps between shutters and walls, but as their eyes adjust to the faint light they find themselves in the corner of a large rectangular salon with a raised ceiling

LECTURER: There used to be a glass ceiling here – light filtered through its milky glass and gave the room a particular atmosphere. The stucco frieze that surrounds the taller part of the ceiling is original, but it used to be more decorated. Look, this alcove used to function as a stage, or backdrop, for the salon recitals.

She moves back towards the others, next to the door they entered is a semicircular alcove that protrudes into the garden. The alcove is framed by narrow mirrors. Tabelle takes a few tentative steps forward.

TABELLE: So there really is a bent wall in this room!

Wrapped up in her own thoughts the lecturer does not hear Tabelle.

LECTURER: This salon used to be heavily decorated but also like a modernist studio in an eclectic kind of way. Now it has been stripped of its eccentricity. Look at those windows.

She clicks her tongue in disappointment and gestures towards the short wall on the other side of the room, opposite the alcove.

LECTURER: Those windows with horizontal partitions imitate the windows of the eighteenth century part of the building. That wall used to be almost entirely made up of large factory-like glass. The glass-panes were tall and rectangular, much more like the accordion glass-wall of E.1027, if you remember? The refurbishment after Barney's death in 1972 has made this space more classicist representational, and a lot less suggestive.

They cross the floor and move into the second room, where Madame W has opened a window towards the court. The photographer looks out, bends her head back to see the sky above the tall buildings that surround the court.

LECTURER: This, the second large room of the ground floor, is in the old part of the pavilion. It was called the antechamber or drawing room, sometimes also the salon. This confusion, in Barney's own representations and other people's accounts, of the names has several explanations; both rooms were used for the Friday salons and there were doors between them as well as mirrors that reflected the spaces into each other, confusing their separation. It was queer in that way. I will call it the antechamber. Those two window doors lead into the broad part of the garden, the *sous-bois*.

The doors she points at have shutters mounted on the inside. The door towards the entrance hall is open, and they hear Madame W close a door and climb the stairs to the upper floor. The little group

hurries along, the lecturer takes the lead. As they turn to climb the stairs they pass a closed door in the entrance hall.

LECTURER: There are also some spaces of the house that extend into the adjacent building; on the lower floor the kitchen and the maid's room. Upstairs only Barney's chamber-boudoir was set in the pavilion part, but inside the adjacent building, there was a closet, a room for friends and two dressing rooms. This narrow space,

She stops a few steps up, which abruptly hinders the others to ascend since it is a very narrow staircase, so typical for Paris.

LECTURER: the vestibule, joins the pavilion with the adjacent building. The vestibule is open in both ends so it doesn't interrupt movement from court to garden. The passage is mediated by a series of doors, but when they are open they permit direct route through to the garden. This vestibule is a joining space which is both in the center of the home and at the back of the pavilion.

PHOTOGRAPHER: Now you lost me, what do you mean?

LECTURER: Well, the way the pavilion and the court building are brought together intrigues me; it operates in a double sense. The pavilion is separated as a more public and seemingly independent part of the home, with a close relation to the garden. Thus the exterior theme of an exposed pavilion is extended into the interior. Simultaneously the vestibule does not hide but connects to the "back-stage" functions; an almost equally large part of the home. The spaces in the court building, kitchen, bathroom and so on, are less significant than the "mythical" salons of the pavilion, but they are essential for comfort. The distribution of functions is interesting.

It was not like Natalie Barney put her bedroom in the more withdrawn parts of the home – quite the opposite, it occupied the upper floor, in the most beautiful space of the pavilion. What are you waiting for?

She turns and rushes up the flight of stairs, with a laugh. They make quite a noise in the wooden stairs as the photographer, Tabbelle, Sally and Julian try to catch up. They dance into the light space of the upper floor of the pavilion; the former chamber-boudoir of Natalie Barney. The chamber has a tall ceiling decorated with a large circle and panels of stucco, like all the other rooms it is devoid of furniture. The walls are divided in even panels framed by moldings and the floor is covered in careful parquet. The tall balcony window towards the general garden is opened. The shutters are not outside, but are mounted on the interior side of the wall. They catch a glimpse of Madame W as she passes the small hall in the adjacent building and disappears.

LECTURER: I know very little about how this room was furnished because I have not been able to find any photographs or drawings of it. However there are a few written descriptions and they all mention the color of the chamber; blue.⁸²

The blue interior plays a significant role in the history of salon culture. It was introduced by Madame de Rambouillet (1588-1665) whose salon, in fashion from 1610 to 1650, is referred to as the first salon.⁸³ Interior decorator Elsie de Wolfe honors Madame de Rambouillet because as "decorator she supplanted the old feudal yellow and red with her famous silver-blue."⁸⁴ The salon of Rambouillet was a trendsetter and provided a pattern for many followers. For instance literature historian Ingrid Holmquist, who has written about the world of

salons in Uppsala in the nineteenth century, emphasizes the enormous influence of Mme de Rambouillet.⁸⁵ According to Holmquist, the sociality that Mme de Rambouillet developed with her salon was an alternative to the masculine warrior mentality, stiff knightly codes and unrefined manners, which dominated court life around Henri IV. Instead she wished to create a new, refined and feminine form of social intercourse. And, what is significant in this excursion into the interaction between social event and container, to signal a shift in behavior, she refurbished her house and built an elegant salon dressed in blue, silk wallpaper. The blue color challenged the red and golden interiors which were customary for representational spaces of the time and displayed the desire for something else. “La chambre bleu” became the height of refinement.⁸⁶

Three hundred years later the blue interior of Natalie Barney’s chamber-boudoir was also associated with femininity; but the world of salons was not the main reference, the Friday salon always took place on the ground floor and never went upstairs. Barney chose rosy silk wallpaper for her salons. Instead the blue color of the chamber related to the *demimonde* of female prostitution which has both feminist and queer implications.

The story is that Natalie Barney had this room, walls and ceiling, as well as the bed, decorated in blue as homage to a woman she had loved, Lianne de Pougy. At the turn of the twentieth century de Pougy was well-known as one of the demimondes or cocottes and her blue boudoir was the place where she sold sex to rich men.⁸⁷

Élisabeth de Gramont, who you met in the first lecture, described in her memoirs the striking difference between the young girls of the world and the demi-

mondes.⁸⁸ The first, insignificant and frail, were kept indoors with piano playing as their only exercise. De Gramont wrote that the young girls’ lives were so truly unpleasant that they all rushed into marriage like a heard of sheep when the stable door opens in the mornings. The latter, the demimondes, moved in the city with a radiant appearance. They could be seen driving around in their open carriages. Both groups were completely caught up in a trafficking system; without rights in a trade between men.

When she first came to Paris, Natalie Barney was attracted to the relative freedom of the demimondes, their extravagant femininity – and especially to Lianne de Pougy. Barney tried to “save” Lianne de Pougy from her dependence on men, but failed since Lianne de Pougy didn’t want to be saved. Instead de Pougy wrote a bestseller about their relation – *Idylle Saphique*, 1901, which is one of the first of numerous literary oeuvres where a character is based on Natalie Barney. In *Idylle Saphique* she is called Florence Temple Bradford.⁸⁹ It’s a very stimulating book if you want to practice French!

The photographer has walked over to the window while the lecturer has been talking. She rests on the window sill. There is a fountain in the garden which she did not notice before. From this viewpoint the garden looks different, much more embedded in green.

JULIAN: I’ve read a wonderful biography about “the red duchesse” *Élisabeth de Gramont, Avant-gardiste*, I think the author is named Francesco Rapazzini. What a remarkable woman, and her life-story... Natalie Barney and Élisabeth de Gramont, known as Lily, had a lifelong relationship, although not monogamous, and they wrote

a kind of marriage contract.⁹⁰ When they met Lily was married to Philibert de Clermont-Tonnerre – a real tyrant who abused her. Natalie supported Lily and helped her divorce her violent husband, but Lily became a scandal by the process and lost the care of their two daughters. He was dangerous, so Barney slept with a gun under her pillow since he had promised to kill her.⁹¹

SALLY: Was the husband only a more or less harsh prison guard? I can't stand the thought that one's happiness would depend solely on one other person.⁹²

Tabelle, who has been studying each corner of the room closely, especially the stucco decor of the ceiling, goes over and sits down next to the photographer on the window sill. She sighs deeply and looks very content to be here.

LECTURER: Romaine Brooks painted a portrait of Barney in front of this window.⁹³ You do not see much of the room in that portrait but the view through the window is similar. Overgrown like a small wood, the garden was fundamental in the life of this household, and it was a sexualized space for flirtations, female seduction, Sapphic plays and other social activities.⁹⁴ In front of Natalie Barney on the portrait by Brooks there is a statuette of a wild black horse, which refers to Barney's nickname "Amazone", but also brings us back into the woods. Barney staged love encounters in *Bois de Boulogne*. She was a fair *cavalière* that seduced women in her riding costume à l'*Amazone*.

What I find intriguing in the architecture of Barney's house are the ways the garden is present in the interior. The portrait used to hang in front of a window in the salon of the ground floor.⁹⁵ Its placement superimposed the image of Barney on the factual garden outside the

wall that doubled the garden in the painting. It shows how important the garden was. What's more, the buildings at the back are visible through the greenery, both in the actual garden and in the garden of the portrait. So it is not just a garden, but a garden inscribed in the city. Historian of ideas Elisabeth Mansén has studied the significant relations to garden and nature in the culture of the salons.⁹⁶ According to Mansén the garden, both as metaphor and physical space, was invested with a critique towards a constricted social life of proper feminine behaviour; it carries connotations of freedom and female sexuality.⁹⁷ It alludes to ingenious adventures of an untamed *esprit*. Barney's garden, whose unruly overgrown appearance is mentioned in every representation, exaggerates the connotations of gardens. That it is situated in the middle of Paris makes it even more thrilling.

The various uses of the windows are significant in the story about Barney's queer appropriation of these structures. The pavilion has an abundance of windows; the wall towards the court has more windows than stone. In this space alone there are three full length windows towards the court. Barney was very careful about the windows; she used them as mediating devices and covered them – some in a more permanent fashion, others had curtains and jalousies.

Barney covered the windows of this chamber to various degrees. The window that opened towards the general garden and one of the windows facing the court were screened only by lawn curtains, but the two additional windows towards the court were covered more permanently.⁹⁸ On the outside their shutters seem to have been closed all the time. She really created a tension here. I mean, she put her "Lianne de Pougy

boudoir” in an elevated position on the top floor of the pavilion but simultaneously she shuts it towards the court. Not entirely though, one window gives a hint that there’s life behind the wall. It is mockingly present, but you can’t see a thing.

Her linen curtains were embroidered with a sentence taken from the poem *Femmes damnées* of Charles Baudelaire:

*May our drawn curtains shield us from the world.*⁹⁹

SALLY: I am glad she didn’t put all her trust in the curtains to protect herself from desperate husbands...

LECTURER: You were all at the first lecture when I talked about Baudelaire’s popularity in the lesbian avant-garde in Paris of the early twentieth century and how Eileen Gray quoted Baudelaire with the text *Invitation au Voyage* on the wall of E.1027.¹⁰⁰ The curtain sentence is from one of the poems of *Flowers of Evil* that were condemned in 1858 because of its immoral content. It portrays the obscure pleasures of lesbian sex and the misgivings that seize Hippolyte after having sex with Delphine. To me it is a bit difficult to understand Baudelaire’s popularity among lesbians – I mean, he romanticized their decadence and their position outside the proscribed social behaviour but he also damned their sterile love; destined to descend the path to eternal hell.¹⁰¹

PHOTOGRAPHER: But at least it existed. He confirmed their existence by writing about them. I mean, I’m always thrilled when I can detect some lesbian footnoting.

SALLY: As you invariably do...

JULIAN: We still starve for alternatives to that endless narcissistic self-confirmation of heterosexual representation.

To their surprise a horse neighs loudly outside, Tabele almost falls out the window from the shock, but the photographer grabs her at the last moment. When they turn to look there is no sign of any horse. The photographer opens a window towards the court to see if the horse is there, the others assemble behind her. As they look through the window, they get another surprise. A voice says from behind:

NATALIE BARNEY: “Still, my incuriosity is always surprised by the curiosity of the outside world”.¹⁰²

They spin around. In a lush embroidered gown and white scarf Natalie Barney stands before them, imposing posture and piercing gaze.

NATALIE BARNEY: Why don’t you go downstairs?

Without a question, not even Sally makes a remark, the group slinks away.

Back on the ground floor they discover that the place has changed since they went upstairs. It is completely furnished. There are carpets and wall decorations, a bouquet of roses in pink, salmon, yellow and crimson, an evening jacket thrown across a chair and a bizarre umbrella stand by the entrance door; someone lives here.

SALLY: Never trust the decor.¹⁰³

In the entrance there is a three faced mirror and three portraits of Natalie Barney; a Blondie, a nude, and a Happy Prince. Through the mirror the little group see themselves reflected in the setting.

LECTURER (*speaks in a low voice afraid that Barney will hear*): Yes, everyone who enters here really gets introduced to the masquerade of the tenant, the gender-bending and women-loving acts that this place is devoted to.

She examines the painting of Natalie Barney as a prince.

LECTURER: This is a tribute to Oscar Wilde. Natalie Barney's book about her salon *Aventures de l'esprit* starts with the story about Natalie Barney's childhood meeting with her hero Oscar Wilde. He saved her from a group of menacing children. To comfort her, he took her in his lap and told the story of the Happy Prince.¹⁰⁴

*They hear some low voices and a giggle in the antechamber. Julian, the photographer, Tabelle, Sally and the lecturer look at one another. A streak of somebody's perfume drifts through the room and mingles with the scent of tuberose in a sixteenth-century chalice.*¹⁰⁵ *Tablette bites her lip nervously.*

PHOTOGRAPHER (*in a hushed voice*): What shall we do?

LECTURER (*with shining eyes*): Well, Barney knows we're here, I say why not?

SALLY: Charmante!

*Sally already stands in the doorway, she poses a second and enters. The others follow. They look around, but stay close together. The walls are covered in pink damask, the color of flesh, the silk is fastened to the walls with panels and frames.*¹⁰⁶ *The dry leaves are gone; the floor is covered in thick oriental rugs. A stylish gang lounges on Barney's favourite divan, to Sally's disappointment they hardly notice her or the others as they enter. On the wall close to the entrance hangs a Persian tapestry embellished with metal and pearls.*¹⁰⁷

LECTURER: That was a gift to Barney from Robert de Montesquiou.¹⁰⁸

The two glass doors in the antechamber that open towards the

*general garden are freed from their shutters. One of them is wide open, and a canary can be heard singing from a palatial bird cage that hangs outside from a hook in the façade*¹⁰⁹. *The air of the garden fills the room. Between the doors is a deep sofa, draped in velours. There are piles of books on the armrest and a banjo sits in the corner. Above the sofa is a large rounded mirror, through a pair of glass doors the adjacent salon-dining room is reflected in the mirror. It is also dressed in pink silk.*

*The three windows that face the court are covered. Two are shielded by curtains; the same rose damask that dress the walls are used as curtains. The third window is more permanently shut; it is covered not only by the rose tapestry but on top of the tapestry is an embroidered hanging and, on top of that, a portrait of Rémy de Gourmont.*¹¹⁰ *The shutter is closed on the outside. The lecturer walks up to the curtains and feels the material between her fingers.*

LECTURER: It was said to be of the same pink as a girl's cheek. It's Marie Laurencin pink!

PHOTOGRAPHER: Marie Laurencin?

LECTURER: Mmm, early modernist painter. She painted many women, in pastel colors, often floating in dream-like compositions with other women. A signature of hers was a certain rosy color; British *Vogue* called it Marie Laurencin-pink!¹¹¹ Maybe she also shows up here?¹¹²

SALLY (*who can't take her eyes off the fashionable gang on the divan*): There are some women it would be foolhardy to take out of their natural setting: bed.¹¹³

The lecturer's eyes wander across the room to the door that leads to the salon. The glassed double doors are open. It is irresistible for her and it looks like she is pulled there, the troop follows. They stop just inside. There doesn't seem to be anyone there but the salon has a very dense atmosphere; the lantern spreads an aquarium light to the room.

An octagonal table with eight cups and a tea urn is placed slightly off center. The green half-light which comes into the room reflects from the glasses and silver tea urn as from under water.¹¹⁴ The rosy pink walls of the rectangular space enclose them on three sides; to their right, on the forth side, are the trees and bushes of the garden.

LECTURER: The windows are back!

The short wall facing the broad garden with large trees and tangled undergrowth are made up of large factory-like windows. At the ground there is a low parapet; at the top the windows touch the ceiling. The panes of glass are tall and narrow, they have thin frames. At the center is a wide glass door in the same style. The thin, singular layer of glass mediates but doesn't stop the sounds from the garden entering. The distinction between inside and outside is very fine and quite unstable.

The inside of the walls are neatly dressed, but through the window the raw bricks of the construction can be seen. The bricks displayed like that, without a layer of roughcast, are reminiscent of the act of constructing the wall. In contrast to the careful layering of the inside, the bricks make the building look as if it is not yet finished.

Next to the door is a low, simple daybed and on the window sill above stands a harp. There are many instruments around; a mandolin, a viola and a violin lie on a sideboard.¹¹⁵ The rest of the window sill is filled with piles of books, leaning dangerously back and forth. There are also some paintings leaning against the glass.

The long wall facing the little group contains a couple of windows, but they are both covered. The pink curtains are drawn on the left window with an enormous bouquet of wisterias in front. The window facing

them has a leaf trellis and parts of the garden and a stone wall can be glimpsed beyond. Leaning against the trellis, on the window sill stands Romaine Brooks' portrait of Natalie Barney. The wide wooden frame looks dark against the pale light of the window.

Here and there the pavilion is propped up by struts; the maintenance has been neglected. Tabelle jumps a little to test the floor boards, the furniture shakes and it feels like the whole place groans.

TABELLE: It's in a state of decay.

LECTURER: Apparently the pavilion was a bit fragile already when Barney moved in. She was told not to dance excessively because the floorboards weren't solid.¹¹⁶ But they danced tango!

JULIAN: You know this mixture of decay, functioning setting and freshly built structures remind me of that Robert Smithson lecture *Hotel Palenque*, where he shows architecture as an ongoing, both haphazard and intentional process.¹¹⁷

LECTURER: Ah, yes, there's something about that...it's like a "living organism" to use the words of Eileen Gray...*architecture vivante*...¹¹⁸

The alcove in the wall opposite the window-wall is fitted with a semi-circular soft bench and there is a window in the middle of the wall. The window stands open and they can see the Temple à l'Amitié framed through the window.

JULIAN: It looks like a piece of art!

LECTURER: Yes, or an emblem. On a sketch from 1928 the wall was opaque, my guess is that the window has been opened in the refurbishment after Barney or maybe late in her life. The alcove was used as a setting for perfor-

mances and readings during the salon; once Wanda Landowska played the harpsichord there.¹¹⁹

Along the right, outer wall there is a side table with glasses. There are big jugs, a carafe filled with an orange drink, bottles of Porto and Whisky and a large bowl of fruits. Above the side table is a large mirror fitted into the moldings of the wall. As the small group slowly dares to enter the room they see how the mirror reflects the antechamber with Remy de Gourmont's portrait at the back. The mirror also reflects the salon an infinite number of times, since on the opposite wall, there is another mirror placed exactly in front of the first. Again the small group see themselves reflected in the setting, but they also see themselves multiplied, backs and fronts, and moved outside the limits of the walls. It is like the salon extends itself sideways into the other buildings of the city. The mirrored salons become more and more distorted by each bouncing reflection because of the slightly uneven surfaces of the mirrors.

JULIAN: It is almost like I can see the shadows of those who have been reflected in these mirrors before us.

The lecturer is fascinated by the book piles on the window sill and goes over them. She picks up the top book from one of the piles; Djuna Barnes' book Ladies' Almanack.¹²⁰

LECTURER: It's Natalie Barney's hand colored copy of the *Ladies' Almanack*.¹²¹

This calendar for an audience of lesbians was written and illustrated by Djuna Barnes under pseudonym: *A Lady of Fashion*.¹²² It is written in a convoluted Middle English notoriously difficult to decipher; a language in disguise.¹²³ And it does not only presuppose and celebrate a lesbian identity, but even makes it normative.¹²⁴

She opens the book carefully and tries not to drop any of the notes, papers and letters that are stuck between the pages. The others come close to see, they form a tight group around the book. There are illustrations which look like they were from a manuscript from the Middle Ages. The texts run on ordinary lines on the pages, but also form triangles, are set in smaller fonts in the margins, become verses of poetry and lines in a song. Someone has written marginal notes in a convoluted style.

LECTURER: Look, Natalie Barney has written in the margin (*She reads*); Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas, "Low-Heel" and "High-Head".¹²⁵ Barney has identified all characters in the almanac. She herself is the central Evangeline Musset. This Dame Musset character is no lesbian martyr like Radclyffe Hall's main character Stephen Gordon, no, she is a Saint. Month by month the text follows Evangeline Musset and the ladies she gathered around herself. In February we are presented with a list that tells on what merits Evangeline Musset has been sanctified; no surprise... it was due to her erotic achievements.

Through the window the photographer suddenly notices that something moves. She nudges the lecturer in the side and gestures: "Look!" The door of the temple swings open; A Lady of Fashion makes her entry. In a hat of cock feathers, a pale powdered face – her lips are a thin line in dark red and she wears a coat of many colors – she pauses a second at the top of the stairs, to make sure that she is seen. As she speaks she slowly makes her way down and glides past the undergrowth towards the pavilion.

A LADY OF FASHION: Can one say by what Path, under what Bush, beside what Ditch, beneath what Mountain, through what Manlabour and Slaveswork, Man came

upon the Burrows of Wisdom, and sometimes upon the skin of her herself?¹²⁶

She is out of sight for a moment, but then the panel on the left to the alcove swings open. The panel contains a hidden door to a secret compartment from which you can reach the entrance and stairwell or slink off to the temple. The Lady enters through the wall.

A LADY OF FASHION: In the days of which I write she had come to be a witty and learned Fifty, and though most short of stature and nothing handsome, was so much in demand, and so wide famed for her Genius at bringing up by Hand, and so noted and esteemed for her Slips of the Tongue that it finally brought her to the Hall of Fame...¹²⁷

Dressed in white, a long ermined dress by Madeline Vionnet, Natalie Barney comes down the stairs, passes through the antechamber and makes her second appearance at the double door of the salon behind Tabele, Julian, Sally, the photographer and the lecturer. They move further into the salon. Barney glides up to the bureau left of the double door, the crystals of the bracket lamp tingles as she passes.

NATALIE BARNEY (*to A Lady of Fashion*): They come, like so many times before, to interview me about my salon.

Do I have a salon?

It is nothing, in any case, official. No party, no given party rules here. Nothing presides here, and even less so myself.¹²⁸

One arm leans on the marble top of the bureau where among books, an art nouveau lamp, a sculpture by Chana Orloff and other portraits, there is a photograph of Romaine Brooks in bow tie

and dinner jacket.¹²⁹ Barney looks around and sniffs at the struts that keep the roof from falling down. She clenches her fist.

NATALIE BARNEY: My salon is a monument of contemporary literature: nobody has the right to change it. I have made my oath to breathe my last breath here where the spirit has ruled.¹³⁰

She turns towards the group, and becomes supple like a scarf; in a friendly voice she addresses the lecturer.¹³¹

NATALIE BARNEY: It would please me if you continued your tour.

Neither Barney nor A Lady of Fashion, who has walked over to the Orangeade and poured a glass, shows any sign of leaving. The lecturer looks around to find a way to continue. Then she realizes that she still holds the Ladies' Almanack in her hand and she braces herself.

LECTURER: This is not only a calendar of ladies, an attempt at a women-centered cultural history, but also a text about same-sex desire. Djuna Barnes has in her “slight satiric wiggling” created a language that expresses women’s longing for women; a celebration of the tongue that gives linguistic and sexual pleasure.¹³²

A LADY OF FASHION (*while taking a sip from her drink*): No thing so solaces it as other Parts as inflamed, or with the Consolation every Woman has at her Finger Tips, or at the very Hang of her Tongue.¹³³

LECTURER: There are carpets on top of the wooden floor, some rugs lay across the divans. There are places to sit or lie in every room.

A Lady of Fashion throws herself on the daybed in the corner, which makes the others move away from there, apart from Sally who just backs up to stand and lean on the door post. Natalie Barney crisscrosses the space gently striking her things while the lecturer talks.

A LADY OF FASHION: Fur, or thick and Oriental Rugs, (whose very design it seems, procures for them such a Languishing of the Haunch and Reins as is insupportable)¹³⁴

LECTURER: Look at the glass ceiling! And the stucco frieze with paintings of lounging nymphs.¹³⁵

A LADY OF FASHION: Girls! Girls! She beheld them floating across the Ceilings, (for such was Art in the old Days)¹³⁶

LECTURER: Maybe you recall that the first painting you see in the entrance is a nude of our hostess resting on the soft moss in a forest. With a queer eye these undressed women in horizontal positions embed the salon in female sexuality. They give special meaning to all these comfortable surfaces in every room. They express a longing for other women just like the text in *Ladies' Almanack*.

NATALIE BARNEY: Paintings were for association not value. I don't like houses that resemble museums.¹³⁷

Natalie Barney wanders off to the antechamber, where she causes a flutter of delighted laughter. The lecturer looks a bit disappointed that she failed to keep the attention of Barney, but she sees that the others wait for her to continue.

LECTURER: The portraits recall people that were part of Barney's salons but might not be there any more, like the deceased guests. Our hostess had bought very little of the furniture. Her home is known to have been an assemblage of things given to her by others. Elisabeth Mansén has found some common traits in the physical landscapes

of a collection of Nordic salons. She argues that the artifacts are meaningful because of their histories; how they fire your imagination. Neither their usefulness nor their monetary values are of primary importance.¹³⁸ They are here to serve the social event; an evocative setting for the imagination. Much of the furniture came from Barney's sister and mother, who had passed them on because, and this I have from Barney's friend Jean Chalon, they were too odd and inconvenient.¹³⁹ Barney was also generous in her turn and gave things away to those who liked them.

Natalie Barney suddenly appears in the mirror beside her portrait, she is reflected from the antechamber. Her voice is heard clearly through to the salon.

NATALIE BARNEY: The proprietor loses that, which he owns by the boredom of habit, or he becomes the guardian and, without even removing it, the passer-by takes it from him.¹⁴⁰

The lecturer, pleased by this contribution, continues.

LECTURER: It is a living collection; the artifacts stay a while and are then passed on. There is an accumulation of objects but they are not frozen in time or put behind glass doors. The way it looks here is only in this very moment. The setting behaves like the salon it only exists in a moment in time.

Not all objects or parts of the salon are on the move; nevertheless this movement across the years has been a challenge when trying to recreate the salon milieu from photographs, drawings and texts.

JULIAN: But that's no different from many homes?

LECTURER: No, you're absolutely right! The difference appears when you think about the salon as a semi public institution, in relation to other public spaces. The salon is part of the public sphere, but takes place in a private space. It is a home put on display and programmed to gain another sociality, freer from uncomfortable decorum, happier but also more serious. The salon culture blurs the distinction between theater and life as the audience, consisting of friends and acquaintances were also the actors, and the place for the salon was the house where the salonnière lived. The atmosphere was not given; it was created – intentionally through decorations and invitations, and by chance, through excess meanings, coincidences or, as here, decay.

Barney opened the door to her house, but did she not consider herself the leader of the event. A salonnière is something entirely different; more a director than a principal actor.

The lecturer puts the Ladies' Almanack back on the pile in the window and sees another book which she picks up; Natalie Barney's Aventures de l'esprit from 1929. The jaundiced paperback has a promotional pink semi jacket with the text: "Avec: Oscar Wilde, Pierre Louys, Rémy de Gourmont, Marcel Proust, Rainer-Maria Rilke, Gabriele d'Annunzio, Max Jacob, Paul Valéry, etc... et quelques femmes."¹⁴¹ The last two words are underlined in pencil and someone has drawn an exclamation mark in the margin.

LECTURER: *Adventures of the Mind* by Natalie Barney from 1929. Not all literary salons were hosted by a salonnière, herself an author. This is a collection of Barney's intellectual, intimate and spiritual jaunts with, for in-

stance, the Anglophone and Francophone writers and artists she assembled in the temple for the *Académie des femmes*, Academy of Women, Lucie Delarue-Mardrus, Anna Wickham, Colette, Rachilde, Aurel, Mina Loy, Élisabeth de Gramont, Djuna Barnes, Gertrude Stein, Romaine Brooks, Renée Vivien and Marie Lenéru. It was in response to the misogynic *Académie Française* who did not admit women under their dome until 1980. The first woman there was another friend of Barney's; Marguerite Yourcenar. What makes this book unique from an architectural point of view is the frontispiece.

The lecturer opens the cover, turns three pages and unfolds a drawing

LECTURER: This is a map Barney drew of her salon; 'Map of the Salon of the Amazone between 1910 and 1930'.¹⁴² As you can see Barney not only mapped the spaces and props but the drawing is also filled with names, more than three hundred.¹⁴³ These are the characters that had been present between 1910 and 1930. The map really emphasizes the importance of the actors in the salon. My guess is that she filled it in during a long period of time since the handwriting changes slightly from name to name.

The lecturer pauses to listen, but there is no comment from Barney in the other room.

LECTURER: Barney had asked Romaine Brooks to help her with the representation of the salon but Brooks declined and encouraged her to try herself.¹⁴⁴ The drawing is crowned by the *Temple à l'Amitié*.¹⁴⁵

She holds up the thin page and the book as she talks and tries to point at it. It doesn't work.

TABELLE: You need another couple of hands – I'll hold it for you!

LECTURER (*as she hands over the book to Tabbelle*): Oh, thank you. The place of the *Temple Á l'Amitié* here at the top of the page shows its importance for her salon. As I discussed earlier it became an emblem of hers and inseparable from her oeuvre; life as art.

PHOTOGRAPHER: Look, it is the same view of the temple we see through the alcove window.

Tabelle walks over to the alcove and holds the drawing up so that they can compare the views. Julian, the photographer and the lecturer follow. Sally has settled on the day bed very close to A Lady of Fashion. The photographer sits down on the upholstered bench that lines the alcove.

The temple is drawn in elevation; a temple gable with four columns and a fronton with the texts "DLV", surrounded by a laurel crown, and "À L'AMITIÉ" underneath the ornament. It stands on a flight of five stairs, drawn in perspective.

TABELLE (*murmurs*): She missed two steps, there are seven.

A plan of the salon is drawn underneath the temple; it is crowded with names. The walls are drawn in a single bold line with gaps for three door openings: entrée, sortie and garden. The lecturer searches on the map, then points to some names.

LECTURER: Here, quite close to the exit, is Eileen Gray. Not far from her is Marie Laurencin. Adrienne Monnier, proprietor of the book shop *La Maison de Amis des Livres*, her

partner, Sylvia Beach, proprietor of book shop *Shakespeare and company*, and the author James Joyce, whose book *Ulysses* was first published by Beach, are grouped together. Colette is written in the upper left within the semi-circular alcove, where many of those who performed in the salon are inscribed. I mentioned Wanda Landowska before. In one of Colette's books about Claudine, *The Innocent Wife*, 1903, she describes Natalie Barney under the name Miss Flossie.¹⁴⁶ Miss Flossie is introduced by Colette in the diary of the innocent wife; Annie.

A LADY OF FASHION: I know the passage. (*She recites in a childish voice*):

Alain does not want (why?) me to know her, this American, more supple than a scarf, whose glowing face shimmers, with golden hair, with sea blue eyes and with implacable teeth.¹⁴⁷

NATALIE BARNEY (*who strolls in through the door next to the alcove*): Well, I might have seduced Colette.

Barney is followed by Berthe Cleyrergue with a tray of triangular cucumber sandwiches. Cleyrergue puts the tray down on the octagonal table which stands slightly off center in the room and disappears again through the same door she entered.

JULIAN: You know what; it's like 'the Chart' in *L-word*.¹⁴⁸

Julian turns toward Natalie Barney who rounds the octagonal table. She pours two cups of tea, put a spoon and a sandwich on each plate and carries them into the antechamber while Julian talks.

JULIAN: It is a TV series about a lesbian community in Los

Angeles and one of the characters Alice has mapped all “belly” relations in the group, and that map is called the Chart. I wonder if the scriptwriters were inspired by your map?

LECTURER: Mmm, actually it wouldn't surprise me. The map of the salon of the Amazone mainly records everyone in relation to Barney but there are lots of relations going on between the different people on the map too. There are some famous couples, by the door to the garden; Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas. They also had a salon, but they were dedicated to art rather than collecting people. The author Radclyffe Hall – a cross dresser in beautifully tailored suits and perfect haircut, also known as John – is backed by her Lady Una Troubridge in the lower right hand corner. Barney appears as Valérie Seymour in Hall's classic *The Well of Loneliness*, 1928. The character is compared to a light house on a stormy sea.

A LADY OF FASHION (*interjects*): For Valérie, placid and self-assured, created an atmosphere of courage, everyone felt very normal and brave when they gathered together at Valérie Seymour's.¹⁴⁹

LECTURER: Romaine Brooks, who painted a witty portrait of Una Troubridge in a sharp dark costume, with monocle and two sleek dachshunds, thought that the book was most ridiculous.¹⁵⁰ Djuna Barnes who wrote the *Ladies' Almanack* is also close to them.

The map also tells about the different characters in relation to the salon, the space and the event. One thing I find fascinating about this map is that it describes both the settings and the characters. And they are engaged with each other. For instance, look at the tables.

An octagonal table with eight cups and a tea pot is drawn slightly off center, the names radiate from it. Along the right wall there is a side table with glasses, drawn as tiny circles. Details of what the glasses are filled with are written down: “orangade” [sic!], “fruits”, “porto” and “whisky”.

LECTURER: Natalie Barney, or the name she chose to represent herself in the map; *l'Amazone*, is not at center of the map. The center is marked by a teapot drawn in elevation surrounded by eight small double circles all inscribed in an eight-sided shape. It is a representation of Barney's octagonal table with the outlines of teacups on plates which also records the significance of the acts of drinking and eating at Barney's salon. As Sheila Cranes puts it “the octagonal table formed the structural heart of the salon.”¹⁵¹ I see it as a sign of straightforward hospitality, but also as an extension of the Amazone. Barney's intimate friends and lovers, Romaine Brooks and Élisabeth de Gramont, are close to the tea table, both next to a teacup, in front of each other but on opposite sides of the table; they were central actors of the salon and sometimes rivals. Hélène and her husband Philippe Berthelot, a French diplomat who helped design the post-World War I peace accord, are also next to the tea table.¹⁵² Actually the book *Aventure de l'esprit* is dedicated to Philippe with the words “Resté fidèle aux lettres.”¹⁵³

A LADY OF FASHION: They all cluster around the teapot.¹⁵⁴

LECTURER: The octagonal table is roughly at the center and there is what resembles a bouquet of names around it, but the salon is not completely centralized. There are other strong attractors that create bearings and extend the salon across the ground; the *Temple à l'Amitié* of course – flanked by two orderly lists of names, the alcove where

we are now – here the names are ordered in three groups with some slanting names in-between and a few following the curve of the wall, the three entrance and exit doors – with some escaping names, the side table with the drinks – the dandy Dorothy Irene Wilde, the niece of Oscar, called Doll Furious in the *Ladies' Almanack*, is written next to the orangeade, the garden – where Rachilde is printed with a tail of young writers, and the antechamber drawn with a group of fashionables.

A continuous line is doodled across the map.

LECTURER (*points to the map*): This meandering line is also an attractor. It shows how the Amazone moves through the landscape of characters and underlines the salon with her presence. The nickname, *l'Amazone*, appears several times along the line.

TABELLE: Six times to be exact!

LECTURER: The line of the Amazone looks like a path or a river, depending on what scale you imagine for the map, and the name is written following the line, the same manner used to name rivers on standard geography maps; they make the salon into a landscape. It comes out of the temple on top of the map, continues down the flight of stairs, and goes through the wall into the plan of the salon. Having moved back and forth among the guests, the Amazone – at one point with “une belle de jour”, a beauty of the day – leaves the salon again through that door, the garden door on the bottom of the page, and disappears towards the street. The characters on the map relate to the flow of the Amazone but also to the other strong features of the salon. In the part of the map between the octagonal table, the garden, the

exit door and side table there is a lot going on; the relations to the different attractors interfere, the names are written in all directions, sometimes across other names, and you have to turn the map to read them. The map loses any certainty of direction – you cannot read it from top to bottom.

Some of the characters were present continuously during the twenty years the map represents, while others might only have been here once. Apart from those involved in literature and art there were also scientists, politicians, doctors, and professors.

Tabelle puts the book down on the bench of the alcove. She digs into her deep pockets and pulls out a roll.

TABELLE: Excuse me, can I have a minute. I have made a list. There are 295 characters of which I have been able to identify two thirds. I have a list here from A to Z.

Tabelle unrolls her list and the photographer and the lecturer help her to hold it. It is more than four meters long.

ALL AT ONCE: Wow!

A Lady of Fashion sends a radiant smile towards Tabelle. Tabelle does not dare to look back, but looks very happy.

JULIAN: It's beautiful!

TABELLE: Four of these characters are not specified by names; there are two *beauties of the day*, one of the *disenchanted* and one who is simply referred to as *guest*.¹⁵⁵ There are some initials, one “R” who I have not been able to identify, but the one marked as J.H. is most certainly Jane Heap

as it is written next to Margaret Anderson and Ezra Pound.¹⁵⁶ In addition to the two hundred and ninety-five there are thirteen families such as *the Bernheims*, two groups; one group of fashionables and one of young writers, and then of course the Amazone – that appears six times apart from the title. In total it is more than three hundred and ten people.

SALLY (*over her shoulder to A Lady of Fashion*): Daintily infatuated by order, isn't she?

A LADY OF FASHION (*like a cat*): Charttmant!

TABELLE: There is an even distribution according to sex and sexual preferences. The characters come from France, Great Britain and the United States, but also from Poland, Russia, and Italy. There is one Danish writer, George Brandes.¹⁵⁷ I have not detected any other Scandinavians.

JULIAN: You know, you should do something with this material. Publish it!

Tabelle's cheeks turn pink.

PHOTOGRAPHER: Yes, yes, like a hyper text, web page... you can click on someone and see what that person was up to, you know, who were friends and

SALLY: ...who lifted each other's bellies...

LECTURER: Thank you Tabelle, that map I find really mesmerizing. Have you thought anything more about who wasn't included on the map?

Tabelle is silent but starts to roll her list up, very proud of her contribution. The lecturer continues.

LECTURER: When I searched for characters there I was disap-

pointed that I didn't find the North American couple; Elsie de Wolfe, the interior decorator, and theater producer Elisabeth Marbury. They moved between Villa Trianon in Versailles and their Sutton Place home in New York, where they also cultivated a salon culture, an "Amazone enclave". It was regularly visited by leading American and European writers and artists.¹⁵⁸ Elsie de Wolfe had her portrait painted by Romaine Brooks. The reason for their exclusion might have involved jealousy.¹⁵⁹

And then there is a whole group of people you missed. You didn't map out the servants, not even Berthe Cleyrergue.¹⁶⁰ I think this oversight is marked by class. Even though the "stage workers" were fundamental for the success of the event they were invisible and therefore neglected when you noted the names.

The setting is more present, but it is a choice of the most significant features that are mapped out; such as the temple, the octagonal table and the curve of the wall. The interior is defined by a wall drawn in a singular line; the interior is separated but has direct access to the garden. What is significant is that there is only one interior space, not two, on the map. If we look around we see that the interior decoration operates to emphasize the spatial continuity; both the antechamber and this room are dressed in the same rose-colored wall covering; the decor, the portraits and the odd collection of furniture are distributed across the rooms. In addition, the rooms, their close relation to the garden and the people in them are reflected back into one another in the mirrors each part contain. In her careful analysis of the map Sheila Crane points out that there was no distinction between the rooms of the ground floor, they acted as one uninterrupted space; a salon. Barney's drawing can be un-

derstood more as an experiential mapping of her salon rather than a documentary rendering.¹⁶¹

No places to sit are drawn on the map despite the great numbers of chairs and day beds that can be found in every room.¹⁶² They are missing on the map just like the servants.

Would you mind holding it up again?

Tabelle picks up Aventures de l'esprit and displays the map.

LECTURER: Next to the temple, outside the walls of the salon, Barney has mapped out some deceased guests such as Isadora Duncan, Renée Vivien, Guillaume Apollinaire, Emmeline Pankhurst and George Brandes. Sheila Crane argues that the separation of these two zones, the inside and outside of the salon walls, distinguishes the Temple to Friendship into a monument to those who have died at the same time that it positions Barney as the link between these two registers and the sole person who can move between them.¹⁶³

While the lecturer talks and without anyone noticing Natalie Barney has entered again.

NATALIE BARNEY : Would it not be the height of cowardice to allow our dead to die?¹⁶⁴

Another person enters from the garden.

MARGUERITE YOURCENAR: Mount Desert doesn't remember the two nymphs, Eva and Natalie that ran on its beaches.¹⁶⁵

Barney gives away a loud "Ah!" of joy to see her friend, they embrace.

NATALIE BARNEY: Meet my Swedish admireses.

MARGUERITE YOURCENAR: Unlike many other places at *rue Jacob* people leave traces, become a part of its legend. Even at a distance in time the *rue Jacob's* world of literary history that you made your own is distinct. I suppose that is what tied you to *rue Jacob*; you were attracted by this humanist tradition. It is a friendly company of shadows superimposed on one another: Racine, Adrienne Lecouvreur, Balzac, and, already history, Remy de Gourmont, and yourself.¹⁶⁶

Barney offers Yourcenar her arm, shoulder to shoulder they slip out through the wide glass door.

NATALIE BARNEY: These old gardens belonging to Racine, this house, certain parts of which date back to the *Directoire*,¹⁶⁷ and this mysterious little *Temple à l'Amitié* surely built on the eve of the Revolution, have an atmosphere of decay indispensable as a frame for the *aventures de l'esprit* that I share with my friends.¹⁶⁸

They drift into the garden.

LECTURER: The last salon held by Barney was in 1968 and dedicated to the release of Yourcenar's book *L'Œuvre au noir*.¹⁶⁹

The small group returns to the temple. Now it is comfortable in there; there are some odd chairs and a daybed draped in light charmeuse with an abundance of pillows. There are imprints of human activ-

ity on the bed; they left without bothering to straighten the creases. Coals glow in the fire place. The lit candles in the sconces are multiplied in the three mirrors. A framed portrait of a woman in riding costume stands on the mantle piece and leans against the mirror. The dark green lampshade of the armature placed in front of the portrait hides the top of her head like a hat. On the shelf above the daybed stands a bust of a young woman.¹⁷⁰ They sit down.

LECTURER: Barney consciously composed her life as a work of art and her salon style drew from this decision. As Diana Souhami puts it: “At 20 rue Jacob art and life entwined.”¹⁷¹ At the end of her life she left her letters and manuscripts to *Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet*. When I sat there reading, sometimes a most intimate correspondence, I felt very self-conscious. Embarrassed to read letters that weren’t for me I wondered if my role as a researcher, paid by the Royal Institute of Technology, really sanctioned my intrusion into these people’s privacy.¹⁷² Then I understood that I am also part of Natalie Barney’s constant staging of her world; the world “on the inside.”

A smell of freshly brewed coffee spread in the temple and they suddenly hear the furious sound of an espresso machine as it foams the milk. It comes from the closet. The photographer opens the closet door and Café Copacabana appears again. Sally immediately steps through walks up to the counter and orders a drink. Julian follows her quickly. When the lecturer hesitates the photographer takes her hand and they exit together. Tabelle takes an ashtray from the mantelpiece of the Temple à l’Amitié, puts it in her deep pocket, hurries out and shuts the door behind her. They all get drinks, and, slightly confused, linger at the counter.

LECTURER: When Teresa de Lauretis visited Copacabana

she spoke of Barney as “the only out lesbian in the community”.¹⁷³ I guess that means that you are only out if you scream it out loud.

PHOTOGRAPHER: It is a funny thing though, because when we were in Paris we were both often addressed with “Monsieur.” So when we walked the streets holding hands and kissing we were visible as gay men...

LECTURER: If we give *out* a broader definition we will find all these women who loved women at the center of society, in public and professional life. I think it is risky to make them less visible than they were. Since we are used to thinking about them in that way, we repeat it. And it becomes second nature. Carefully public is still public. It is the curiosity of the outside world that creates a dichotomy. We, who are not like you, look at you which are on the inside of the “other” world. What queer can teach us is that it is always there; neither the outside nor the inside world are straight.

Notes

- 1 Charles Baudelaire, "Que nous rideaux fermés nous séparent du monde" and Natalie Barney, *A Perilous Advantage. The Best of Natalie Clifford Barney*, edited & transl. Anna Livia, Norwich, Vermont: New Victoria Publishers, 1992, 117.
- 2 Natalie Barney, *Aventures de l'esprit*, Paris: Emile-Paul, 1929; in English; *Adventures of the Mind*, translated by J.S. Gattou, New York: New York University Press, 1992.
- 3 Djuna Barnes (A Lady of Fashion), *Ladies' Almanack* (Paris: 1928), New York: Harper & Row, 1972, preface.
- 4 The painting is made by artist Lisen Haglund.
- 5 To avoid confusion; this is an imaginary flyer for an imaginary salon.
- 6 A "porte-cochère" is a grand entrance common in Paris. It has two doors on the street just wide enough for a car to pass.
- 7 Most sources, such as Natalie Barney's *Aventures de l'esprit*, state that the salon started in 1909, but biographer Jean Chalon argues that they did not really start until 1913, Jean Chalon, *Chère Natalie Barney*, (re-edition of *Portrait d'une séductrice* published in 1976) Preface by Marguerite Yourcenar. Paris: Flammarion, 1992, 158.
- 8 Natalie Barney had a liberal mother, the painter Alice Pike Barney and her father, Albert Barney, who had made a fortune on the North American railway expansion, died in 1902 and left her a considerable fortune.
- 9 Paraphrase of Ingrid Svensson, 'Efterord' ("Epilogue") to Djuna Barnes, *Damernas Almanacka (Ladies Almanack)*, Elisabeth Zila (transl.), Stockholm: Hypatia, 1996, 91. Literature scholar Ingrid Svensson has written an informative epilogue to the Swedish translation of the Ladies Almanack which has been of great help and inspiration in my analysis.
- 10 Sheila Crane writes about "the thoroughness with which Barney appropriated existing structures to her own ends." Sheila Crane, 'Mapping the Amazon's Salon: Symbolic Landscapes and Topographies of Identity in Natalie Clifford Barney's Literary Salon', *Gender and Landscape. Renegotiating morality and space*, Lorraine Dowler, Josephine Carubia & Bonj Szczygiel eds., London & New York: Routledge, 2005, 159.
- 11 Mary Ellen Jordan Haight, *Walks in Gertrude Stein's Paris*, Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1988.
- 12 Louis Malle, *Le Feu Follet (The Fire Within (USA) or A Time To Live and A Time To Die (UK))*, France: Nouvelles Editions de Films, 1963. *Le Feu Follet* is an account of the last 24 hours of a young Parisian on the verge of suicide. He is obsessed by money and jealous of those who can simply live off their wealth (such as rich expatriates like Natalie Barney). Pierre Drieu La Rochelle, *Le feu follet suivi de Adieu à Gonzague (The Fire Within, 1931)*, Paris: Gallimard, 1967.
- 13 Chalon, *Chère Natalie Barney*, 198."au-dessus de la voûte d'entrée"
- 14 Michèle Causse, *Berthe ou un demi-siècle auprès de l'Amazone. Souvenirs de Berthe Cleyrergue recueillis et précédés d'une étude sur Natalie C. Barney par Michèle Causse*, Paris: Éditions Tierce, 1980, and Gloria Feman Orenstein, 'The Salon of Natalie Clifford Barney: An Interview with Berthe Cleyrergue', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol.4, no. 3, 1979, 484-496.
- 15 Chalon, *Chère Natalie Barney*, 199.
- 16 Sally Munt, "The Lesbian *Flâneur*", in David Bell and Gill Valentine, eds., *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities*, New York, Routledge, 1995, 125.
- 17 Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank, Paris 1900-1940*, London: Virago Press, 1987.
- 18 Amy Wells-Lynn, "The Intertextual, Sexually-Coded Rue

- Jacob: A Geocritical Approach to Djuna Barnes, Natalie Barney, and Radclyffe Hall”, *South Central Review*, Volume 22, Number 3, Durham: John Hopkins University Press, 2005, 78-112.
- 19 Wells-Lynn, 106.
- 20 (Marguerite) Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Lonliness* (1928), London: Virago Press, 1982.
- 21 Radclyffe Hall, 251.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 248.
- 23 Wells-Lynn, 101. Stephen’s home address in the book is 35, rue Jacob, not 20 as Barney’s, but the description of the place is very similar to Barney’s, it even includes the temple.
- 24 Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters, A cultural History of the French Enlightenment*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- 25 Sue-Ellen Case, *Feminism and Theatre*, London: MacMillan, 1988, ‘Personal Theatre’, 46-61.
- 26 Ingrid Holmquist, who has studied Swedish salon culture in nineteenth century Uppsala, put forth the difference between the salons of the middle class and the aristocracy. Although visited by duchesses, princes and princesses, the salon of Barney belongs to the former, since she had no stately power. Ingrid Holmquist, *Salongens Värld: Om text och kön i romantikens salongskultur* (“*The World of the Salon: On Text and Sex in the Salon Culture of the Romantic Era*”), Stockholm/Stehag: Symposion, 2000, 12.
- 27 Shari Benstock writes that Paris was attractive since homosexuality was not condemned by the Code Napoleon, Benstock, 47. Florence Tamange, *Histoire de l’homosexualité en Europe. Berlin, Londres, Paris 1919-1939*, Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 2000, 26-27.
- 28 Christine Bard, *Les filles de Marianne: histoire de féminismes, 1914-1940*, Paris: Fayard, 1995.
- 29 My translation of “Dans le vaste jardin, un petit temple à colonnes doriques du Premier Empire, portent l’inscription ‘A l’Amitié’” Mairie de Paris, *Règlement du Plan Local d’Urbanisme (PLU)*, Tome 2, 6ème arrondissement, 2001, 24.
- 30 Ernst Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast* (1964), Scribner: New York, 1996, 116-117. Hemingway also writes about Miss Stein. It is worth noting that both Stein and Barney are referred to as “Miss” + family name. The men in the book are called by their first or family name, only rarely with a “Mr”, that does not connote if they’re heterosexual (married) or not. By using “Miss” he implies that Stein and Barney are not married, not registered heterosexuals, and thus hints at their homosexuality.
- 31 A photograph of the interior of the *Temple à l’Amitié* is published in George Wickes, *The Amazon of Letters: The Life and Loves of Natalie Barney*, New York: Putnam, 1976.
- 32 These pacifist meetings included Élisabeth de Gramont, Rachilde, Aurel, Marie Lenéru, Valentine Thompson, Jane Misme, Marcelle Capy, Lucie Delarue-Mardrus, Madeleine Marx, Lara, Séverine, Renée de Brimont, Christabel Pankhurst and Liane de Pougy. Rappazini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 318-319.
- 33 Marie Laurencin, novelist Germaine Beaumont and Anacréon (a bookseller on rue de Seine) were invited to these lunches, for example, because they were all born on the same date; October 31, Chapon, 48, Orenstein, 489.
- 34 Crane, 145-161.
- 35 Madeleine de Scudéry, *Clélie*, 1656. The model of friendship in *Clélie* is discussed in Anne E. Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies. The politics of Gender and Cultural Change in Absolutist France*, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005, 50-120.

- 36 Francesco Rappazini has written about the alterative, non-monogamous marriage contract between Natalie Barney and Élisabeth de Gramont. In the contract Barney writes “And the one I marry shall not be called my wife, nor my slave, nor my spouse, which are sexual terms for fleeting times – but my one, my eternal mate.” Francesco Rappazini, *‘Elisabeth de Gramont, Natalie Barney’s “eternal mate”’*, *South Central Review*, 22.3, 2006, 6-31.
- 37 The poet Sappho was born on the Greek island Lesbos around 620 BC. The lyrics of Sappho were re-translated in a less heteronormative manner by the poet René Vivien, who Natalie Barney loved. The radical revision of Sappho caused a literary movement today called “Sappho 1900” explored by Joan DeJean in the essay ‘The Time of Commitment: reading “Sappho 1900” Reading Sappho’. In 1905 Barney and Vivien rented a villa on Lesbos, where Barney suggested they should create a poetry group like the one of Sappho. Barney, *Souvenirs indiscrets*, Paris: Flammarion, 1960, 51. Crane, 157-159. Joan DeJean, ‘The Time of Commitment: reading “Sappho 1900” Reading Sappho’, *Modern Language Quarterly*, 65:1, University of Michigan, March 2004, 149-59.
- 38 Nicole Albert writes that “lesbian vice” was associated with a deranged feminism that nourished fascination and anguish. At the same time, lesbians were celebrated as heroes of modernism, freed from a masculine/feminine dichotomy, Nicole G. Albert, *Saphisme et decadence; dans l’Europe fin de siècle*, Paris: La Martinière, 2005, 13.
- 39 Crane, 158-159.
- 40 M. Melicourt, ‘Le temple de l’Amitié à Paris’, *Vieilles Maisons Françaises*, Oct. 1975, no 66, 28-29. *Règlement du PLU*, 24.
- 41 The translation is suggested by Amy Wells-Lynn, 98. Taking into account that the temple is devoted to friendship another translation could be D – the verb *dextere*, to tie the bands of friendship, *dexter* also means hand, L – the adverb *longius*, long, or long time and V – the noun *vitae*, life; “To tie lifelong bands of friendship.” The translation was suggested by Jonas Andersson, fellow doctoral student at KTH.
- 42 555 is fifteen times thirty seven. Thirty-seven is a prime number that produces triplets via the three, six, nine sequence: $37 \times 3 = 111$, $37 \times 6 = 222$, $37 \times 9 = 333$, $37 \times 12 = 444$, $37 \times 15 = 555$, $37 \times 18 = 666$, $37 \times 21 = 777$, $37 \times 24 = 888$, $37 \times 27 = 999$. Fifteen is three times five. Three is a divine number and five symbols the temple.
- 43 Anthony Vidler, *The Writing of the Walls. Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1987, 83-102.
- 44 Vidler writes “the influence of proper surroundings was held to be no less important for the development of sociability than the carefully constructed organizational codes that they ostensibly mirrored.” *Ibid.*, 85.
- 45 The lodges were subject to police actions since they were understood as a threat to the state or morality. Secrecy permitted discussions of topics forbidden in public, and for certain groups “furthered sectarian, politically subversive, or even pornographic ends.” *Ibid.*, 84.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 92.
- 47 The circumference is $\pi d = 3,14 \times 4$ and the area is $\pi d^2/4 = 3,14 \times 4 \times 4/4 = 3,14 \times 4$.
- 48 In the official listing of historic monuments it is written that the temple “belonged to a Masonic lodge”, my translation of “appartenant à une loge maçonnique”, Mairie de Paris, Tome 2, 6ème arrondissement, *Règlement du Plan Local d’Urbanisme (PLU)*, 2001, 24. Amy Wells-Lynn comes to the conclusion that the temple’s Masonic ties are uncer-

- tain; she refers to Jonathan Giné, a librarian at the *Grande Loge de France de Franc-Maçonnerie*. However Giné suggests that the temple could be related to an order inspired by the freemasons, Wells-Lynn, 111.
- 49 Vidler, 91.
- 50 The symbolic return to classical origins also explains why the Greek poet Sappho was popular in lesbian circles; by attaching themselves to the prestigious Sappho, the first female poet, during a period when Antiquity was highly esteemed, they legitimized their love life.
- 51 Vidler, 99.
- 52 Wells-Lynn, 97.
- 53 Lesbians were emblematic for the years around 1900 but if the lesbians were visible it was rather in the bookshop than the street; “Le saphisme fait couler beaucoup d’encre masculine.” The fantasies, stereotypes and phantasms, created then still influence our imagination. Albert, 10.
- 54 Wells-Lynn writes “Anyone involved in the salon witnessed the important influences, ranging from financial support to publicity to finding publishers, Barney had on women writers living in Paris.” Wells-Lynn, 96. *Bel esprit* was an initiative by Ezra Pound, with Natalie Barney as president, which was intended to help writers financially. *Temple à l’Amitié* was going to be the emblem. Barney, manuscript for *Bel Esprit*, BLJD, NCB.Ms 82.
- 55 Barnes, *Ladies Almanack*, 18-19, 84. Radclyffe Hall, 251.
- 56 Barnes, *Ladies Almanack*, 84. Marcel Proust also re-devotes it to a temple of love, “Temple à l’Amour,” in a letter to Natalie Barney, Chapon, 56. Marie-Antoinette commissioned the architect Richard Mique to create her landscape garden; a Chinese tilting ring, the Temple of Love, the Rock Pavilion, a theatre and the Hamlet were built between 1776 and 1783. *Petit Trianon* was marked by a spirit of festivity; receptions and nocturnal celebrations followed one after another. ‘Petit Trianon’, *Chateau de Versailles – official site* [Online]. Available: <http://www.chateauversailles.fr/en/122_The_Petit_Trianon.php> [Date accessed: November 9, 2006]
- 57 Castle, 126.
- 58 Radclyffe Hall, 65.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 241. The passage is, in the words of Terry Castle, “incomprehensible without some knowledge of the homoerotic biographical traditions surrounding the queen in the later nineteenth century.” Castle writes “Marie Antoinette functions here as a kind of potent ancestor spirit” Castle, 144.
- 60 Radclyffe Hall writes “because as she [Stephen] walked through the dim, grey archway that led from the street to the cobbled courtyard, and saw the deserted house standing before her, she knew at once that there she would live. This will happen sometimes, we instinctively feel in sympathy with certain dwellings.” Radclyffe Hall, 251.
- 61 Wells-Lynn, 100-103.
- 62 Judith Halberstam, *Female masculinity*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998, 56.
- 63 M. Melicourt, ‘Le temple de l’Amitié à Paris’, *Vieilles Maisons Françaises*, Oct. 1975, no 66, 28-29.
- 64 My translation of “ses salons où arts et littérature côtoient, en un précieux et intime raffinement, la plus brillante mondanité de la capitale.” Melicourt, 28-29.
- 65 Natalie Barney, *Aventures de l’esprit*, Paris: Emile-Paul, 1929, 273. In English translation by J.S. Gattou; Barney, *Aventures of the mind*, New York: New York University Press, 1992. Gattou has translated *Aventures de l’esprit* as *Aventures of the Mind*. But as Sheila Crane observes “it is important to note that the French word “l’esprit” does not refer merely to the

- mind, but to a studied combination of wit, intellect, and spirit.” Crane, note 1, 159.
- 66 From “so perfectly...” to “...enameled.” paraphrase of “qui semblait ripoliné tant il était bien apprête”, Gabriel-Louis Pringué, *Trente Ans de dîners en ville*, in Chalon, 211, translation in Andrea Weiss, *Paris was a Woman: portraits from the left bank*, London: Pandora, Harper Collins, 1995, 130.
- 67 Nicolas Le Camus de Mezières, *The Genius of Architecture; or, The Analogy of That Art With Our Sensations* (1780), transl. David Britt, Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1992, 83.
- 68 Adam, 112-113.
- 69 My translation of “cette rue Jacob triste et pauvre”, Colette, *Claudine à Paris*, 1901, Paris: Albain Michel, 1983, 15. Sidonie Gabrielle Colette (1873-1954) lived from 1893 to 1901 on 28, rue Jacob.
- 70 The rumor was that Lecouvreur’s lover Maurice of Saxony (Moritz Graf von Sachsen, pretender to the throne of Poland) built it for her, but since she supported his war-faring financially, it is not a far-fetched guess that she financed her home as well. Adrienne Lecouvreur and Maurice of Saxony were the great grand-parents of George Sand. Lyndon Orr, *Famous Affinities of History the Romance of Devotion* (1909), Vol. I, Authorama. Public Domaine Books, 2003 [Online]. Available: <www.authorama.com> [Date accessed: March 27, 2005]. Chalon, 127-128.
- 71 Melicourt, 28.
- 72 The correspondence between Le Corbusier (Charles Edouard Jeannet) and Natalie Barney is part of the collections at BLJD. Berthe Cleyrergue states that Le Corbusier was never invited to the salons, Orenstein, 492.
- 73 Benstock, 306.
- 74 Radclyffe Hall, 301.
- 75 Sue-Ellen Case, 46.
- 76 Wells-Lynn, 106.
- 77 My translation of “Un longe porche conduit à une cour au bout de laquelle se trouve une maison isolée en forme de pavillon. Dans le vaste jardin, un petit temple à colonnes doriques du Premier Empire, portent l’inscription “A l’Amitié”, appartenant à une loge maçonnique, inscrit à l’inventaire supplémentaire des monuments historiques depuis 1947.” *Règlement du PLU*, 24.
- 78 Chalon, *Chère Natalie Barney*, 130.
- 79 The conservatory is on a sketch drawn in 1926 by André Rouveyre and published in Remy de Gourmont, *Lettres intimes à l’Amazone* (52 litto. Par André Rouveyre), Paris: la Centaine, 1926.
- 80 Natalie Barney donated all her manuscripts and personal letters to BLJD in her testimony.
- 81 My translation of “Un temple à l’amitié, construit voici plus d’un siècle, au bout d’une allée –dont, avec son pragmatisme anglo-saxon, elle intercepta la vue par la construction d’un garage –complétait ce théâtre...”. Chapon, 6. Also published in *Masques: revue des homosexualités*, ‘Homage à l’amazone: Natalie Clifford Barney’, No. 16, Winter, 1982-83, 42.
- 82 Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 192.
- 83 Anne Scott Sørensen provides a historical overview in the introduction to Anne Scott Sørensen (ed.), *Nordisk salonkultur. Et studie i nordiske skonårer og salonmiljøer 1780-1850* (appr. “Nordic salon culture. A study of Nordic aesthetes and salon milieus 1780-1850”), Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1998, 22.
- 84 Madame de Rambouillet’s name before she was married was Cathérine de Vivonne. Elsie de Wolfe references Madame de Rambouillet and her *Hôtel* as a source of inspira-

- tion, Elsie De Wolfe, *The House in Good Taste*, 10-11.
- 85 Ingrid Holmquist, *Salongens Värld: Om text och kön i romantikens salongskultur* (“*The World of the Salon: On Text and Sex in the Salon Culture of the Romantic Era*”), Stockholm/Stehag: Symposion, 2000.
- 86 Holmquist, 27.
- 87 Chalon, *Chère Natalie Barney*, 129, Souhami, *Wild Girls*, 61.
- 88 Élisabeth de Clermont-Tonnerre (Élisabeth de Gramont), *Memoarer från Ekipagernas tid*, 139. The first part of her memoirs, *Au temps des équipages*, Paris: Grasset, 1928, was a best seller and published in Swedish, *Memoarer från ekipagerernas tid*, Stockholm: Rabenius, 1929.
- 89 Liane de Pougy, *Idylle Saphique*, Paris: Libraire de la Plume, 1901.
- 90 Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 340-342. The rules that determine a heterosexual couple did not interest her. Rapazzini, 315.
- 91 Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 253, 346-351.
- 92 From “Was the husband...” to “...other person.” paraphrase and my translation of “Var då den äkta mannen endast en mer eller mindre svår fångvaktare? Jag kunde inte förlika mig med tanken att ens lycka skulle bero helt på en annan person.” in the Swedish translation of *Au temps des équipages* by Élisabeth de Clermont-Tonnerre, *Memoarer från Ekipagerernas tid*, 139.
- 93 The portrait, oil on canvas, by Romaine Brooks, *Miss Natalie Barney, ‘L’Amazone’* (1920) is now in the collections of Musée Carnavalet, Paris. Published in color in Souhami, *Wild Girls*, color plate 3.
- 94 Élisabeth de Gramont wrote “Le mot folie ne signifie pas maison orgiaque, mais maison entourée de ‘foliages’” “un entourage de grands arbres”. In this play with words De Gramont evokes both the sexual folly and the foliage of her garden, quoted in Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 322. De Gramont, *Mémoires III. Clair de lune et taxi-auto*, Paris: Grasset, 1932, 170.
- 95 Crane, 154. The portrait is visible, reflected in a mirror, on a photograph of the salon published in Chalon, *Portrait d’une séductrice*, Paris: Stock, 1976, 126. The description of the salon is drawn from this photograph and photographs published in George Wickes, *The Amazon of Letters*.
- 96 Elisabeth Mansén draws her conclusions from Nordic salons, but her insights on a structural level are significant also in relation to Barney’s salon, ‘Salongens landskap och artefakter’, Scott Sørensen, 451-455.
- 97 Mansén, *ibid.*, 452. Wells-Lynn, 99.
- 98 Chalon, *Chère Natalie Barney*, Paris: Flammarion, 1992, 129
- 99 Translation in Souhami, *Wild Girls*, 61 of “Que nous rideaux fermés nous séparent du monde”, Charles Baudelaire, ‘Femmes damnées: Delphine et Hippolyte’, *Fleur du Mal* (1857), Paris: José Corti, 1942, 179. Also in Jean Chalon, 129. For the chamber in Élisabeth de Gramont’s first independent home after the divorce Barney gave her curtains embroidered with the same sentence. Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 323.
- 100 See Lecture One.
- 101 “Descend the path toward eternal hell!” Cat Nilan’s translation of “Descendez le chemin de l’enfer éternel!”, Baudelaire, 179.
- 102 My translation of “Mon incuriosité s’étonnera toujours de la curiosité of the outside world.” Barney, 273. Selma Lagerlöf did not express surprise over the curiosity of others. She knew the outside world was interested and she staged it to appear 50 years after her death. More about this in the next lecture.

- 103 Natalie Barney, *A Perilous Advantage. The Best of Natalie Clifford Barney*, transl. Anna Livia, Vermont: New Victoria Publishers, 1992, 117.
- 104 The Happy Prince is a gilded statue who cannot endure the poverty in the city. By the help of the devoted little sparrow, he offers himself, stripping his golden surface to help others. It ends in tragedy; the bird freezes to death and the city's population dislike the now grey statue. Oscar Wilde, *The Happy Prince And Other Tales* (1888), London: Penguin books, 1994.
- 105 From "A streak..." to "...chalice." paraphrase of Radclyffe Hall, 246.
- 106 Chalon, *Chère Natalie Barney*, 129.
- 107 The description refers to a photograph of the antechamber published in Chalon, plate 25. On another photograph the tapestry hangs in the alcove in the salon.
- 108 Robert de Montesquiou (1855-1921) was a queer count who wrote symbolic poetry, he inspired the hyperaesthetic character Baron Des Esseintes in Joris-Karl Huysmans' *A Rebours (Against Nature, 1884)* as well as Baron de Charlus in Marcel Proust's *À la Recherche de temps perdu (In Search of Lost Time, 1913-1927)*. The salon style of Barney carries traces of those decadent environments, for instance in the associative collection where the tapestry and other loaded objects play part in the social event. The influence may have gone both ways – for instance, in 1912 de Montesquiou built a temple in his garden in at Palais Rose. Architecture theorist Malin Zimm makes a brilliant exploration of the architectural narrative in *A Rebours*. Malin Zimm, *Losing the Plot. Architecture and Narrativity in Fin-de-siècle media cultures*, PhD diss., Stockholm: Axl Books, 2005. Souhami, 61.
- 109 Drawing by André Rouveyre published in de Gourmont, *Lettres intimes à l'Amazone*.
- 110 Rémy de Gourmont was an influential writer and critic and a good friend of Barney. De Gourmont published their correspondence, from 1911 in the journal *Mercure de France* and then in two books; Rémy de Gourmont, *Lettres à l'Amazone*, Paris: Georges Crès et Cie, 1914, and *Lettres intimes à l'Amazone*.
- 111 Christopher Reed mentioned this in his key note lecture 'Designs for [Queer] Living: "Amusing" Design of the 1920s.' at the conference *Modernity, Modernism and the Interior 1870-1970*, Kingston University, Surrey, May 19, 2005. In *Bloomsbury Rooms* he reveals the role of *British Vogue* in early modernism and sexual subcultures, Reed, 242-243.
- 112 Elizabeth Otto has written a wonderful essay about Marie Laurencin (1885-1956). Otto discuss Laurencin in a lesbian context beyond the cubist scene. Laurencin has been reduced to the muse of Guillaume Apollinaire and her work has been reduced to be inspired by Pablo Picasso. Elizabeth Otto, 'Memories of Bilits. Marie Laurencin beyond the Cubist Context', *Genders*, no 36, 2002. [Online journal] Available: <www.genders.org/g36/g36_otto.html> [Date accessed: March 16, 2006]
- 113 From "There are..." to "...natural setting:bed", quote from Barney, *A Perilous Advantage*, 110.
- 114 Chapon, 6, and paraphrase of Eyre de Lanux "The green half-light of which came into the room, reflecting from the glasses and silver tea urn as from under water." in Wickes, *The Amazone of Letters*.
- 115 Chalon, 128.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 Robert Smithson photographed *Hotel Palenque* in Mexico, 1969. The hotel was a contemporary ruin undergoing a cycle of simultaneous decay and renovation, "rising to ruination." Smithson used these images in a drifting lec-

- ture presented to architecture students at the University of Utah in 1972. Extant today is a slide installation with thirty one slides and an audio tape of the artist's voice. Robert Smithson, 'Selected articles/reviews/essays about Robert Smithson', New York: Estate of Robert Smithson, James Cohan Gallery [Online]. Available: <<http://www.robertsmithson.com/essays/palénque.htm>> [Date accessed October 23, 2006].
- 118 Gray and Badovici, 28.
- 119 Wanda Landowska (1879–1959) was a Polish-French harpsichordist and pianist who founded the *École de Musique Ancienne* outside Paris.
- 120 Barnes, *Ladies' Almanack*, 1972.
- 121 There were 50 hand colored copies. Svensson, 'Epilogue', 93.
- 122 Djuna Barnes (1892-1982) was a North American novelist, dramatist, poet, short-story writer, and artist, famous for the novel *Nightwood*. Djuna Barnes, *Nightwood* (1937), with an introduction by T. S. Eliot, London: Faber, 1996.
- 123 Wells-Lynn, 82-85.
- 124 This is a reference to Ingrid Svensson who writes "genom att låta lesbiskheten vara normativ kan den [Damernas Almanacka] även läsas som en tillrättavisning av Hall och Ensamhetens brunn." ("by making lesbianism normative it [Ladies Almanack] can even be read as a rebuke of Hall and The Well of Loneliness"), 101. Svensson also draws attention to the fact that the Ladies Almanack was published the same year as Radclyffe Hall's tragic novel *The Well of Loneliness*.
- 125 The poet Gertrude Stein (1874-1946) and her "wife" and "secretary" Alice B. Toklas (1877-1967) were good friends of Natalie Barney.
- 126 From "Can one say..." to "...skin of her herself?", Djuna Barnes, *Ladies Almanack*, 73.
- 127 From "In the days..." to "...the Hall of Fame...", Ibid., 9.
- 128 From "They come..." to "...even less so myself." my translation of "On vint, comme plusieurs fois déjà, m'interviewer sur mon salon. Ai-je un salon? Il n'a rien, en tous les cas, d'officiel. Aucun parti, aucun parti pris n'y règne, Et encore moins moi-même." Barney, *Aventures de l'esprit*, 273-274.
- 129 The sculpture by Chana Orloff is mentioned by Chapon, 6. Orloff attended the salons of Barney.
- 130 In 1968 the pavilion was propped up by struts since it was in a dangerous state of decay. Barney at the age of ninety-four tried to stop them. From "My salon is..." to "...spirit has ruled." my translation of "Mon salon est un monument de la littérature contemporaine: personne n'a le droit de le modifier. J'ai fait le serment de rendre l'âme là où l'esprit a régné." *France-Soir*, Oct. 12, 1968. Quoted in Chalon, 293.
- 131 Colette described Barney as supple like a scarf, "cette Américaine plus souple qu'une écharpe", Colette, *Claudine s'en va – Journal d'Annie (The Innocent Wife or Claudine and Annie, 1903)*, Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1957, 21.
- 132 "Slight satiric wiggling" is how Barnes herself described the language of Ladies' Almanack in her foreword to the 1972 edition. From "A celebration..." to "...sexual pleasure." my translation of "En hyllning av tungan som ger språklig och sexuell njutning." Svensson, 100.
- 133 From "No thing so..." to "...of her Tongue", Barnes, *Ladies Almanack*, 6.
- 134 From "Fur, or thick..." to "...as is insupportable)", Barnes, *Ladies Almanack*, 6.
- 135 They were paintings by Albert Besnard (1849-1934), who also decorated the cupola of Petit Palais.
- 136 Barnes, *Ladies Almanack*, 11.
- 137 Souhami, 61, and my translation of "Je n'aime pas les

- maisons qui ressemblent à des musées.” Chalon, 128.
- 138 Mansén, ‘Salongens landskap och artefakter’, 449.
- 139 Chalon, 128.
- 140 From “The proprietor...” to “...it from him.” my translation of “Le propriétaire perd ce qu’il possède par l’habitude de l’ennui, ou il en devient le gardien, et, sans même le lui enlever, le passant le lui prend.” Barney quoted in Chapon, 6.
- 141 In English it would read “With: Oscar Wilde, Pierre Louys, Rémy de Gourmont, Marcel Proust, Rainer-Maria Rilke, Gabriele d’Annunzio, Max Jacob, Paul Valéry, etc... and some women.”
- 142 My translation of “Carte du salon de l’Amazone entre 1910 et 1930”, Barney, *Aventures de l’esprit*, Table of contents.
- 143 295 characters (of which 4 are without names) + 13 families “les Arnoux” + 2 groups + l’Amazone (which appears 6 times, excluding the title), see Appendix.
- 144 Adam, 110 and Chalon, 192.
- 145 There is a long tradition of maps in the culture of salons. The most famous one is probably Madeleine de Scudéry’s map ‘La Carte de Tendre’ in her ten volume novel *Clélie* (1656) about her salon.
- 146 Colette borrows the name from Liane de Pougy’s *Idylle Saphique* in which a character based on Natalie Barney – ‘Florence Temple Bradford’ – was given the nickname ‘Miss Flossie.’ Liane de Pougy, *Idylle Saphique*, Paris: Librairie de la Plume, 1901.
- 147 From “Alain does...” to “...implacable teeth.” my translation of “Alain ne veut pas (pourquoi?) que je la connaisse, cette Américaine plus souple qu’une écharpe, dont l’étincelant visage brille de cheveux d’or, de prunelles bleus de mer, de dents implacables.” Colette, *Claudine s’en va*, 21. (In English: *The Innocent Wife* or *Claudine and Annie*)
- 148 The TV-series *L-word* was created by Ilene Chaiken, who also acts as Executive Producer, original airing: Showtime Networks USA (2004).
- 149 Radclyffe Hall, 356. Radclyffe Hall asks for sympathy for lesbians, but her heroine, Stephen Gordon, is tragic. Radclyffe Hall’s book caused a scandal; it was prosecuted and withdrawn, *Damernas Almanacka*, 95. “The story is sad, the heroine is tragic and the account of the lesbian life is negative and doesn’t have much in common with Hall’s own experiences.[...] But it is not a victim that we meet, rather a martyr.” my translation from Ingrid Svensson’s introduction to the Swedish translation of *The Well of Loneliness*; *‘Ensamhetens brunn,’* Stockholm: Normal, 2004, 10.
- 150 “Johnnie has written a most ridiculous book wherein I shine, according to her lyrics, in a most unfamiliar way.” Letter from Romaine Brooks to Natalie Barney, BLJD, NCB.C2-2445.358.
- 151 Crane, 149.
- 152 Philippe Berthelot (1866-1934) was a French diplomat who helped design the post-WWI peace accord, assuring French possession of Alsace-Lorraine. Suzanne Rodriguez, *Natalie Barney*, [Online]. Available: <<http://www.natalie-barney.com/characters.htm>> [Date accessed: April 13, 2005]
- 153 “Resté fidèle aux lettres” approximately translates “Stay faithful to the literature”. *Lettres* refers to the wider humanist knowledge tradition. My thanks to Isabelle Dussage for this translation
- 154 Paraphrase of Janet Flanner “we all clustered around the teapot” quoted in Crane, 149.
- 155 “Beauty of the day” and “one of the disenchanté” are my translations of “une belle de jour” and “une des désenchantées” Barney, *Aventures de l’esprit*, map.

- 156 Margaret Anderson (1886-1973) was the founder of *the Little Review* (1914-1929) –“the greatest Journal of American Modernism” based in Chicago. She edited the Little Review with her lover and collaborator Jane Heap (1887–1964), Ezra Pound (1885-1972) was a foreign editor situated in Paris. Anderson was prosecuted for publishing James Joyce’s *Ulysses* in the US.
- 157 George Brandes was an influential writer and critic. His rather positive review of Selma Lagerlöf’s debut novel Gösta Berling’s saga contributed to the success of the book, even if this might not have had the pivotal role many have ascribed to it. Lisbeth Stenberg, 183-84, 229-30, 238-39 and Edström, 165-167.
- 158 Marbury’s and de Wolfe’s Sutton Place home, where they moved after their Irving Place residence, was regularly visited by, for instance, Anne Morgan, Anne Vanderbilt, and Eleanor Roosevelt. Patricia Juliana Smith, ‘Wolfe, Elsie de’, *glbtq: an encyclopedia of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer culture* [online]. Available: <http://www.glbtc.com/arts/wolfe_e.html>, Chicago: glbtq, Inc., 2002. [Date accessed: Oct. 28, 2004]
- 159 The speculation about jealousy is expressed by Francois Chapon in a letter to Katarina Bonnevier, March 2005.
- 160 This could partly be explained by the fact that Cleyregue didn’t start working for Barney until the late 1920s, yet the map is dated 1910-1930.
- 161 From “Barney’s drawing...” to “...documentary rendering” paraphrase of “Given this representational strategy, Barney’s drawing must be understood as less a documentary rendering than an experiential mapping of her salon.” Crane, 148-49.
- 162 As in Eileen Gray’s E.1027.
- 163: “the separation of these two zones” and from “...distinguishes the Temple...” to “...move between them.”, Crane, 153.
- 164 Barney, *A Perilous Advantage*, 94.
- 165 From “Mount Desert ...” to “...its beaches.” my translation of “Mount Desert ne se souvient pas des deux nymphes, Eva et Natalie, qui couraient sur ses plages, et devraient être une partie de sa légende.” Marguerite Yourcenar, ‘Lettre-préface’ (1963) to Chalon, *Chère Natalie Barney*, 13.
- 166 From “Even at a distance...” to “...is distinct”, and “I suppose...” to “...Gourmont, and yourself.”, my translation of “Nous voilà bien loin de la rue Jacob et de ce monde de l’histoire littéraire que vous avez fait vôtre.”, 14, and “Je suppose que ce qui vous a surtout retenue rue Jacob, c’est la tradition humaine, cette amicable compagnie d’ombres surimprimées les unes sur les autres: Racine, Adrienne Lecouvreur, Balzac, et hier déjà Remy de Gourmont et vous-même.”, 13, Yourcenar, ‘Lettre-préface’, 13-14.
- 167 1795-1799, three *Directors* shared the rule of revolutionary France just before Napoleon seized power, *Dictionnaire de L’Académie française*, 8th Edition, 1932-5, from ARTFL Project, Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1991. [Online] Available: <http://humanities.uchicago.edu/orgs/ARTFL/> [Date accessed October 18, 2006]
- 168 From “These old gardens ...” to “...Revolution” paraphrase of Barney, *Adventures of the mind*, 197. combined with my translation of “C’est ainsi que finit l’exposé de ces quelques femmes représentatives, et ces aventures de l’esprit qui eurent pour cadre ces vieux jardins de Racine, cette maison dont certaines parties datent du Directoire, et ce mystérieux petit temple à l’Amitié construit sans doute au bord de la Révolution, atmosphère de vétusté indispensable à ces « hors sein » qui, comme moi, reviennent à leur lancé.” Barney, *Aventures de l’esprit*, 273.

- 169 Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 224.
- 170 It might be the bust of Watteau that Robert the Montessori gave to Natalie Barney, photo published in *Masques: revue des homosexualités*.
- 171 Souhami, 61.
- 172 There are some cases that you need special permission to look at, for instance the container of 14 letters from Marie Laurencin in the 1940s and 50s. Laurencin's last wish was that the letters shouldn't be made public. Chapon, 48.
- 173 Teresa de Lauretis, "'Damned and Carefully Public': Djuna Barnes and Nightwood', *The Literary Salon at Café Copacabana*, May 28, 2005.

Second Entr'act
Tentative

On November 17, 2004, I staged a prototypical enactment *une tentative* in the Turkish salon of the former amusement establishment the *Fenix Palace*. The tentative was to let the research project itself borrow the shape of a salon to make a full scale experiment of an enacted architecture.¹ The content of the salon was inspired by Natalie Barney's example but it was also an academic seminar in which three texts from my on-going research were assessed.

The walls of the Turkish salon are covered in an almond green relief wall-paper rimmed with a Moorish stucco frieze. A large gilded mirror doubles the length of the rectangular space. The salon is furnished with conference tables and chairs, a screen on wheels, and, for religious ceremonies, a small pulpit. The Fenix Palace has been turned into a church by the Pentecostal Movement. The parquet floor is to a great extent covered by a "discrete" brownish carpet.

The Turkish salon has four doors, but you can only pass through two of them (the other ones are blind). One door leads to the kitchen and beyond that the church café. One after the other the guests arrived through the other door via a small entrance hall with a cloakroom and a toilet. The two accessible doors of the salon are in the same wall on each side of a permanent wall decoration; a painted view of a Mediterranean garden with pyramid poplars and a vanishing landscape in shades of green.² The interior decoration also includes an elaborate coffer ceiling and two truss columns.

With the help of two extraordinary waiters, embodied by artists Tilda Lovel and Karin Drake, in cream white uniforms with golden buttons, shoulder straps and orange and yellow trimmings, we removed most of the conference tables, but kept the chairs, and the little pulpit became a table for the slide projector. The chairs were put in various constellations, a play with backs and fronts, across the floor. To give a hint of domesticity to the event there were slippers, free to use, and some embroidered and ruffled cloths lying about. The street entrance of the Turkish salon at Wallingatan 3 and the staircase to the third floor do not differ much from residences of Stockholm in general. It could be the entrance for a private apartment, were it not for the information on the metal plate on the wall: *Turkiska salongen*. The suggestion of privacy could have been pushed further by for instance putting my name on the door; setting up a bed or introducing a pet animal. A few mirrors were carefully placed on the floor to frame details in the ceiling and the columns. There were also false moustaches to try on; the Casanova, the Smarty and the Bandit types, decorated the upper lip of three guests.

A significant characteristic of the salon of Natalie Barney is the blurred distinction of theater and life this came through for instance in the various roles of the present people. An opening speech was given by Katja Grillner where she stated some of the different roles the salon-seminar crossover created; she herself dressed in the role of hostess-moderator/PhD advisor. Our guest of honor was art theorist Gertrud Sandqvist with a critical mandate to examine the work presented. In the academic cast of characters she was the opponent. My role as both the respondent and the salonnière was translated by Grillner to *regissör* (director). The guests – friends, colleagues, lovers, students

and acquaintances – about thirty persons, were not only an audience but also actors more or less visibly involved in enacting the salon. For instance some had taken the opportunity to dress up; for instance a girl in traditional dress from Rättvik in Dalecarlia and a queer couple in robes of Chinese silk. Maybe there were slightly too many people to make everyone feel at home, but the shift I had tried to prepare from official event towards intimacy happened. A question I posed was how, in this prototypical enactment, the certainty of the heterosexual matrix could be loosened (I guess I simply could have flirted more with my guests).

With the help of a five step library ladder and a palmetto on a pedestal the photographer, embodied by Marie Carlsson, arranged a setting with the garden view as a backdrop. When the guests arrived they were asked by the photographer, dressed for the occasion in a dark blue tuxedo with burgundy lapels and stripes, to give their portrait; a reminder of the culture of portraiture in the Salons of Natalie Barney.³ There were many serious faces, however most of them with a smile lingering in the corner of their eyes. As they were asked to pose, each person portrays an idea of the salon. The portrayals were small theatrical tableaux enacted by the generous participants in front of the other people present. Their participation both gave significance and presence to the event and showed their trust in the event. The resulting portraits are strikingly difficult to situate in time; they all look modern, and a few are definitely here and now, but some... it is like they came right out of the Salon of Natalie Barney (or maybe this is just my wishful thinking?).

In the salon-seminar there was one explicit theatrical performance. With a pig-snout and in a strikingly pink mini-dress, D Muttant (Maya Hald), panties rimmed with

lace and shoes like a High Heel Sister, sang “You make me feel like a natural woman.”

Architecture historian Lena Villner was invited to tell us the story of the “theater-salon” in which the salon-seminar was staged; my purpose with her speech was to further activate the container and the backdrop of the discussion. Villner expressed her surprise when she had found out that the Fenix palace was not from the 1890s, but built between 1910 and 1912. The architecture is of such an extravagant style we normally connect it to the nineteenth century. I think we can blame our surprise on the modernist denial of the decorative and the parallel non-architectural world of amusement palaces, a world which traditionally has not been considered architecture.

This amusement palace was at the center of the Stockholm scene of entertainments between the years 1914-1920 with a tiptop restaurant run by Hilda Welander, several cafés, a music hall, an American bar, Kegelbahns, a German Bier Stube, elegant assembly rooms, cozy corners and parlors.⁴ The Fenix cabaret with artistic leader Ernst Rolf – who got his real breakthrough when he left his act ‘the humorous Dalecarlian’ and put on tails, lacquer and chapeau-claque, always with a white chrysanthemum boutonniere – had two triumphant seasons (1917-19) with an ever changing program. Flower girls presented all ladies with violet bouquets, on each, a little card with the text “Hjärtligt välkommen, Ernst Rolf.”⁵

In relation to the perspective on gender and power Villner had found an article in the journal *Rösträtt för kvinnor* (approximately translated *Right to Vote for Women*). The signature Gwen reports from one of the greatest congresses in the persistent votes for women campaign which was accommodated in the Fenix Palace in 1912.⁶

There is a second subject, important from a gender perspective, contained in the particular space of the Turkish salon, which was probably the men’s smoking room, an orientalized environment for young parvenus and the old, silver foxes – a men’s club. Orientalist interiors, inspired by the harem, were popular in Sweden in the late nineteenth and turn of the twentieth century. The style was appropriated for mainly two categories of interiors; public amusement establishments and private rooms dedicated to men such as smoking and billiard rooms. Edward Said pointed out in the influential study *Orientalism* that the orient was created as a counter image for the western paragon of virtue, punctuality and responsibility. It was also ascribed with femininity.⁷ This cultural imperialist construction is according to art historian Britt-Inger Johansson the reason for the orientalist interiors of the Swedish amusement palaces of the time. She also points out that it might seem contradictory that the harem became the model for the men’s rooms, but at a time of increasing emancipation, a crisis in masculinity, the style came to symbolize an enclave of escapism, where the dominance of men was not questioned.⁸ The Turkish salon is not situated with large windows on street level, but three floors above a backstreet and without direct visual connection to the city. The wall opposite the landscape painting is facing the street, but the two grand windows are of lead glass in opaque green and yellow. Above the windows, probably part of the original interior, there are white doves in pairs on dark green valances decorated with tassels. The diffused light that comes through the colored windows reveals that there is an outside world, but it does not relate to this particular location. This is an architecture that turns away from reality.

I presented my work with a succession of slides projected

on one of the blind doors. The two waiters served tea and Catalans, a sweet pastry with rose colored topping. From a little hip flask everyone was also offered a dash of Negrita, dark rum, in their tea. The two waiters' main task was to cause a pleasant disturbance to the event, a reminder of the bodily sensations always present in the intellectual discussion. The seminar-salon should be understood as an attempt to subvert the given order from within. My wish was to shift the normal academic procedures, which are highly marked by a patriarchal hierarchy. Of course the hierarchy does not miraculously disappear because of this move, but it is not completely repeated. And to some extent I also needed the normal procedure to give credibility to the event, it could not all be theater, could it? This was mainly achieved through the professionalism of the people involved. For instance, Gertrud Sandqvist used her role to pull out important strands in my work but also to create a critical conversation. She saved more operational critique to a letter because she stated that the event needed to be "porous", in order to be receptive to any responses or actions.

The confusion of academic seminar with salon gave a quality of uncertainty to the event. I think the uncertainty destabilized the space which also made it more present. The move from a conventional seminar space at KTH's Architecture School to a concealed place in the city also contributed to this. The guests found their way to the salon-seminar by an invitation to the address Wallingatan 3. Even for those who know of the old Fenix Palace, the address disguises the space – it is the backdoor. The main entrance to the establishment is on the other side of the block, on a parallel street, Adolf Fredriks kyrkogata. When I searched for a suitable salon for this event the generative idea was to open up a place that is normally off limits. I saw it as a way

to disclose another history, not necessarily connected to a queer culture, but definitely to an act of appearance. With its background as a concealed men's room, a homosocial if not homosexual club, I found the Turkish salon well suited for this enactment. Hidden within the buildings of the city the Turkish salon does not fit in one of the categories of private and public.

An ornate piano of carved wood, with candleholders that flanks the music sheets, stands in a corner. On top of the piano I placed some framed "family photos"; Eileen Gray, Elsie de Wolfe and Gottfried Semper. On the wall behind the piano there are a couple of large portraits, King Carl Gustaf and Queen Silvia Bernadotte, the current Swedish monarchy. They are part of the decorations of the Pentecostal community. The portraits, simple reprints from the 1970's, have gilded frames decorated with a couple of tiny crowns. Already quite kitschy I decided to add a small, but significant detail. From invisible fishing-threads tied to the crowns hung a couple of false mustaches and dangled below the royals' respective noses, a Scoundrel-model for the queen and a Bandit for the king.

Notes

- 1 A paper discussing the salon seminar is published Bonnecier, "Ut ur salongen", *Cultural Studies in Sweden: National Research Conference*, ACSIS, Linköping University Electronic Press [Online]. Available: <<http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/015/014/>> [Date accessed June 12, 2006].
- 2 It is not an original art work; the same wall appears as a background in Goddard's film *Pierrot le fou* (*Pierrot goes wild*, or, *Crazy Pete*, 1965) which was not filmed in the Fenix Palace.
- 3 Thirty-four of the thirty-six guests were portrayed. Of the two that didn't participate, one arrived late and the other did not want to.
- 4 Waldemar von Sydow, *Fenixpalatset 1912-1937: några minnesblad vid 25-års jubileet den 17 jan. 1937*, Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1937, 17, 48.
- 5 "Cordially welcome, Ernst Rolf", my translation, Elisabeth Hemström, *Revykungen Ernst Rolf framför och bakom kulisserna*, Falun: Kulturnämnden, 1990, 33.
- 6 Gwen, 'I Fenixpalatset. Mötet i Stockholm' ("In the Fenix palace. The meeting in Stockholm"), *Rösträtt för kvinnor* ("Right to Vote for Women"), No 1:5, 1912, 2. In *Digitalt arkiv över äldre svenska kvinnotidskrifter* [Online]. Available <<http://www.ub.gu.se/kvinn/digtid/>>, Kvinnohistoriska samlingarna, Göteborgs universitetsbibliotek, 1999-2004 [Date accessed: December 15, 2004]. I have not found out if Selma Lagerlöf was here, but the political struggle and the success of the suffrage movement is definitely part of her context. My thanks to architecture historian Lena Villner for giving me this information.
- 7 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon, 1978. Said's theories follows Simone de Beauvoir's speculations in *The Second Sex* (1949).
- 8 Britt-Inger Johansson, 'Orienten och Sverige. Arkitektur och interiör under 1800-talet.' ("The Orient and Sweden. Architecture and interiors in the 19th Century"), *Valör* (Tema Orientalism), No.2, 1994, 3-21. Many have written about the crisis in masculinity, and how it was represented, at the turn of the twentieth century; see, for instance, in a French context Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity, Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France*, London & NY: Thames and Hudson, 1998 and, in a Swedish context, Ulf Zander, *Fornstora dagar, moderna tider. Bruk och debatter om svensk historia från sekelskifte till sekelskifte*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2001.

Lecture Three

Cross-Cladding

*There was something superciliously but simultaneously
askew in the design.¹*

Orientation

The lecture-text is a queer look at *Mårbacka*, former home of author Selma Lagerlöf in midwest Sweden. This meandering story, where both the architectural form and the architectural theory of the text follow the likeness between walls and clothes, plays with gendered costumes. *Mårbacka* is looked upon as a living image – a *tableau vivant*, in order to disclose how the enactment creates a new reality; a reality where there is room for queers.

To approach the resonance between actors and architecture several actors have been invited on this trip, which moves through a series of architectures. The *lecturer* is almost always there to put forward the argument, but other voices step in to make variations on the themes or activate the scenes, for instance Selma Lagerlöf comes out of the closet with her partner Valborg Olander.

The trip starts in the *Turkish Salon*, a masculine cladding tied to femininity and exoticism. Here the principles of architect Isak Gustaf Clason, who Selma Lagerlöf commissioned to transform the main building of her farm to a manor house, are introduced together with his son Gustaf Clason who did the working drawings for *Mårbacka*.

The tour proceeds to the province of Värmland and, through a *tableau vivant* there is a first glimpse of the manor house at *Mårbacka*. We stay outside the building as the term *tableau vivant* as well as another term that involves drag, *cross-cladding*, are introduced. The term *cross-cladding* is an invention by the researcher who has written these texts. It combines Judith Butler's queer theoretical ideas on cross-dressing with Gottfried Semper's architectural theory of *Bekleidung*, cladding. The lecturer references two other examples that can be analyzed in terms of cross-cladding the *Women's Building* at the *World's Columbian Exposition*, Chi-

cago 1893, and the *Haus der Frau* at the 1914 *German Werkbund Exhibition* in Cologne.

With *Mårbacka* in the spotlight again, the story unfolds of the succession of transformations of the building, which involves the different claddings of the exterior and the interiors at *Mårbacka*. Partly with the help of a guide, Hartman, the visitors walk through *Mårbacka's* history and some rooms; the tour displays a queer life staged in a disguise of patriarchal power. The fictive and layered architecture of the lecture-text parallels the enactment of *Mårbacka*. (And, by the way, watch out for the dog!)

Cast of Characters in Order of Appearance

The LECTURER has prepared some more staged performances in this lecture, but will also let go of the control of the lecture performance.

ISAK GUSTAF CLASON is displayed here only as a staffage figure. Isak Gustaf Clason (1856-1930) was an influential architect in Sweden during several decades around the turn of the twentieth century. Tall with blue eyes he was not known to be talkative. He was the father of Gustaf Clason.

GUSTAF CLASON joins the lecture from history. Gustaf Clason (1893-1964) was an architect. After graduating he started to work for his father's architectural office, where the transformation of *Mårbacka* became one of his first projects.

BEAU helps the lecturer with the arrangements around the lecture and is infatuated by Best.

TABELLE participates in the entire lecture series, always capable of contributing some relevant facts.

LISS is Selma Lagerlöf's collie.

TURKISKA SALONGEN

The PHOTOGRAPHER has brought her camera to this lecture, but fails to frame some quite remarkable photo opportunities.

SVETLANA makes a guest appearance here. This drag-king-queen is based on a character developed by performer Lina Kurttila of the group Lion Kings. Svetlana is a lady that rules the queer scene of Stockholm with a firm hand. Put into the setting of a tableau vivant at Mårbacka and courted by one of the most thriving seductresses ever, Svetlana is slightly off guard in this performance. A CAVALIÈRE that arrives on the back of a black HORSE plays with Svetlana in the tableau.

SELMA LAGERLÖF is an imaginary character partly based on the letters of author Selma Lagerlöf (1858-1940). The letters put into words her passionate relations to other women, where the author Sophie Elkan and the teacher VALBORG OLANDER (1861-1943, who also appears in this enactment) get special attention. Trained as a teacher, Lagerlöf became an author and patron of the farm Mårbacka. Olander remained independent but was devoted to Lagerlöf as her lover and secretary. In 1909 Lagerlöf received the Nobel Prize in literature, the first Swede and first woman to do so, and in 1914 she was the first woman elected to the Swedish Academy.

JULIAN is a well-informed colleague that follows all the lectures.

BEST is intrigued by complex details, crazy about Beau and helps out in the lecture.

SALLY appears in the audience as the trickster who turns the spaces around.

HARTMAN is a visitor's guide at Mårbacka.

The lecture commences in the Turkish salon in the former amusement establishment called the Fenix Palace, downtown Stockholm but swiftly moves on to Mårbacka. The lecturer stands in front of the large landscape painting that decorates one of the walls. The audience has brought out chairs and sits in a wide formation in front of the lecturer.

LECTURER: I am glad to see you're all here, I thought I'd lost some of you in Paris.

Tonight's main character will be Selma Lagerlöf, the Swedish author who was "the first" in so many contexts, the first *female* as well as the first *Swedish* Nobel Prize winner in literature; first woman to be elected to the Swedish Academy and so on. Lagerlöf was acclaimed by the establishment and therefore she had a powerful voice in the women's suffrage movement (which succeeded in 1921).

Beau, who acts as a stage technician, dims the light of the room and switches on the projector. An image of a light yellow classicist manor with a steep black roof embedded in greenery, Mårbacka, is projected onto the garden view of the Turkish Salon. The wall decoration and the projection merge to one image. Some in the audience move their chairs to see better.

LECTURER: The main act tonight is Selma Lagerlöf's rebuilding of this, the main building at Mårbacka. The farm Mårbacka, the memorial estate and former home of author Selma Lagerlöf, is situated in a rich landscape of smooth fields and upland pine tree forests with the

broad rivers and numerous lakes of mid-west Sweden in the province called *Värmland*. On a small mound at the rim of a rural valley next to the forests you find the manor house of Mårbacka, surrounded by some farm- and outbuildings, poplar and chestnut trees. North of the main building is a huge garden with fruit trees, raked gravel paths, herbs, flowers and a toddy grove. The impressive manor house has a pale yellow cladding, grey moldings, white pilasters and milky brown shutters crowned by a tiled roof with plated details in black. An outfit it received in the early nineteen twenties.

I will not describe in detail the other buildings of the farm but just mention them so you can imagine the built context of the manor house. There are three wooden houses on the courtyardside, south, of the main building; the yellow guide wing with fretsaw ornaments – built as guest house around 1914; the red and white manager's pavilion – next to a large pond; and the farm hand's quarters, red with white moldings – in the 1910s it was transformed into a shop with post office and living quarters and is today a café, souvenir- and bookshop. There is also a large birdcage where the two peafowls stay when they don't rove the grounds. There is a large parking area and a convenience house for visitors further away, behind trees and bushes, next to the country road.

One of the other significant characters tonight is the architect Lagerlöf hired to transform her house; Isak Gustaf Clason. The process of transformation was an interaction between the client and the renowned architect's office of Isak Gustaf Clason, where not only Isak Gustaf but also his son Gustaf worked on the project. Lagerlöf also discussed the rebuilding in detail with her lovers Sophie Elkan and Valborg Olander. For me, a key interest

in Mårbacka is the extent to which Lagerlöf, the client, influenced the rebuilding.² The client always influences the design, especially when it comes to building private homes, but as Alice Friedman shows in her book *Women and the Making of the Modern Home: A Social and Architectural History* (1998) there was a significant shift in the early twentieth century when privileged women got the opportunity to act as clients in their own right. They started in Friedman's words to "seek out new architectural solutions to accommodate unconventional ways of living."³

Isak Gustaf Clason seems to have had an ambiguous relation to the building process and the result of the rebuilding at Mårbacka. In the transformation Lagerlöf and Clason had both similar and separate, more or less disguised agendas.

The lecturer opens the book she is holding and finds the right page.

LECTURER: Here is an extract of a letter from architect Isak Gustaf Clason to Doctor Selma Lagerlöf in 1924:

The task that You laid before me during the year of 1919 was both highly interesting and exceedingly difficult. The eyes of the whole world - yes, the world of posterity - would surely come to examine this work. It is, of course, precarious to so thoroughly redesign the old home, full of memories as it is. But it is true that an architect should, to the best of his ability, give the client [master] what he or she - in most cases she - wishes (as should all craftsmen). And one more thing: did not the memories in this case attach more to Her than to the building?⁴

TABELLE: He washed his hands of it!

SALLY: A slippery character that architect...

JULIAN: Excuse me, but can it be true that most of his clients were female?

LECTURER: No, but in fact there were quite a few women clients at the time. For instance the influential author and activist Ellen Key (1849-1926) created Strand by the lake *Vättern* between 1909-1911.⁵ A famous example which Alice Friedman has brought out is the collaboration between the client Truus Schröder and the architect Gerrit Rietveld in *Villa Schröder* (1923-24) which previously was singularly ascribed to Rietveld.⁶ It was accepted and even a bourgeois ideal that the woman should create a home for the family; both wife and home represented the position in society held by their husbands. For instance, do you remember I talked a bit about the interior decorator Elsie de Wolfe who almost always had female clients?⁷

JULIAN: From what I remember, it was Isak Gustaf Clason who designed the Hallwyl's Palace in Stockholm where Wilhelmina von Hallwyl rather than her husband was the client. I've heard that she, being a woman, wasn't allowed to manage the family industry and instead married a man with liberal ideas. And, she put all her power into creating a museum of her time. Her collections are almost desperate.

LECTURER: Mmm, but aren't they also absolutely fantastic? For those of you who are not familiar with the Hallwyl museum, the story is that she collected enormous amounts of things, wrappings and jars, bed linen, art, cushions, technical inventions and late nineteenth century furniture. She spent evenings and days with her secretary and catalogued everything.

SALLY: What else did they do?

LECTURER: Sal' you're hopeless. The Hallwyl city palace is not far from here; it was designed by Clason in 1893, and his first façade was entirely clad in stone (limestone and granite). He designed it as a family residence for Wilhelmina and Walter von Hallwyl; but it was also built to house the collections of Wilhelmina and represent life at the end of the nineteenth century. She prepared it to become a stately museum after her death; the museum is still running. Well worth a visit, I thought about including it in the tour of this lecture.⁸

JULIAN: Do you think this was behind Lagerlöf's choice of Clason as architect for the new Mårbacka?

LECTURER: Perhaps – at least in part. Valborg Olander, who was related to the Clasons, played an important role, since she recommended Isak Gustaf Clason. He was one of the most prestigious architects of the time, had been professor at the architecture school of the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) and was appointed head of the Royal National Board of Building and Planning.⁹ Apart from his public buildings, for instance Östermalm Market (1885-89) and the prominent Nordic Museum (1889-1907) in Stockholm, he had many clients among the landed gentry, whose manors he had modernised.¹⁰ I am sure Lagerlöf chose him because she knew he could deliver what she wanted.

Ok, let's get back on track, as Clason's letter reveals he was uneasy about the project and partly withdrew from authorship of the transformation. In the office of Clason it was obvious that they, the architects, should design the entire building complete with the interior decoration. Clason junior took particular pride in designing the library of the renowned author; she discussed it in

detail, decided on what carpenter to use and invited some artists for the decoration.¹¹ What they all had as a starting point was that Mårbacka was both going to be a home and a public display of Selma Lagerlöf, her life and work. Museum director Katarina Ek-Nilsson describes how Lagerlöf staged her own museum creation at Mårbacka through interior decoration.¹² I would like to expand this to also include the act of building, the outer appearance, the program and the organization. Selma Lagerlöf was a very active builder; she materially transformed the main building at Mårbacka twice; first in summer 1908 when she had just bought it, and then in the major transformation between 1919 and 1924.¹³ But the transformation of the main building at Mårbacka was only one of many building projects she was involved in.¹⁴ Furthermore, the building, which had been her childhood home, also appears in other disguises in Lagerlöf's stories and, in this looping layering, throughout the building there are references to her books and a selected biography.¹⁵

Isak Gustaf Clason had developed a strong sense of architectural principles during his long career. Long before Lagerlöf's commission, as professor at the School of Architecture, he lectured about his principles for the detached building in the countryside; we know it from notes taken down by one of his students, Carl Anton Berlin, in the 1890s.¹⁶

She walks up to one of the blind doors and opens it. A motionless person with a stern expression appears. He holds a pair of compasses and there is a pencil in his breast pocket. He looks at the space and the people there, but remains silent.



A black and white photograph of a modernist house with large windows and a garden. The house is white with a flat roof and large windows. The garden in the foreground is lush with various plants, including a large aloe vera plant. The background shows a hillside covered in dense vegetation.

E. 1027

**MAISON
EN BORD
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INVITATION

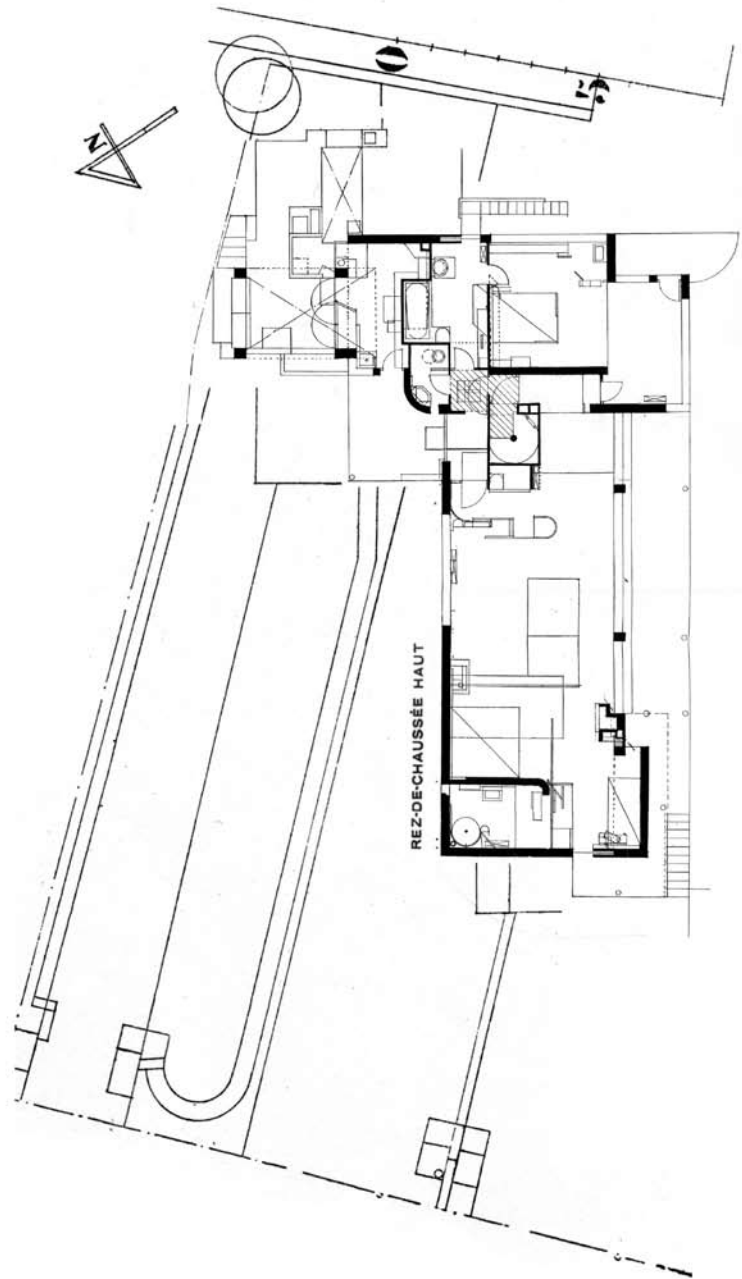
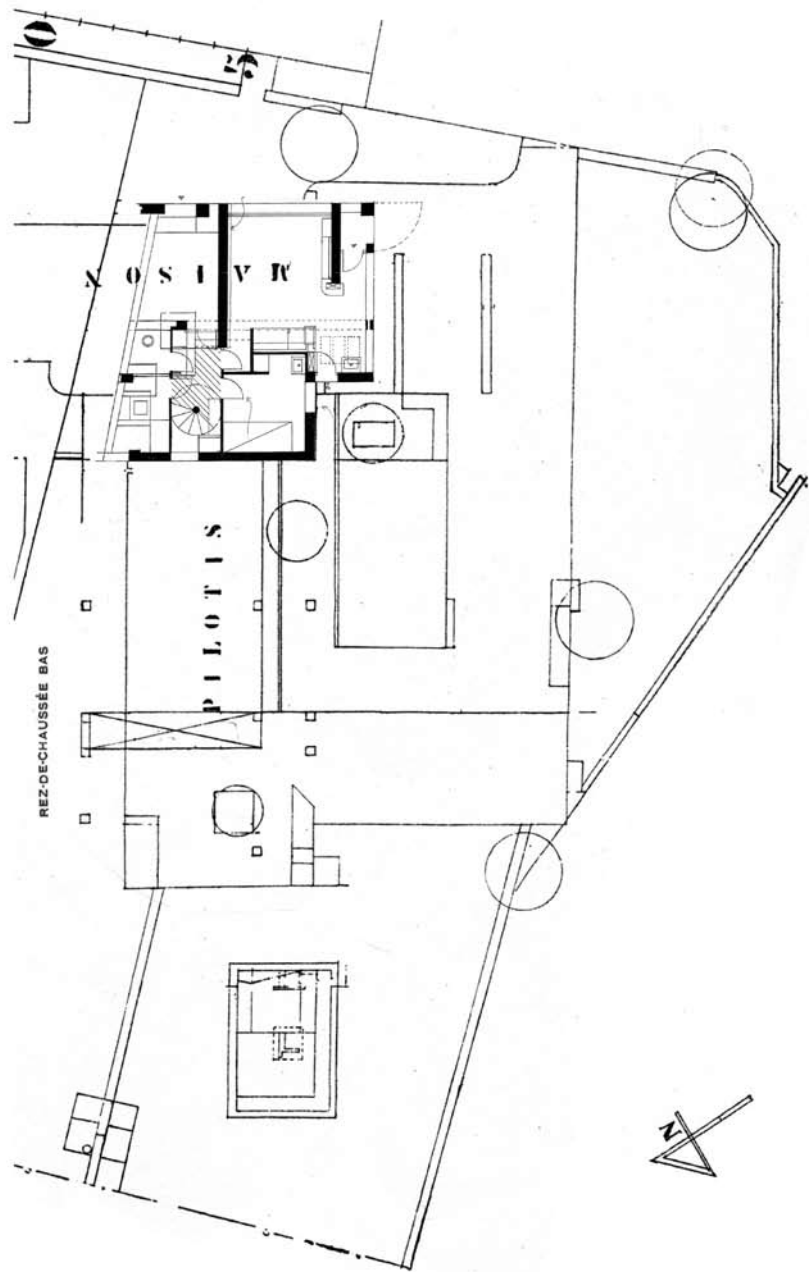
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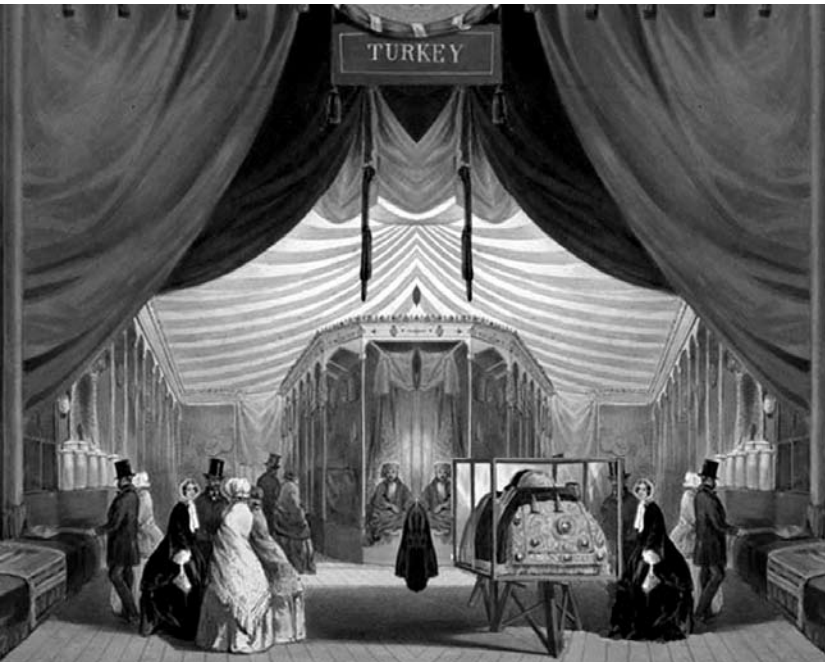
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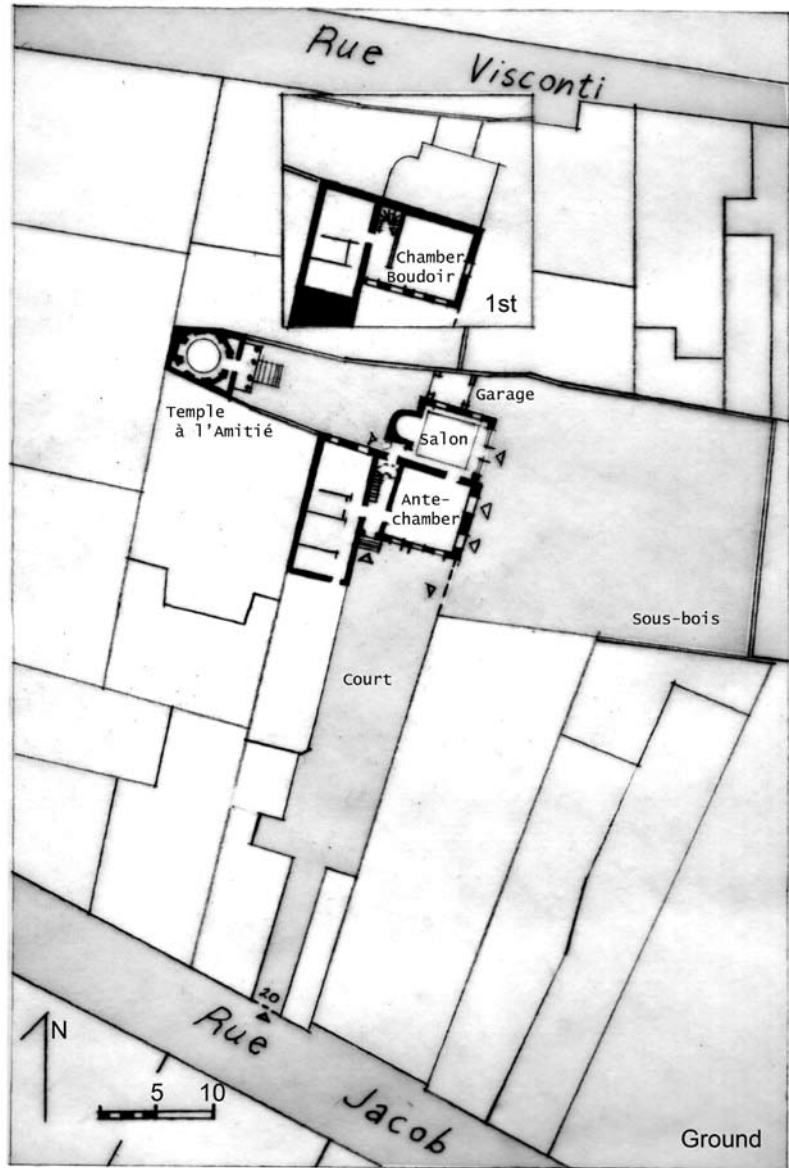
















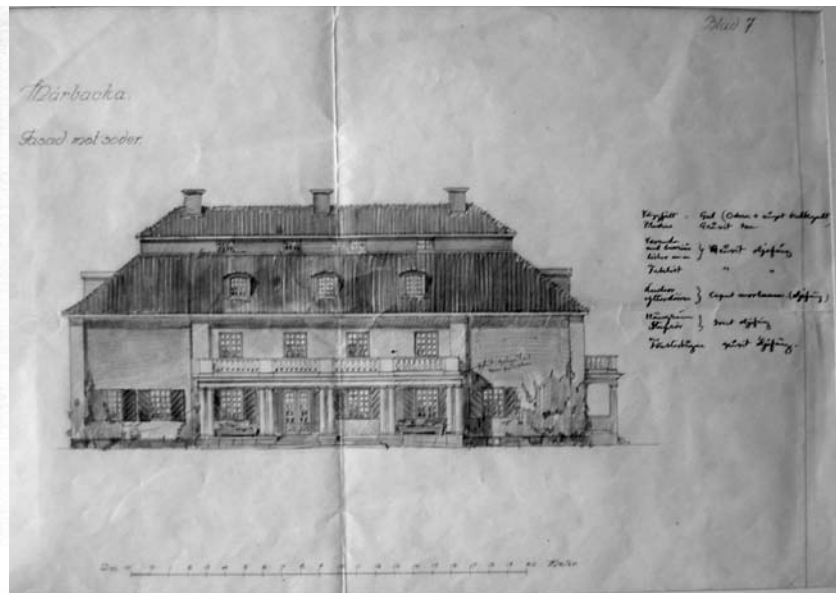




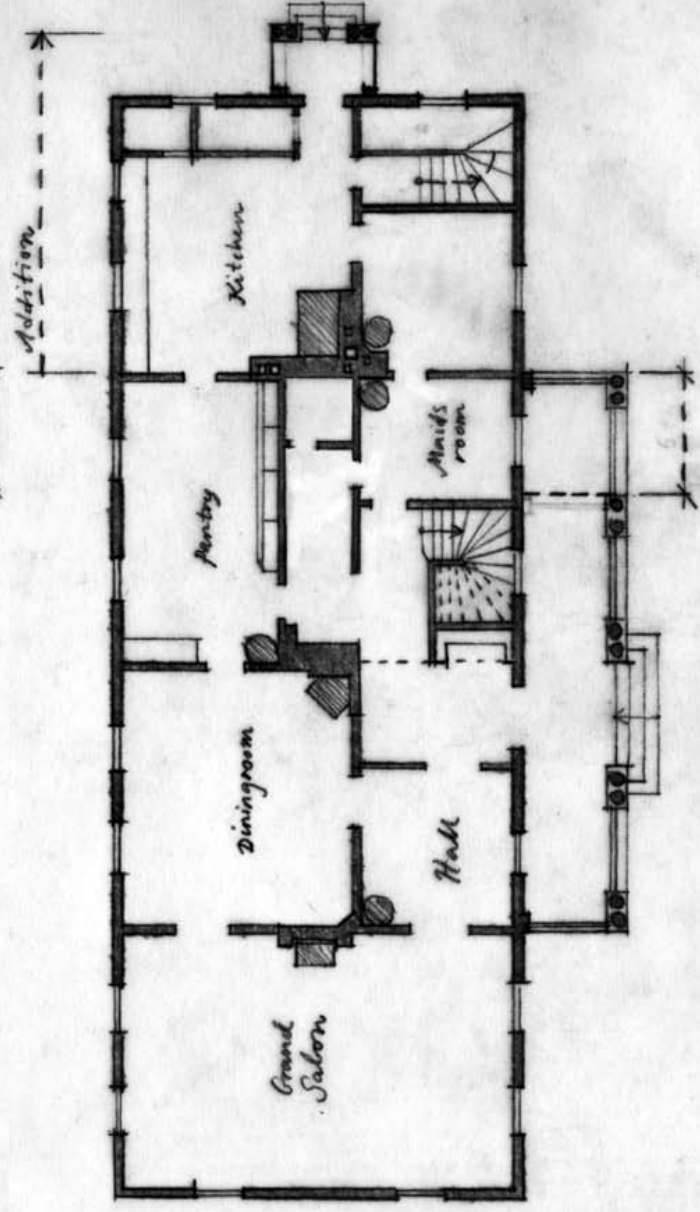
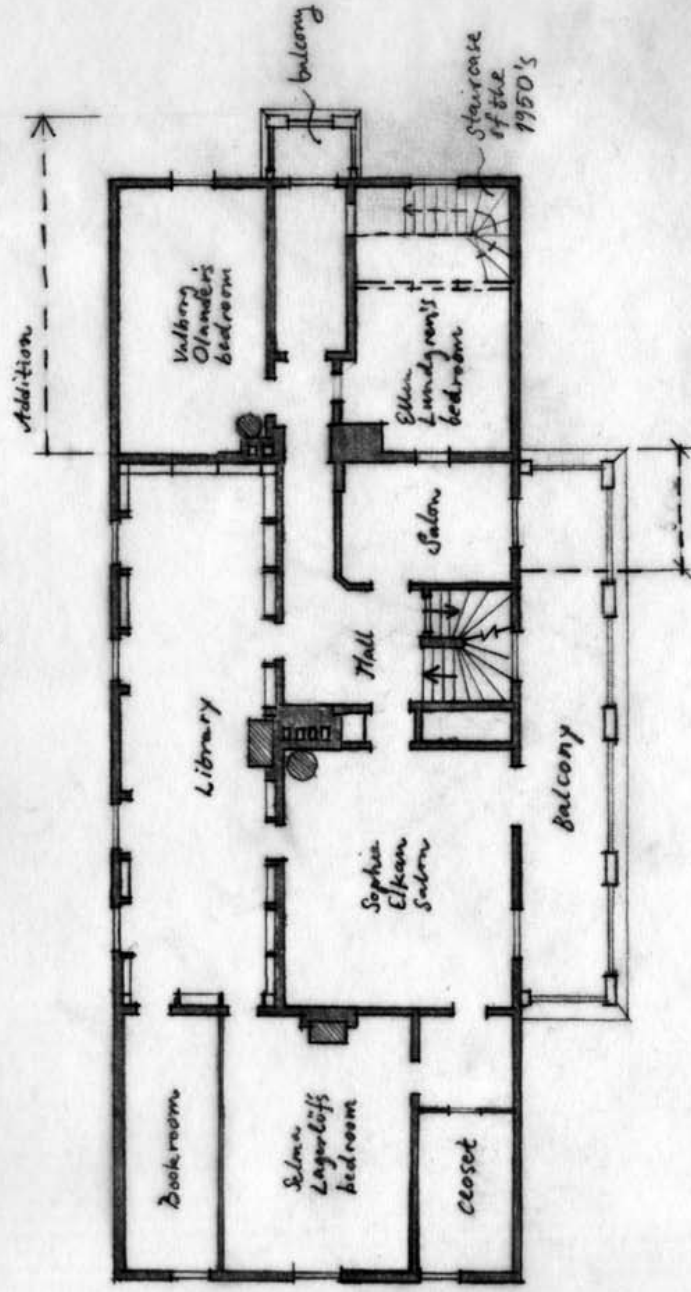




Mårbacka



Mårbacken
- main building -



Ground floor







Bibliotek och arbetsrum. The library and the work-room
Die Bibliothek und das Arbeitszimmer

LECTURER: Clason stated that there are four groups of rooms: Kitchens, Salons, Entries and Men's rooms. There is a fifth category, sleeping rooms, but they are on the upper floor. His taxonomy for the program of the private house is highly marked by gender and class, with a disturbing absence of women. When he cites the rooms of each category there are certain characters present, servants, men, children, guests. The dining room, storage spaces as well as the sleeping quarters of the servants are counted within the category of Kitchen rooms. There are three kinds of salons, the antechamber, the side chamber and the salon. The vestibule, the hall and the staircase are assembled with the entries, whereas the study, the library, the smoking room and the billiard room are all counted as men's rooms; both the billiard room and the smoking room benefited from an "amusing Turkish style."¹⁷ Just like this Turkish Salon where we find ourselves at present. In the fifth category children's rooms and guest rooms are named, but women, wives, ladies or mistresses are completely absent in his taxonomy.¹⁸ Only once during the lecture did he reveal that it is not an all male household that he describes. The female gendered characters are present when he describes the sleeping rooms of the servants; the kitchen maid near the kitchen, the chamber maid near the wife's chamber, the nursemaid by the children.¹⁹ In Clason's heteronormative building program the wife, or other possible women, are so self-evidently part of the private house that their presence becomes almost invisible. And there are no notes of any room devoted to women.

Clason followed these principles in a very consequent way according to architecture historians Mats Fredriksson and Kajsa Bjurklint Rosenblad.²⁰ For instance, the

men's room at the Hallwyl's palace has an abundant oriental decor created entirely by textiles, carpets and wall hangings. The commission for Selma Lagerlöf must have been a challenge; an unmarried woman who shared a household with other women, but simultaneously took on the masculine role as bread winner, head of the manor, in charge of the business. And on top of that a world-renowned author...What would become of his taxonomy? Well, he decided to hand the project over to his son, Gustaf Clason.

The lecturer shuts the door on Isak Gustaf Clason. In the same moment the opposite blind door swings open and a slender person, Gustaf Clason, in a suit that is slightly too wide, waves his hand and greets the audience with a nod. He sits on one of the empty chairs and waits for the lecture to continue.

LECTURER: Before we proceed to Mårbacka I would like to contrast two images of Selma Lagerlöf, the passionate, hardworking writer that comes through in her letters and the long-established image of her as a sorry maid. In a letter from Selma Lagerlöf to Sophie Elkan, February 1894, we learn that Lagerlöf loved her job and was in love. (*The lecturer opens her notebook at a page marked by a silk ribbon and reads aloud.*)

But when I stand in a lectern with some hundred listeners around me or when I am alone with you and may stare myself mad in your eyes I am true. And therefore I love nothing else in this world. Your Selma²¹

Her letters are a part of the manuscript collections at

Kungliga Biblioteket, The Royal Library, in Stockholm. The archival card on the letters to Sophie Elkan is marked in red “*tillgänglig 1990*”, available in 1990, which was 50 years after Lagerlöf's death. Did she think the world would be ready for her to come out of the closet by then? It is like Selma Lagerlöf staged her own coming out process.

Two years later in 1992 a new textbook on literary history was released that repeated the boring old heterosexist history writing:

At a ball, she was rarely asked for a dance. She was painfully aware of her limp and of – in her eyes – her ugliness. The world of her imagination and her writing provided a measure of compensation.²²

This image of Lagerlöf is still widespread, but she was much more exuberant than the limping social retard, covered in cobwebs, presented here.

Lagerlöf might not have identified herself as a lesbian, the term has its own history and is loaded with meanings²³, but that she loved women, felt vibrant and foolish after her first meeting with Sophie Elkan, and was burning in her desire for Valborg Olander, can all be read in the letters she has left behind for us. Today we can call her *queer*.²⁴

The representation of gender at Mårbacka has been observed to some extent but the way sexuality, in this case same-sex desire, plays in the building has been overlooked. The manor house is marked by upper-class ambitions and Mårbacka has also been criticized for not adhering to the regional style of Värmland.²⁵ The construction of nationality and class through Mårbacka is

bound up with the discussion on gender and sexuality.²⁶ In her essay ‘The Titan and the Fairytale Queen’ Katarina Ek-Nilsson makes a striking comparison from a gender perspective between the way the contemporary Swedish authors August Strindberg and Selma Lagerlöf are culturally represented in their respective museums. Ek-Nilsson shows how plainly the norms of gender reinforce the displays of the womanly and manly author and how the interpretations of Lagerlöf reduces her and her achievements whereas Strindberg is allowed to be multifaceted and complex. Ek-Nilsson describes how the image of Lagerlöf, who lived in many places and traveled extensively, is tightly tied to Mårbacka and the region. She remarks that this undue emphasis on the local is in accordance with gender expectations as well as the Swedish nationalist project expressed in love for one’s native district. However, Ek-Nilsson mentions but refrains to comment on Lagerlöf’s queer lifestyle. She thus excludes the wider implications this queerness might have on our interpretations of Lagerlöf and her body of work. In *lambda nordica* Svante Norrhem also makes a comparison between Strindberg and Lagerlöf to show how heteronormativity and homophobia reduces Lagerlöf. In the research around Strindberg his women are present in the interpretations, while Lagerlöf’s women are turned into unproven gossip, unmentionable dirty stories or trivial biographical material.²⁷ Rather than passing over Lagerlöf’s queerness as a marginal fact I use it as a perspective to discover the architecture she created.

Suddenly there is the sound of a breaking branch. Everyone in the room looks up; something moves in the garden view of Mårbacka. First it is no more than a shiver but then the bushes dance as

someone passes through them. The spectators are mesmerized as the movement reaches a clearing in the garden; and a collie swaggers in. The dog is startled when it sees the audience, then its tail starts to wag and it comes running. As the dog approaches the building of Mårbacka grows. The setting also comes closer until it surrounds the audience. The walls of the Turkish salon disappear and the audience finds itself sitting on the circular lawn in the middle of the court in front of the main entrance of Mårbacka. It is a warm night at the end of summer. The coffer ceiling is gone and above them is a sky full of stars.

TABELLE: You never see the Milky Way in the city.

The happy dog runs among the guests sniffing curiously at everyone. The photographer hides behind the lecturer as the dog comes up to them. Someone cries; “Liss!” The dog listens, sets off and disappears behind the guide wing.

MÅRBACKA

The photographer, who can manage anything, has arranged a tableu to help the lecturer, but chiefly so that Svetlana shall be seen in great splendor.

Before the main building at Mårbacka sit about thirty guests; they watch a golden moon rise in a dark sky. The elongated verandah with its five double columns and the balcony above are overgrown with honeysuckle whose fragrance drifts through the still August night.²⁸ Stockholm and the particular smell of the interior of the Turkish salon are miles away. Candles in red, orange, lilac, yellow, azure and green lanterns give the setting a shimmering light. Then, on the back of a black horse, a cavalière “Don Juan” comes riding through the garden, passes the pyramid poplars, the oaks and the chestnut trees, and pauses beneath the balcony. The Don is disguised as a monk, but a white embroidered ruffle shows at the sleeve, and the gleaming point of a rapier protrudes from the cloak. The Don starts to sing:

“I kiss no maiden dear,
Come not in your beauty’s might,
Señora, to the lattice here,
I tremble at your sight.”

While he sings a couple of additional spectators, two women closely followed by the collie join the group. The nose of the dog rests in the palm of its mistress. When the voice dies away, someone moves behind the curtains of the upper floor and Svetlana comes out on the balcony dressed in black velvet and a lace veil. She leans over the balustrade and sings slowly:

“Why do you stand, you holy man,

At midnight time, ‘neath my lattice high,
Say, do you pray for my soul
Then quickly with sincerity:
Nay, fly, – I pray;
They may find you here.
And your sword doth betray,
And the clank of your spur,
That the hooded monk is a fair cavalière.”

At these words the monk throws aside the disguise, and Gösta Berling stands under the balcony in a Don’s dress of silk and gold. The Don pays no heed to the beauty’s warning. On the contrary, the lover climbs one of the columns, swings over the balcony balustrade, and, as the photographer had arranged, falls at the feet of the lovely Svetlana, who shines in the tableaux and in the acting. She smiles graciously upon the Don and gives her hand to be kissed; as they gaze at each other, lost in love, Svetlana starts to sing:²⁹

“Lookin’ out on the mornin’ rain
I used to feel so uninspired
And when I knew I had to face another day
Oh it made me feel so tired”

“Cause you make me feel
You make me feel
You make me feel
Like a natural woman.”

At these words the cavalière undoes her hair, unbuttons the shirt and Natalie Barney reveals herself at the feet of Svetlana, her chest flattened by bandages and her blond hair glows around her head. The curtain descends.

WOMAN WITH DOG (*to her partner*): I have never seen anything more attractive than those two on that moonlit balcony. It is like a thunder-cloud, out of which heaven's splendor gleams!³⁰

The curtain had to be drawn up again and again. Every glance provokes tumultuous applause. While the curtain rises and falls the young people stand motionless in the same attitude. At last the applause dies away, the curtain descends and none sees them. And then Svetlana bends and kisses Natalie Barney. The cavalière stretches the arms around her head and holds her fast, and they kiss again and again.

It is Beau, with tears in her eyes and a smile on her lips, who acts as a curtain-puller and stage technician. When she sees that Natalie Barney and Svetlana have taken up a new position, she thought it was part of the tableau, and she pulls the curtain.

They on the balcony notice nothing till the applause starts again. Svetlana freezes and the Amazon holds her firmly, whispering:

“Stand still; they will think it part of the tableau.”

They stand like this while the curtain again rises and falls, and every time thirty pairs of eyes sees them, thirty pairs of hands bring forth a storm of applause.³¹ The photographer tries to find a good angle, from which the tableau, Mårbacka and the spectators can be seen but mutters something about it being too dark.

THE OTHER WOMAN TO THE FIRST: It is an attractive sight to see two so beautiful give a representation of love's happiness.³²

The lecturer comes out of the main door onto the verandah with a book in her hand.

LECTURER: Gender performance is bound up with architec-

ture. The ultra romantic setting inspired the moment in the tableau. Was it the balcony or the moonlight, the cavalière's dress or the veil, the curtain or the honeysuckle, the applause or the song that was to blame for the kiss? Was it part of the tableau?

Theater is a representational form that realizes the dream of transformation. The double gaze of the spectator who sees an actor with a mask is the biggest fiction of theater. There is a difference between mask and actor, but the naked “I” behind the mask is a historical construction that makes us think that the disguise has come off, and the actor stands before you unmasked, when receiving the final applause.

The scene you just saw is a paraphrase of the tableau vivant in *Gösta Berling's Saga*, Selma Lagerlöf's debut novel and best seller from 1891. Selma Lagerlöf, who was trained as a teacher at *Högre lärarinneseminarier* (“the Higher Schoolmistress Training College”) on Riddargatan 5 in Stockholm, became wealthy through the success of her books, and could eventually create this grandiose home of her own, Mårbacka.³³

A *tableau vivant* is a living image; a theatrical art form that consists of a short scene or a set piece in still form which references well-known persons or scenes of history such as the famous balcony sequence of *Don Juan*. It was a fashionable parlor game in the salon of Natalie Barney where the historical scenes often were queered, or re-presented to disclose a lesbian content. Performed within a lesbian-friendly circle, the tableau vivant had a special meaning since it exploited the relation between spectator and actor to create a fantastic space where uncomfortable roles could be transgressed. In the moment of the theatrical tableau, fiction becomes reality.³⁴

In the tableau vivant, architecture interacts both as setting and representation. Architecture becomes part of the theatrical display. Theatricality, the spectacular, can reveal how gender performance and building interact since it foregrounds the externalized vision and does not make a claim of a “true” self representation. Moreover theatricality plays on the social scene. According to Lagerlöf’s last will Mårbacka became a memorial estate and opened for tours in 1942. Visitors were guided by the former teacher and Lagerlöf’s friend, the spectacular Thyra Freding who was known to borrow clothes from Lagerlöf’s dressing-room and masquerade as the author.³⁵ But in fact Mårbacka was a tourist attraction long before that. Mårbacka was during Selma Lagerlöf’s lifetime already a form of display that emphasized sociality and theatricality and the display of Lagerlöf and her work. Tourists, school children, journalists, relatives and foreign delegations came to stay or visit. Ellen Lundgren, the housekeeper, also sometimes masqueraded as Lagerlöf. To give the author time to work, Lundgren put on the coat of Lagerlöf and waved to the obtrusive tourists with their swarm of flickering cameras from this balcony. The large transformation of the main building at Mårbacka 1919-1924, designed by the architect office of Isak Gustaf Clason, was undertaken with the public in mind. Simultaneously Mårbacka was a home, not a museum; the term *tableau vivant* is a way to describe this visually exposed living-room.³⁶

Selma Lagerlöf was the head of the manor, but it was not a household for a single person. Ellen Lundgren and Lagerlöf’s mother Louise also lived here. Several families stayed in crofter’s cottages nearby and were employed for the farming. There is a widespread belief

that Lagerlöf only lived for her house. Mårbacka was a significant part of her life and is closely linked to her production, but it was not a substitute for an intimate life. Eventually, after having lived in Stockholm, Karlskrona and Falun, she moved back to Mårbacka, which had been her childhood home, and during long periods Selma Lagerlöf’s lovers, Sophie Elkan and Valborg Olander, kept her company there.³⁷

It is important to remember that Lagerlöf’s performances were always under scrutiny; privacy did not exist in the same manner as today and furthermore Lagerlöf was not only famous but also unmarried. It was far from accepted for an unmarried woman at the turn of the twentieth century to have a home of her own at all. They were expected to live with their parents, at a pension or with their employer. I found a very interesting pamphlet from 1904 in Lagerlöf’s library written by Frances Wachtmeister called *Eget hem. De ogifta kvinnornas Egna hems fråga* – an approximate translation in English would be; *Own home. The question of home ownership for unmarried women*.³⁸ Both disturbing and encouraging, it describes the lowly situation of the unmarried women; the lovesick are ridiculed, the sharp-tongued are shun, only the self-sacrificing are accepted. An unmarried daughter, like Selma Lagerlöf, was expected to be at hand not only for her parents and the neighborhood but to respond to the pleas for help and visitors from further afield. Wachtmeister also writes about the danger of homelessness which mislead women into unworthy marriages.

Wachtmeister argues that the unmarried women – the house keepers, the retired teachers, the old family girls of the countryside, the creative artists, the bank ladies, the telegraphists, the nurses or the aunts – have to be coura-

geous and build a house for themselves. They have to take their future in their own hands since they have nothing to expect from society. Her book is not only a political contribution but it also proceeds to give practical advice on how to succeed with a very limited economy. More than twenty-five years before Virginia Woolf wrote her influential lecture-essay *A Room of One's Own* Wachtmeister declared that both self-confidence and material assets were necessary to support women's emancipation and professional activities.³⁹ She stated that women's work, with the needle, the book or the brush, should not be pushed aside to some invisible and despised nook; rather the most distinguished location with the finest view is the place for the working desk. "It is a joy to work under one's own roof!"⁴⁰

I do not know when this book came into Lagerlöf's possession but it must have been encouraging to read. The book even mentions female couples – "friends" – sharing the same home.⁴¹ There was a constant negotiation between the public institution, Selma Lagerlöf at Mårbacka, and the disguise of her intimate life.⁴²

The tableau vivant in Lagerlöf's novel *Gösta Berling's Saga* plays with truth and appearance; the passionate kiss that wasn't theater, but reality disguised as theater.

The lecturer opens her note book, holds it in the light from a yellow lantern and reads aloud:

No one thought those kisses meant anything but a theatrical pretence; no one guessed that the Señora shook with shame and the Don with anxiety. No one but believed it to be part of the tableau.⁴³

In the theatrical tableau of the novel, Lagerlöf plays

with several layers of fiction and reality, and it is the exaggerated gender performance that she puts on display. For instance, no one in *Gösta Berling's Saga* is more feminine than Marianne Sinclair who plays the *Señora* in the tableau. Literature theorist Maria Karlsson claims that the *Señora* displays a double-femininity which creates distance to the gender norms of society.⁴⁴ The characters of Lagerlöf's tableau can be understood in terms of travesty. Travesty is a theatrical term for a disguise, which is often used to describe an exaggeration or abstraction that distorts or mocks roles established in culture or society like the *Casanova* or the *Fair Lady*.⁴⁵

What is fascinating is that the layers of fiction and reality of Selma Lagerlöf also influence the built reality. For instance, she contributed enormously to the image of this part of Sweden; largely because of Lagerlöf the district of Värmland is filled with manor houses.⁴⁶ The transformation of Mårbacka into a grandiose manor house adds to this image but also her writings; *Gösta Berling's Saga* takes place in a succession of manor houses in the vicinity. The central one, *Ekeby* is based on the manor *Rottneros* not far from Mårbacka. In this tale of architectural disguises the story of the new manor house at Rottneros is fascinating, because it performs a kind of travesty. In 1929 a fire completely destroyed the old house and the new building was not only built to comply with the wishes of the inhabitants but also to resemble the fictive *Ekeby* of Lagerlöf's novel. It was built to meet the public expectations of romantic greatness. The two wings that used to contain offices and storage space, for example, are now the cavaliers' wings, the place where Gösta Berling and the other cavaliers at *Ekeby* lived. In the design process Selma Lagerlöf was even asked for her opinion and she

answered that the manor house should be dignified and impressive.⁴⁷ The distinction between fiction and reality totters. Rottneros is, just like Mårbacka, built on fiction.

The tableau of Svetlana and the cavalière plays on another disguise which resembles travesty – cross-dressing. For a person to cross-dress is to take the attributes and clothes of the non-expected gender. Gender regular clothing reiterates and strengthens the representation of sexual difference. The staged performance of cross-dressing, the drag-show, plays on the distance between mask and actor, but also on the coexistence of diverse gender performances. The meanings invested in the anatomy and the gender performance collide and give us, in Judith Butler’s words, *gender trouble*.⁴⁸

The lyrics of the song “You make me feel like a natural woman” show gender as performance. The singer needs the confirmation of the right person to make her feel like a natural woman. Within the heteronormative realm it is Mr. Right, her heterosexual lover that is addressed, but something else happened here when she sang to a drag king whose performance somehow confirmed her own. In both cases the confirmation can not be taken for granted; the singer’s gender is not stable. Since the “natural” gender can be revealed, by the right person, gender is not the cause, but the *effect*, of an appearance.

The effect of gender presentations is that they feel natural. They produce an illusion of a psychic essence; an inner sex or gender core. Judith Butler remarks that it is always a surface sign that produces this illusion of an inner truth; “it produces on the skin, through the gesture, the move, the gait (that array of corporeal theatrics understood as gender presentation)...”⁴⁹ You do not have to be a king or queen, all gender is drag. Only, the drag

show reveals that gender is drag through parody or ironic enactment. In the drag show the drag king can be more masculine than most men. It plays with the idea of *passing*, passing as straight or passing as a man; simultaneously the show builds on a gap between the enacted masculinity and the anatomy of the drag king. To cross-dress is to question the heterosexual norm that under false pretence of neutrality makes a “natural” connection between femininity, female and woman. It gives us trouble to stick to a narrow binary thinking. In Judith Butler’s words “The parodic repetition of ‘the original’, [...], reveals the original to be nothing other than a parody of the idea of the natural and the original.”⁵⁰ She writes that the drag show parodies the simplistic division in women and men and points to a much more varied idea of gender.⁵¹ In short, cross-dressing is a critical masquerade which plays with gender and possibly carries a strategy for change. Once the certainties of gender dualism have collapsed cross-dressing will be a problematic term to use.⁵²

If we look at the surface signs of architecture then architecture can be understood in a similar way to gender, even *as* gender. Let us think of architecture as drag; Mårbacka is a good setting for this since it is possible to discuss the site in terms of cross-dressing, gendered parody and passing. I will shortly explain what I mean by this. In order to do that, I would like to take you into a clothed theory of architecture where masking and dressing are central terms.

Beau, can you show the slide, please.

Beau switches on the projector and the entire façade of Mårbacka is lit up by the projected light. It takes a little while for the audience to adjust their eyes to the light. The red velvet curtains of the tableau

vivant moves slightly in the night breeze. With a simultaneous pull Best and Beau drop the curtains; they fall onto the staircase of the verandah where the two stage workers assemble and fold the textiles. The building looks whiter than the subtle yellow it has in daylight.

LECTURER: This is the main building at Mårbacka after the transformation in the early nineteen twenties...

Beau inserts the first image and the façade of a red wooden house in one and a half floors is projected across the roughcast wall of the manor.

LECTURER: ...and this is what it looked like before Selma Lagerlöf bought it.

The projected image gets distorted by the reflections in the windows and the verandah; it looks like the red building comes out of the wall. On the left side from gable to entrance door the projection matches the building, it is just slightly lower. To the right or east side, however, they are not equally wide. The projected façade ends seven meters from the gable of Mårbacka today. The lecturer gestures towards the double exposed façades as she talks.

LECTURER: On the exterior, the building was completely transformed from a farm house with red paneling and white moldings – the building in the projection – to an impressive classicist residence in yellow with white and grey ornaments. The building was enlarged in the transformation with a full height second floor, a black steep hipped roof with an attic and extended seven meters eastwards with a few new rooms.⁵³ On the interior, the traditional six partite plan of the ground floor was enlarged with a kitchen and subsidiary spaces.

The main building of Mårbacka was built at the end of the eighteenth century by the priest Wennervik, but the history of the farm goes back into the sixteenth century.⁵⁴ The external appearance, in the projection, was similar to parsonages or modest manors in the area of this time; a red farm house with a couple of detached wings and some outbuildings, stable, barn and smithy, nearby.⁵⁵

In the 1908 transformation Lagerlöf traversed the roof line with a central frontispiece and, on this side, the south side, she added a new entrance verandah with a large balcony above.

Beau switches to the next slide, another red wooden house; taller, but just as wide as the first projection. The windows are larger in this second projection, and the paneling is changed from standing to horizontal boards with a thin white corner instead of the previous log box.⁵⁶ Symmetrically corresponding to the entrance door of present day Mårbacka is a verandah with a flight of five stairs and central door; four simple wooden pillars hold the balcony and a gable motif forms the background. The projection brings out the distortion and the hidden symmetry of the Mårbacka building.

LECTURER: After the 1908 transformation, the exterior was wrapped in horizontal boards associated with the generous summer houses of the time, which was also the way Lagerlöf used it.⁵⁷ Lagerlöf had, a little earlier, bought and rebuilt another house in Falun where she lived and worked.⁵⁸

Lagerlöf was a professional teacher – before she could support herself and her family by her books she worked as a teacher for several years in Karlskrona.⁵⁹ Mårbacka of 1908 with its large windows, gravel court, open and imposing placement in the landscape also

reminds me of the school house pattern built around Sweden since the mid-nineteenth century reforms with elementary schools for all children.⁶⁰

The result of the second transformation is the building we can see today. The 1920s dress of Mårbacka – roughcast painted in light yellow, subdivided and framed at the corners by white pilasters of wood – is not only metaphorically but also materially wrapped around the old timber building.

The history of architecture as dressing is as long as the history of architecture. But I am drawing on the work of nineteenth century German architect Gottfried Semper and his concept of *Bekleidung*, *cladding*.

Harry Mallgrave, architecture historian and translator of Semper's texts into English, suggests that *Bekleidung* should be translated as *dress* in order to emphasize the wall's tapestry origin and its close connection to masking.⁶¹ I ask you to bear this in mind. However, I have chosen to translate it with *cladding*, a term more frequently used in building terminology. I also prefer the term cladding because it evokes happy associations of inexpensive coverings of buildings; such as the roughcast of Mårbacka.⁶²

The lecturer nods to Beau who switches on a new projection; a woven wicker wall. It is projected onto the honeysuckle of the verandah, the stem and leaves of the plant intertwine with the weave of the projection. The photographer has become a bit restless.

PHOTOGRAPHER: It is getting a bit cold; I'll go and look for some blankets.

Beau and Best, in their similar cream white and orange costumes, follow the photographer to the flanking café building.

LECTURER: Do you recall the Turkish cladding at Crystal Palace? In the first lecture I talked briefly about Gottfried Semper and the idea of *Bekleidung*. The world exhibition in Crystal Palace, London, 1851, encouraged this strand in Semper's theoretical endeavor.

Infatuated by the display of a plaited hut from Trinidad, Semper's idea of cladding took form.⁶³ Semper claimed that the origins of textiles and of building were one. According to him weaving was invented as a building technique. Only later was the same method used for making clothes. Branches were plaited to fences to separate animals from humans. This led to the weaving of walls, primarily with leaves and vegetable fibers, later with spun yarn. Patterns were created through the use of differences in the color of the leaves. These intricately woven walls then gave impulses to develop carpets and other textiles.⁶⁴

In this context I will leave the argument about origin aside. What makes Semper's thesis significant is his reversal of the hierarchy where cladding normally is subordinated to structure.⁶⁵ Semper does not explicitly write about cladding in terms of gender, but the structure/cladding pair is highly marked by gender.⁶⁶ For example, the surface art of ornaments has been gendered feminine while the construction of the building carries masculine potency. In the everyday language today the surface is often understood as lacking depth or significance – in an over-simplified, binary way of thinking it serves an aesthetic rather than a functional purpose. Structure is given prominence at the expense of surface, despite our constant confrontation with appearance. Architect Jennifer Bloomer has pointed out that the important endeavor is not to privilege the one over the other,

but to try to understand the mechanisms that privilege structure to ornament, and further to identify how this, in western architectural history, has acquired an uncritical relation to the pair masculine/feminine.

Semper argued that structure is there within the wall, but the importance of the wall is the visible “spatial enclosure.”⁶⁷ He emphasized that the visible and covering aspects of cladding accounted for its importance. Semper argued that masking was the highest mark of excellence. This is another reversal and connected to our discussion about theatricality, truth and appearance.⁶⁸ Mårbacka has many different masks and exists in layer upon layer which are matted together to form a remarkable and dissonant architecture. But there is no original Mårbacka. There is no naked truth behind the mask, there is only another appearance.

I find the theory of *Bekleidung* useful but I would like to prefix cladding with the little word *cross-* to highlight the gendered and masquerading aspects of architectural dressing. If we highlight the gendered aspects of dressing we can think about architectural cross-dressing; or *cross-cladding* to tie it to the materiality of buildings.⁶⁹ First of all cross-cladding means that gender is involved, in a much more apparent way than when we use the word dressing. For the time being, I will talk about the exterior appearances of buildings; later we shall move inside.

In style, the nineteen twenties coat of Mårbacka has been described as a paraphrase of the Karolin manor house of the late seventeenth century, an austere baroque brought to Sweden by the first professional architects of the country; father and son Simon and Jean De la Vallée as well as father and son Tessin, both named Nicodemus. The architect that had the main responsi-

bility for the transformation of Mårbacka, Isak Gustaf Clason, was according to architecture historians Henrik O Andersson and Fredric Bedoire inspired by the architecture of Tessins and De la Vallées when at the turn of the twentieth century he led the development of a national Swedish Neo-Baroque.⁷⁰

SALLY: It seems like he was inspired on a private level as well.

I mean, it must have been satisfying for the master architect that the son followed the predetermined path to become the next generation architect Gustaf Clason.

LECTURER: Possibly. When Mårbacka was transformed in the nineteen twenties it received a Karolingian manorial roof – in Swedish called *säteritak*. The Karolin manor house was shaped by symmetry both in exterior, with strict façades partitioned by pilasters, and in the sexpartite plan of the interior. The Karolin manor house was a timber building sometimes with wood paneling or plastered and painted so as to look like stone houses.

The name *Karolin* relates to an era under the reign of the Swedish kings that followed King Kristina; Karl X Gustav, Karl XI and Karl XII (1654-1718); a soldier in their army was a *Karolin*.⁷¹ This was during Sweden’s period as a great power involved in many wars.⁷² Andersson and Bedoire suggest that the harshness of the aristocratic life in Sweden of the great power epoch becomes obvious in the coarse masonry and detailing of the Karolingian buildings.⁷³ The style represents masculinity and military achievements.

Cross-cladding is a term I have invented to combine the *cross-dressing* of queer theory with the *cladding* of architecture theory. The term links the theatrical performance of gender and sexuality with the masking and dressing of architecture. Some architecture represents and mate-

rializes in the physical form of a gendered disguise; for instance the masculine Karolingian style. The particular roof is the emblem of the Karolin manor architecture.

The lecturer walks across the gravel to the lawn and directs the projector towards the roof. Beau and Best come back with piles of fleece plaids in shades of green that they distribute to everyone. Then they disappear again.

BEST: Did you hear that the woman in the café asked me if we were boys or girls?

BEAU: It's the broad shoulders. Do you think she saw us kiss?

BEST: No, she couldn't have seen that.

The spectators wrap themselves, some share the same plaid, and the crowd becomes one mass camouflage.

LECTURER: The roof of Mårbacka is a hipped saddle roof divided in two slopes with a raised middle section. The slope of the lower roof is slightly concave.

SALLY: Hipped?

LECTURER: It means that the sides of the roof are chamfered diagonally. It might be because it resembles a skirt cut to mark the hips. I guess you also can compare the vertical intermediary of Mårbacka's roof to a kind of waist, well, there's something skirt-like about the manor roof. The horizontal divisions and the window cowls become a continuous cover because it is clad in the same color; both tiles and the plated details are painted black.

This Karolingian manor roof, sometimes with a straight lower slope, was typical for palatial and manorial Swedish architecture of the period from 1670 to

1730. An early example, with an extravagant voluminously curved lower slope, is the roof on *Riddarhuset*, the House of the Nobility in Stockholm, designed by Jean De la Vallée in 1656.⁷⁴ It has the curve of a crinoline.

Architecture historians have called this style with the distinct roof, the *säteritak*, a “genuinely Swedish” manor style.⁷⁵ Buildings are, like other cultural artifacts, often ascribed with national characteristics. What makes the claim dubious is the claim of the genuine. The idea of the genuine creates deviance and inferiority in relation to a normative “core” of Swedish-ness and works to rule out influences and exclude other appearances.⁷⁶ The Karolingian manorial roofs are, according to Andersson and Bedoire, a Swedish synthesis of Italian, French and Dutch elements.⁷⁷ Nicodemus Tessin the younger was sent to Rome in 1673, and with King Kristina as an intermediary, he became the student of Bernini and Fontana.⁷⁸ In Tessin the younger's design for Steninge manor in 1681 the lanterned roofs of the Italian pattern were developed into the strict Karolinian manorial roofs.⁷⁹ In Italy these roofs might be described as “genuinely” Italian, in the Netherlands as “genuinely” Dutch. Just like the masculine expression of the Karolingian architecture the expression of nationality has no essential grounds but vary in time and context.

The lecturer fumbles with the projector and manages to insert a picture of Steninge, but the etching has fallen out of focus since the projector has been moved around. The photographer, Beau and Best return hands full; they carry thermoses with tea, nesting paper jugs and a tray of ‘Catalans’, a sweet pastry with rose-colored topping. While the lecturer helps Best and Beau to fill the cups and offer them to the spectators, the photographer arranges the projection

and a small, but sharp, etching of Steninge manor can be seen on the windowless roughcast of the upper left corner of Mårbacka; the two buildings are easily compared.

LECTURER: Well, the point I want to make is that Steninge was closely studied and modernized by Isak Gustaf Clason in 1908-9.⁸⁰ The kind of manor house Clason designed at Mårbacka was a well established symbol of power in the social and historical context of Selma Lagerlöf. Mårbacka borrows some of the splendor of “high” architecture, the palaces that were inscribed in art history, but can also be compared to the villa architecture of the nineteen twenties.⁸¹ Clason’s drew three alternative proposals for Mårbacka, all relating to the Karolinian Neo-Baroque. Two of them are dressed in red wood paneling, but Lagerlöf chose the plaster clad alternative – the most grandiose outfit.⁸² In a presentation from the nineteen thirties Mårbacka is referred to as “the most famous manor in Sweden and of Swedish manors the most famous in the world” as if it had outshined its predecessors.⁸³ The new look of Mårbacka reiterates the masculine gendered manor house. Patriarchal power is inscribed in the manor with social differences marked by class and gender and the heads of those classic houses were men.⁸⁴ The Swedish term for manor, *herrgård* is marked by gender; a direct translation would be the master’s country estate.⁸⁵

THE WOMAN WITH THE DOG (*adds approvingly*): Clason meant that the topography and the size of the farm justified a “manor house”. It shouldn’t be too small.⁸⁶

LECTURER: The master’s house is embedded with masculine connotations of authority but also credibility. Lagerlöf had to be careful with her private life. Homosexuality

was criminalized in Sweden until 1944, and deemed pathological until 1979.

Yes, Tabelle?

Tabelle is waving her hand energetically.

TABELLE (*takes off*): The law of 1864 chapter 18, paragraph 10 stated that anyone who with another person practices fornication “that is against nature” should be convicted to maximum two years’ hard labor. In the same sentence the law also regulated sexual intercourse with animals.⁸⁷ Those “crimes” were considered comparable. What is more, unlike the regulations in England and Germany, the Swedish prohibition against homosexual acts also concerned women.⁸⁸

LECTURER: That’s right. In legal use the Swedish law mainly hit men, nevertheless the value system of society also affected women who desired women. What is so interesting is how surprisingly overt Lagerlöf’s queer lifestyle is staged within this architecture. Her lifestyle passes in the midst of normative society partly because of the choice of container. It is beyond doubt that this is a real manor house simultaneously there is something queer about the place. A contemporary (1923) critique “found something superciliously but simultaneously askew in the design.”⁸⁹ That dissonance in the design has a parallel in how non-heterosexuals are described as deviant. The term cross-cladding not only emphasizes gender in architecture, it also highlights the involvement of sexuality in the display of architecture.

The expectations of a more local and everyday architecture was not met by Lagerlöf who favored a representational “power suit”. Over the years when the main

building at Mårbacka is described there is a repeated discomfort with the look of the building. For instance, literature historian Vivi Edström takes up the subject in her recent biography (2002) on Lagerlöf. Edström claims that she never gets beyond her surprise when this strangely misplaced house suddenly appears by the side of the road, and in a landscape that has so many beautiful, comparatively humble farms and manor houses.⁹⁰ Mårbacka is too bold to pass as a proper alternative to the given style of the landscape and context. The building is an exaggerated performance which acts like a drag king, by exaggerating the masculine character. Mårbacka is too much; it is a classic manor house but with provocative pretensions. This cross-cladding is behind the repeated uneasiness in remarks on the new Mårbacka. The suit does not fit. It displays the distance between the chosen cladding and the expectations of a woman like Lagerlöf.⁹¹ Lagerlöf wrote about the criticism in a letter to thank the senior architect Clason.

Indeed I get to hear, and maybe the professor does as well, that it was harsh and irreverent to make Mårbacka a comfortable and habitable house. We should naturally have done something like the manor of Geijer, which is certainly very interesting and funny, but where no one can live. It can never be anything else than a museum. It is for sure something entirely different with Mårbacka, which shall be a home for people.⁹²

One of the women, on a closer look she resembles Valborg Olander, whispers to the other:

“Ugh, those horrible men! To even dare think about butting in and criticizing your sanctuary, your hard-earned own personal home! It is upsetting! I’m sure you still treated them like an angel.”⁹³

LECTURER: Even during the process of building, Selma Lagerlöf was well aware that her project might provoke disapproval. In her book *Mårbacka* from 1922, written during the process of rebuilding, she recounts childhood memories of the farm and she casts her father as the originator of the idea to transform Mårbacka. However that this motive for transformation cannot be traced in any correspondence or documents around the rebuilding as shown by Elisabeth Backman-Broomé. In her essay about the rebuilding she quotes a letter from Valborg Olander who (mockingly?) praises Lagerlöf for giving her father the lead role in the transformation of Mårbacka.⁹⁴ It is as if Lagerlöf fronts her father to create a heterosexual apron to protect her, the unmarried, queer daughter, from accusations of arrogance and from the interference of other men.⁹⁵

Thirdly, and maybe the most intriguing with the idea of cross-cladding, is that it involves a kind of masquerade and an approach to destabilize given orders from within. That is; a possible strategy to displace the gender norms that buildings repeat. Judith Butler argues that the subversive acts have to be performed within the practices that construct them. She insists that it is not an option to try to establish a viewpoint outside our own cultural location, for, I quote Judith Butler, “the ‘I’ that might enter is always already inside.” She continues “The task is not whether to repeat, but how to repeat and, through a radical proliferation of gender, to *displace* the very gender norms that enable the repetition itself.”⁹⁶ Cross-cladding can help us to think radical proliferation of gender in architecture and to examine the displacements that can happen through acts of building. Cross-cladding as a perspective on architecture functions in response to, and possibly distorts,

expectations and given truths. It operates as an analytical tool for the queer critique of the normative interpretation of buildings in relation to gender and sexuality.

To further explain the idea of cross-cladding I will show you the blonde ambitions of *The Woman's Building* which was an exhibition hall at *The World's Columbian Exposition* in Chicago, 1893.⁹⁷ Bring out the next image, please.

A large watercolor of a neoclassical building – The Woman's Building – is projected across the façade of Mårbacka. Tabella takes a few steps back to study the entirety of the front façade. The Woman's Building with its stage like portico is slightly reduced so the main entrance of each building match, only the fifth pair of columns of Mårbacka's verandah looks out of place. Because Mårbacka is smaller, not as wide, the building in the projection is trimmed at the sides. The lecturer walks up to the portico and enters the projection. Where she stands on the stairs in front of the columns, she becomes part of the representation of the Woman's Building. Since she is out of scale in relation to the projected building she looks gigantic.

LECTURER: *The Woman's Building* designed by architect Sophia Hayden was a fair within the fair that exhibited the work and achievements of women – a much debated manifestation of the women's rights movement.⁹⁸ At first sight, the Woman's Building looks like all the buildings of the *White City*, which was the nickname of the Chicago fair. Hayden dressed it in the requested white 'Italian renaissance' that had been chosen as a design code for the representative part of the world exhibition: the park.⁹⁹ Behind the Woman's Building was the other part of the exhibition, the *Midway Plaisance* a strip of amusement and exotica which housed the multicolored trade of modern entertainment.¹⁰⁰

The Woman's Building was, like the majority of the buildings in the White City, made out of an iron and wood structure with a plaster cladding. The cladding, called *staff*, was a mixture of plaster, cement and fiber – a technique that had been introduced in the Paris Exposition of 1878. The point was that staff could be cast into the desired shape, in this case neoclassical façades, without attention to the structure of the building. This cladding had a beige color so a second coat of paint was sprayed on top to receive the desired whiteness.¹⁰¹

Contemporary criticism carefully described the femininity of the Woman's Building. The building was described in Harper's Bazaar of July 1893 (*The lecturer reads aloud from her notebook*):

It has the characteristics of strength but yet lacks aggressiveness. There is nothing bold or uneven about it, and yet it has a charm and attractiveness that belong only to women.

But it was also considered a surprise that “the female sex, known for its appreciation for the ornate, created one of the plainest buildings in the park.”¹⁰² There seems to be a conflict between the expected femininity of the Women's Building and its lack of extravaganza. Both the nervous reassurances that the building did ascribe to the expectations of femininity and the critiques of its unfeminine plainness construct the gender performance of the building; the drag of the Women's Building. Remember the song (*She sings*): “You make me feel like a natural woman.” The “natural” difference that marks women and the work of women as deviant comes through as a normative interpretation.

That architecture involves gender and the idea of cross-cladding becomes even more apparent in another example of an architecture that exhibits itself. Architecture theorist Despina Stratigakos has brought out another women's building the *Haus der Frau* – the female Werkbund member's pavilion at the 1914 German Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne designed by architect Margarete Knüppelholz-Roeser. I will pass around some images of it.

The lecturer walks up to Julian who sits on the front row and hands over a journal, The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, December 2003, which is marked and opened on page 501.¹⁰³ To see better Julian holds it up to the light of the projector.

Stratigakos describes the strong reactions to its unfeminine appearance:

shorn of almost all ornament and color, the exterior emerged as a series of bold, rectilinear masses. Although pleasing from the point of view of modernist aesthetics, which advocated honest structure and “naked” form – values explicitly gendered as masculine – the apparent lack of feminine “touches,” such as decorative flourishes and cozy spaces, led both supporters and critics to view the pavilion as distinctly masculine in tone.¹⁰⁴

The gender presentations of the Woman's Building and the Haus der Frau deviated from the expectations of femininity in their respective times and contexts. Apart from the program there is little resemblance between the two female exhibition halls. There is no essential

feminine formal expression but the stability of the normative gender system is performed by changing forms. If the system was static, it would not last.

Gender dualism and the expected link between femininity and women are part of the heterosexual matrix. As I said earlier the term cross-cladding highlights the involvement of sexuality in the display of architecture. The critique was not only harsh about the lack of femininity of the Haus der Frau but this was also connected to degenerate manliness amongst women. By the time of its display manly women and other deviants had become pathologies defined by sexologists. Stratigakos writes that “One particularly harsh reviewer accused the Haus der Frau of performing a sort of architectural drag, donning a false identity and “playing the muscleman.”¹⁰⁵ It seems like the gender performance of the building deviated too much from heteronormative expectations. If the Haus der Frau according to contemporary interpretations went too far towards the masculine, The Woman's Building in Chicago stayed closer to the expected femininity of its time.

While the lecturer talks Best pulls out a hipflask from a chest pocket and offers the tea drinkers a dash of Negrita, dark rum, in their tea. The couple of women with the collie consent gladly. Another person in the audience discreetly asks them to be quiet.

LECTURER: In plan and program The Woman's Building questioned the conflict of the site and tried to overcome the separation of the midway and the park. The long façades of the rectangular building, facing east and the west, had the same symmetrical design, the one you see here in the projection, with a central stage-like entrance

flanked by loggias and protruding corner elements. The east façade fronted the lagoon in the park while the west confronted the Midway; there is nothing in the building design that privileges the one over the other.¹⁰⁶

The building had four stage-like entrances, one in each cardinal point, which opened up to a rotunda. Visitors could pass from one part of the Fair to the other through the rotunda. The building can be seen as a play that allows for movement within a bounded space, transgressing the dichotomy of the fairground layout. In these ways the material architecture of the building subverted the sanctioned position of women.

JULIAN: But isn't this just ascribing the sanctioned role of women as mediators and caretakers? I have read an interesting essay by Jessica Blaustein, who has studied the rhetoric and the documentation of the buildings at the World's Columbian Exposition. She reveals how strikingly central the spatial discourse of femininity was to the World's Columbian Exposition, which she calls a white heterosexual nationalist project.¹⁰⁷

She suggests that the "White City", can be understood as a model home, a national domestic space built by a self-declared family of man.¹⁰⁸ In this view, the site for the Woman's Building, on the threshold between the civilized and the wild, and its inclusion among the representative buildings in the park displays the expected position of women in the heterosexual family. They fit so well they can even make architecture out of it...

LECTURER: Yes, you are right. Isn't that essay great! It is wonderfully revealing about the construction of heterosexual middle class femininity in the practice of building. I also appreciate the way Blaustein displays the discourse of home in the middle of the public sphere, and

not as a private alternative; it definitely has a parallel in the queer perspective.

My point is that we don't have to stop our interpretations there, because it is impossible to stand outside the repetitious practices of signification. But the gaze of domination contains intimations of resistance and transgression of oppressive orders – the possibilities are found in the excess meanings.

In style The Woman's Building completely affirmed the white classicist design code, set forth by the entirely male board for the World Exhibition. In terms of cross-cladding it used a kind of masculine gendered "power suit" to show that civilized women were just as good as civilized men. Simultaneously, in plan and program, it performed the feminine role of mediator and caretaker; a complement to the masculine norm. Through the white outfit the Woman's Building articulated its participation as an official building among equals in the park.

But, as we have already touched upon, this is precisely where the next critique begins. Because who holds the position in which it is at all possible to put on the dress of power?

In the book *White* Richard Dyer discusses the mix-up of meanings between the hue white, the skin-color white and the symbolic meaning of white. The white stands for the pure and clean. Things are white before they get dirty. The white skin is not of the hue white but is still called white, which connects white people with purity and cleanliness.¹⁰⁹ The white building is a building of clarity and power, but also a symbol of the domination of the white man; it is not pure and innocent.¹¹⁰ (There are white Presidents in the White House.¹¹¹)

The board for the Columbian Exposition was not

only male but also entirely “white.” The 1893 pamphlet by anti-racism activists Ida B Wells, F.L. Barnett and Frederick Douglass ‘The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in The World’s Columbian Exposition’ give evidence to the erasure of African-Americans by the normative whiteness of the United States.¹¹² Toni Morrison has written about the non-existence of African-Americans in the culture of the United States. She underscores how ignorance is reproduced actively and must not be understood as something passive. Performativity theory states the huge difference in the understanding of something *being* invisible or *produced* as invisible. Even if it is reproduced again and again it is not innocent nor without history.¹¹³

The cladding of the Woman’s Building legitimized the women’s rights movement, but simultaneously it re-affirmed white civilization. It played its part in the reproduction of the invisibility of “blackness”. The singular *woman* in the name of the building was white and heterosexual.¹¹⁴

Let’s return to Mårbacka. Beau, give me some light, please.

The projection is whitened out and Mårbacka lies before them again, lit up by the light of the projector.

LECTURER: Mårbacka relates more to the classicist architecture of the Woman’s Building than to the modernist style of the Haus der Frau. Just like the Woman’s building which was considered fairly feminine but simultaneously put on the suit of patriarchal power, Mårbacka reiterates a historic style with patriarchal connotations of power. Mårbacka can not be regarded merely as an

“innocent” surface for projections since it simultaneously reiterates the story of a Swedish upper class patriarchy. The cross-dressing disguise is a kind of repetition that produces both deliberate and unforeseen excesses of meanings; the visually attractive traits of disguises, the theatrical, the decorative or the exaggerated, intermingle with the obscuring drifts to merge, imitate or camouflage. Therefore I think the norm can be challenged through the disguise.

Take a look at the columns of the verandah, or the *portico* as Clason senior calls it. Unlike the other ornaments of the Mårbacka house that are constructed of inexpensive wood and plaster these columns are of limestone from Ignaberg.¹¹⁵ They are costly elements which serve to hold the balcony but foremost they are decorative. The materiality of these columns disguises the fact that the building is a wooden structure dressed to look like a stone house. The architect Isak Gustaf Clason promoted “genuine” materials but had to negotiate with the economy and taste of the client. Valborg Olander suggested making the columns from wood to cut the costs.

While gently stroking the head of the collie one of the women says: “They would surely seem as thick and round as their stone equivalents.”¹¹⁶

LECTURER: Lagerlöf finally decided she could afford the limestone and the architects were satisfied.¹¹⁷

What are the materials that are not genuine? Foreign, fake or feminine? Isn’t it ironic that the use of plaster cladding to resemble stone is part of the discourse of the “genuine” Swedish architecture?

Clason's use of the Karolingian model is part of the national romantic tendencies in early twentieth century architecture and design, based on the use of "genuine" materials and with allusions to the nation's heroic past.¹¹⁸ At the turn of the twentieth century, the style represented masculinity and military achievements, and gave an air of historic continuity to the newly rich patrons of the middle class that did not have an ancestral history to lean on.¹¹⁹ But we should be aware that since the nineteenth thirties Karl XII, the last of the Karolin kings, has been associated with the Swedish Nazis. Historiographer Ulf Zander describes how ultra nationalism became associated with strong manly men and in Sweden at the turn of the twentieth century Karl XII became the emblem for a stern manliness. The image gained strength by dichotomizing the other, the feminized men, the "weak sex" or manly women such as King Kristina. According to Zander this version of nationalism received some criticism at the time and after the Second World War Karl XII became unworkable as a national symbol.¹²⁰

The lecturer turns a page in her notebook.

LECTURER: It is telling how both the Clason architects and the client Lagerlöf wanted to manifest Lagerlöf – the world renowned writer (the institution) – in the re-building of Mårbacka. Their aim was a backdrop and a stage befitting one of the world's foremost authors. It was going to be a home not a museum, but a home on public display. Lagerlöf awaited large groups of journalists from many parts of the world even before the rebuilding was finished. In June 1923 Lagerlöf writes to Gustaf Clason, "My dearest architect":

The building is now looking more pleasant every day. But there are also so many tourists here, so this is necessary. Next week thirty or forty journalists will come from all corners of the world.¹²¹

And, as I said, Clason the elder believed that "the eyes of the whole world - yes, the world of posterity - would surely come to examine this work."¹²² In 1923 Gustaf Clason junior writes that he has seen the exteriors of the building at the cinema: "certainly rather impressive".¹²³ The two words *tableau vivant* describe Mårbacka well; it is a living image, that serves the double purpose of home and display of a well known character.

But apart from this, they also had their separate, disguised, agendas. Isak Gustaf Clason manifested his architectural principles and pushed the project towards his ideal style for a detached building in the countryside. Lagerlöf made a practical and queer feminist contribution – not that she would have used those words, they are analytical lenses for our time and context. Lagerlöf's agenda was practical and subversive. She exploited the public gaze to create a fantastic space where the different layers of the built Mårbacka and the stories about it merge to a performance; a performance in which the distinction between fiction and reality disappears. It is a tableau vivant that creates a reality; a performative staging of Selma Lagerlöf and her life. The building should both disguise and enable her queer life; what is more she also planted clues for the queer eye.

JULIAN: Do you really mean she did that deliberately?

LECTURER: Well, it is possible. I really get that feeling when I study Mårbacka. Selma Lagerlöf seems to have been such a cunning and intelligent person, and she put a lot

of effort into her public image. I think she posted signs for other women that desire women and that she imagined a future when lesbian relations would not have to hide away; in many ways she feels very contemporary. However, deliberate or not, Mårbacka is a performative staging of Selma Lagerlöf that drips of queer excess. In the interior I will show you some pretty overt queer leakages.

I can point out two queer themes in the exterior; the reference in style and the deviance from symmetry. These themes are interconnected and tied to representative expectations.

A discreetly dressed person with a Mårbacka pin on the chest, Hartman – a visitors' guide at Mårbacka – steps from the house. He passes the lecturer and positions himself at the right side of the audience partly obstructing the view of the façade.

HARTMAN: Please go ahead, I do not wish to disturb you.

LECTURER: Ok, we will soon be ready to come in. The Clason architects struggled with the asymmetry of the building. Because the building was only extended on one side, towards the east, the main entrance that remained in its old place no longer sits in the middle of the façade. The Carolingian model was strictly symmetrical. It is obvious in the letters that the architects as well as Lagerlöf were concerned by the lack of symmetry. In all drawings for the exterior Isak Gustaf Clason and the son hid the disturbing lack of symmetry with abundant trees.¹²⁴ Olander tried to comfort Lagerlöf and claimed that the façade can be done according to the drawing since one rarely stands with an unobstructed view at any distance.¹²⁵

The solution – an elongated verandah with a fifth pair of columns which masks the asymmetry – was

tough for the architect; the columns do not appear until the final working drawings; and then only on a façade drawing.¹²⁶ It was against all rules of architectonic harmony, embedded in the architect's profession, to use *five* instead of *four* vertical supports. This means that a central column stands where there, in classicist architecture, should be a gap. Possibly, the architect found some comfort in designing coupled columns, thus resulting in the even number *ten* and not the uneven *five*. In the drawings for the realized project, a fourth alternative which was developed from the first proposals, the fifth pair of columns, is still absent on the plan.

It is ironic that in these dissonant columns a great effort was made to use real stone, as if the material would override the impropriety of the five coupled columns. Lagerlöf was very content with the five pairs of columns; she cunningly enjoyed how spectacular they were. She wrote to Olander:

Now the house at Mårbacka is truly grand. A portico with five pairs of columns greets the eye of the visitor. There is simply nothing like it in this part of the country! Believe me, it is a sight worth seeing. Now we put the pilasters on the wall and moldings underneath the roof, then comes the kitchen veranda and then the revetment. After that the outside is complete.¹²⁷

HARTMAN : Yes, the building is a real showpiece! Grandiose and flashy. She knew how to promote herself. Did you know that she dashed along the roads in the most luxurious car of the county with Nils Holgerson and the goose Akka as a grill ornament?

LECTURER: No, I didn't.

HARTMAN: Yes, we have it on display inside!

LECTURER: The power suit of the transformed Mårbacka can be understood as a masquerading disguise; not only does it manifest Lagerlöf's importance as one of Sweden's most read and known authors but it also tells the story of someone who diverged from the norms of society.

HARTMAN: Lagerlöf is so contradictory; sometimes she seems so conservative and simultaneously she throws out old traditions.

LECTURER: Mårbacka is contradictory; it feeds on the historic but transforms it into something new. This can also be a way to understand cross-cladding; to contradict an established form. It is a brave project, similar to Elsie de Wolfe's vision in *The House in Good Taste* "We shall all be very much happier when we learn to transform the things we have into a semblance of our ideal."¹²⁸ De Wolfe argued that we should build upon what we already have, keep the old furniture that we like and order, or adorn, them differently. And, she used the same argument for the rebuilding of entire houses.

It is time to step inside. To give you an orientation I will just quickly walk you through the plans. On the ground floor there are the kitchen, the pantry, the maids' room, the hall, the dining room and the grand salon. There are two stairs between ground and first floor. The central stairs lead all the way to the second – attic – floor where the wooden spindle ends in a beautiful carved curtain. The secondary stairs, in the south west corner of the building, were probably constructed in the fifties to simplify emergency exits and the circulation of guided tours.¹²⁹ On the upper floor there is

Selma Lagerlöf's bedroom, the Sophie Elkan salon, the library-study, the upper hall, the study and bed room of Ellen Lundgren and the bedroom of Valborg Olander. In the attic floor there are cozy rooms with eagerly flowered wallpaper and slanted ceilings which Lagerlöf bequeathed her relatives.

And while the group enters the verandah two persons – the performers we know as Svetlana and Natalie Barney – sneak out the kitchen door on the right gable, whistle, and the black horse that has been grazing calmly since the cavalière left listens up and dashes over. They climb on the horse and gallop away across the fields followed by the morning sun which rises from the forest.

The group enters the hall, which is painted in a mild, grey-brown tone with dark-brown borders. The guide, Hartman, begins his talk.

HARTMAN: Already here in the entrance we get a reminder of Selma Lagerlöf's most famous oeuvre. On the shelf stands a wild goose of the kind that carried Nils Holgersson on his tour of Sweden. It was a gift from Scanian schoolchildren.¹³⁰ One hundred years ago, 1906, *Nils Holgerssons underbara resa genom Sverige (The wonderful adventures of Nils)*, was published. It became the most read and known of Selma Lagerlöf's books, in Sweden and abroad – the book is translated to sixty different languages.¹³¹

BEST: Where is that grill ornament you talked about?

HARTMAN: Patience, young man, I'll show you, it is in the next room.

This hall was not only a passage, but Selma Lagerlöf often received guests here, and in the evenings this was where the people assembled in front of the radio. This easy-chair, close to the radio, was Selma Lager-

löp's special favorite. She liked to sit in it when receiving private guests.¹³²

*The two women with the dog stay in the background, but inspect the space with an air of recognition. The first whispers to the other: "I thought that the old vestibule, freed from the staircase and the water closet would become a quite nice room, even if it is called a hall, so I got an agreeable sitting room and living room, so needed on the lower floor in wintertime especially, when the grand salon was too big and cold."*¹³³

HARTMAN: The guest book too, was here in the hall, and now there is a new one for all the new-comers who are eager to see her home.¹³⁴ Mårbacka society was formed in conformity with Selma Lagerlöf's last will and the memorial home opened to visitors June 21, 1942. Since then we have had more than two million visitors. Lagerlöf arranged the setting and everything has been left untouched as if she is only gone for the day.¹³⁵

The lecturer raises an eyebrow at this statement, but holds back any protest.

HARTMAN: Following Selma Lagerlöf's great hospitality – on behalf of the Mårbacka foundation, welcome!

Let us now proceed on our tour. On the wall above there is a landscape painting of the countryside around Falun by Anselm Schultzberg. It is a gift from some of Selma Lagerlöf's friends in Falun on the occasion of her 50th birthday. Before we leave the hall, an art work of another kind must be mentioned, namely one of Swedish arts and crafts' most outstanding textiles, this cushion, worked in an emblematic Scanian technique, which adorns the bench by the wall. It

is a token of friendship from Baroness Henriette Coyet of Torup. The furniture, painted white, is unassuming.¹³⁶

Sally studies the landscape painting, the memorial brass plate underneath and nudges the photographer in the side.

SALLY: Look... "To Doctor Selma Lagerlöf on her 50th birthday from admireses. Falun the 20/11 1908."¹³⁷ A bit stronger than "friends", don't you think?

PHOTOGRAPHER: I wonder about the lesbian scene in Falun at that time...

The photographer smiles and takes a photo of the brass plate while Hartman, the guide, leads the group into the salon. The white tulle curtains by the six windows gracefully embrace the interior, which glitters in the morning sun. The gilded frames of the three grand mirrors and the many portraits shimmer. The walls are painted in light grey with a border in lilac and are divided by decorative pilasters displaying the ornament against a blue background. Hartman steps over the rope that separates the salon from the visitors and slips slightly on the polished herringbone parquet when turning towards the group.

HARTMAN: In this beautifully decorated salon the official guests were received. Here is the grill ornament of the goose Akka; Nils Holgerson sits on her back.

Hartman splays his ring adorned hand behind a small bronze statuette on a sideboard underneath a gilded mirror along the north wall. Best tries to come nearer to see better but is stopped by Hartman with a demonstrative gesture when she tries to cross the rope.

HARTMAN: It was executed by Olga Lanmer. This large

drawing room has been formed by combining the bedroom of the old Mårbacka home with its best parlor. The ancestral home, consequently, is embedded in the new home in accordance with the plan of professor Isak Gustaf Clason 1921-23. In more intimate hours you could hear Selma Lagerlöf playing the piano here.¹³⁸

TABELLE: Well, excuse me, to be more precise, Lagerlöf had made this into the grand salon in the transformation of 1908. And the preparations for the second transformation actually started already in 1919. The first plans were drawn upon Isak Gustaf Clason's visit to Mårbacka in September that year. And furthermore in April 1921 he hands over the project to his son Gustaf to carry out the working drawings and details of the addition.¹³⁹

LECTURER: Yes, you are right, Clason junior did most of the actual work on Mårbacka, however he worked for his father's architectural office. Our tradition is to ascribe buildings to the head of the office, which is problematic; it does not tell us who did the job and it hides the reality that architecture is rarely a one-man show.¹⁴⁰ Most literature on Mårbacka does however mention that both father and son worked on the drawings.

In the essay *Isak Gustaf Clasons ombyggnad av Selma Lagerlöfs Mårbacka* Elisabeth Backman Broomé discusses the question of authorship of the Mårbacka renovation, but refrains to ask if the single signature is accurate at all. She concludes that the Mårbacka transformation was mostly an expression of Isak Gustaf Clason's architectural vision, but also admits the influences of his son Gustaf Clason, Selma Lagerlöf and Valborg Olander. She questions the reason behind Olander's support of the building process "maybe there was a certain amount of self-interest behind it"¹⁴¹ since Olander was supposed to live at

the new Mårbacka. Backman Broomé's heteronormative analysis misses the obvious, that it is fairly common that two lovers like to share a home. The "self-interest" was a family, or kinship, interest. Even in texts concerning Lagerlöf where her relations to women are present, the implications this might have on the analysis are neglected because of heteronormative blindness.¹⁴² One important reason for the transformation of Mårbacka was to make it possible for Lagerlöf and Olander to share a home.¹⁴³

Valborg Olander was called the *secretary*. The term masked their relationship and passed it off as conventional. That a successful *author* like Lagerlöf needed her secretary at all times was of course understandable. The amount of correspondence the author received from all over the world and the way she and her secretary conscientiously answered everything is repeatedly put forward. It is remarkable how well "secretary" works as a disguise for their love, when considering the common heterosexual cliché in which the secretary is always suspected of having an affair with her male employer. The gendered roles play on heteronormative denial.

HARTMAN: Well, I am glad we have all that cleared up. I will continue.

Hartman looks around and the sofa along the west wall catches his attention.

HARTMAN: The sofa is four meters long and was formerly in the home of Anders Fryxell in Sunne. The armchairs in *Louis seize*, in Sweden called Gustavian style, with their clusters of grapes, also come from a Sunne home, the Noreen home. Those few early eighteenth century chairs, with high back trellis work, belonged to the old

Mårbacka. So did the guilt mirror on the wall to the north behind Selma Lagerlöf's bust. The bust was executed by Hedda Grönquist in the year 1924. The rest of the furniture, with the lyre design on the backs of the chairs and the arm supports of the stools, were ordered by Lagerlöf from the Association for Domestic Crafts in the province of Södra Kalmar. The oval mahogany table of the drawing-room underneath the fine chandelier in Empire style, is covered with choice volumes which are mostly dedication copies.

In that corner of the room is a clever imitation of an old bureau,¹⁴⁴

SALLY: Ah, how kitsch!

HARTMAN: ...and the Blüthner grand-piano has its place at the northern wall.¹⁴⁵

TABELLE: She inherited the piano from Sophie Elkan.¹⁴⁶

The unrecognized couple, Selma Lagerlöf and Valborg Olander, follows the group in the background. Heads close together Lagerlöf murmurs to Olander: "Unfortunately the pianist is as bad on the new instrument as on the old."¹⁴⁷

HARTMAN: An oil painting of Selma Lagerlöf in her later years, painted by Hanna Pauli, is on an easel in front of the grand-piano.

The beautiful 18th century stove at the eastern wall is decorated with a bird and flower design in mauve and gold and to its right there is some exquisite and interesting furniture, one, a graceful bureau in rococo style with inlaid work representing hunting scenes.¹⁴⁸

LECTURER: As you understand from our guide's story there is a collection of things, styles and fashions here. Furniture ordered for the grand salon is mixed with bargains

from auctions and inherited things. There is a queer mixture, reproductions next to originals, which has very little to do with the fashions of contemporary design in the early twentieth century or history of style. The interior is filled with details, where fine art is next to tourist souvenirs. It is a collection of associations among people, memories and stories. We can compare it to Natalie Barney's furniture collection, only she had inherited most of her things. The collection here in the Mårbacka grand salon recalls the accumulation in manors with a long history that are lived in for generations, but in fact it is put together by Lagerlöf.

Simultaneously there is something askew, it is lived in, but looks so much like a display. It is tempting to suspect that the room has been altered significantly to become a museum. But, apart from the rope and runner familiar from other museums, most of it was composed during Lagerlöf's time. Compared to photographs from when it was a home, it is strikingly similar. This staged space was used by Lagerlöf as a setting for interviews and social events which could be drawn on for publicity, whereas the library upstairs was used to display the author alone at her working desk. The rooms are connected to the idea of the tableau vivant, since they involve a deliberate setting for a staged performance. I think the guided tours of today play well into the setting, the rooms were designed to be looked at by numerous people; we participate in the tableaux vivant.

For instance the bust and the portrait of Lagerlöf were displayed here already during her life time. They not only inscribe the owner of the collection within the collection, but also make her into art. It is worth noting that the artists who made these portraits, and thereby

objectified her, were female; Hedda Grönquist and Hanna Pauli. Upstairs you will see another portrait of Lagerlöf at her writing desk in Falun by photographer Anna Schröder.

HARTMAN: Yes, we will come to that later. The wall decorations are done by the hand of the artist Bror Göthe, whereas the reliefs of the white ceiling have been executed after the drawings of the architect Gustaf Clason junior. They represent the emblems of the four seasons: bunches of flowers, sheaf, fruit and flame.¹⁴⁹

A slender person in a suit that is slightly too wide; Gustaf Clason walks in through the second door of the salon and crosses the rope to join Hartman, who is too perplexed at the sight of Clason to object. Clason leans against the grand piano, one arm across the chest, the other hand scratching his chin, and starts to talk.

GUSTAF CLASON: I have borrowed the motive of formerly a rather common subject that is the four seasons symbolized, spring by flowers, summer by ears of corn, fall by fruits and winter by a fire, which I placed above the stove. The other fields are adorned with the luminaries of the starry sky, which as we all know exercise a certain influence on the disposition of the seasons.¹⁵⁰

SALLY (*in a stage whisper*): How creative!

GUSTAF CLASON: Concerning the wall decorations Doctor Lagerlöf wished to copy the paintings in the county governor's residence in Falun.

The woman with the dog – Selma Lagerlöf – whispers to her company: “There was such an abundance there of beautiful motives, I really didn't know what to choose, but asked his father for expert advice.”¹⁵¹

GUSTAF CLASON (*continues*): Naturally it was not impossible to do something in the same style, without asking permission, but I cautioned her about mixing styles; rococo, late Gustavian and Imperial. Nevertheless she was resolved. I pointed out that the paintings at Gustaf III's pavilion in Haga could also serve as inspiration for Mr. Göthe, as they are very similar to the Falu-paintings.¹⁵²

LECTURER: Through the decorations the walls are joined to one – a folded but continuous surface. The walls are not emphasized as separate surfaces. Rather, the repetitive cladding presents the room as an unbroken visual spatial enclosure. The artist, Bror Göthe, was a textile designer.¹⁵³ The wall decorations behave like a textile and “drape” the room. The chosen motive also reiterates the style of good taste.

I think Lagerlöf was quite deliberate in the public image she created with Mårbacka. A large house in combination with land owning is a long-established symbol of power, but Mårbacka also borrows some features of a *länsresidens*, a county governor's official residence.¹⁵⁴ In Lagerlöf's correspondence with the architects the residence in Falun is mentioned as a reference.¹⁵⁵ Apart from the brown shutters the exterior color scheme of Mårbacka matches the residence in Falun, and the wall decorations of the residence interior are copied for the grand salon and the Elkan salon of the first floor.

The decorations in Falun are made by a local artist, probably Nils Johan Asplind, after drawings by Louis Masreliez, the influential interior designer of the eighteenth century who decorated Gustaf III pavilion at Haga. Hans Beskow states in his essay about the ‘Falu residence and its interior decoration’ that Masreliez would hardly have approved of how his intentions were

put into practice. Nevertheless he also states that the residence became a coveted model in the following decades.¹⁵⁶ Clason tried to direct Göthe towards the Haga pavilion but the wall paintings here are copies of the copies in Falun.

Worth noting in a queer context is that Gustaf III is famous as the most prominent queer man of the Swedish eighteenth century and his reign is recalled as a golden age of cultural achievements. He was very inspired by France; in 1786, for example, he founded the Swedish Academy in accordance with *Académie française*, and the Gustavian style can be compared to Louis Seize. Every year Stockholm Pride Parade calls at the royal castle and lays down a pink wreath by the statue of Gustaf III.

SALLY: Vive la homophilie!

TABELLE (*murmurs*): That place is also where the parade was attacked by neo-Nazis in 2003.

BEST (*to Beau*): How similar the faces of those portraits are.

Best studies the many portraits that decorate the walls of the salon, Hartman overhears Best's comment.

HARTMAN: Those are copies of portraits representing members of the Lagerlöf family by the painter Lasse Jonsson from Värmland, the original paintings are in Jösse-Ny church close to Arvika.¹⁵⁷

BEST: It is like the same face is repeated over and over again.

HARTMAN: Yes, maybe it is a strong Lagerlöf family trait?

BEAU: They are very kitschy aren't they?

LECTURER: Mm, I think it is very accurate to talk about kitsch, or rather camp esthetics in relation to Mårbacka. This interior parodies a historic continuity; the wall decorations, copies of a copy, and the copied portraits

are part of the cross-cladding of Mårbacka. Literature theorist Fabio Cleto states about camp theatricality that it is “induced by a consciousness of the role-playing activity grounded in the necessity of passing as straight.”¹⁵⁸ The ancestral history is over-exposed in a camp representation.¹⁵⁹ They remind me of the statement about Natalie Barney’s art collection “paintings were for association, not value.”¹⁶⁰ Lagerlöf ordered these eight portraits late in life; they were made 1931-32, when she was over seventy years old.¹⁶¹ A real manor should have real family portraits on the walls. Only, these are copies and chosen by Lagerlöf to play a part in her theatrical staging of Mårbacka. This manor that Selma Lagerlöf created for herself is filled with stories that associate to her art and life, the characters around her, her history and herself. The portraits represent four heterosexual Lagerlöf couples who are from the eighteenth century, the men in clerical collars and dark garbs, the women in light dresses.¹⁶² The portraits also remind us of Lagerlöf’s novels, particularly the hero, the dethroned priest, of her bestseller Gösta Berling’s Saga.¹⁶³ Both exterior and interior, like this grand salon, may remind us of the manor houses in *Gösta Berling’s Saga*. They are staged to recall the author and the stories of this and other books. The tableau vivant of *Gösta Berling’s Saga* is set in the salon of Ekeby, the fictionalized Rottneros not far from Mårbacka. At the beginning of the novel Ekeby is ruled by *Majorskan*, an impressive character who smokes a pipe working in the forest but also, wrapped in silk and pearls, performs the socialite queen of the ball. Maria Karlsson calls this character the most evident example of gender bending in Lagerlöf’s cast and the one that best matches the term cross-dressing.¹⁶⁴ The play with

gender performance in the tableau, performed by the modern characters Gösta Berling and Marianne Sinclair, is contrasted with the cruelty of the old patriarch who torments the women and workers in the reality of the novel. Literature theorist Vivi Edström comments on the style of *Gösta Berling's Saga*: “the poetry prose with strong emotional expressions is combined with irony towards the heroic and patriarchal tradition.”¹⁶⁵ I think the portraits here play on the same kind of irony. The portraits display an ambition with the manor and recall its old function as a parsonage. There were many generations of priests among Lagerlöf’s ancestors, at service within the protestant Swedish state church. Simultaneously this flaunting of gendered portraits – husband, wife, husband, wife, husband... – their likeness, their “bad taste” and proud display – creates an ironic distance to normative heterosexuality. Gendered parody, and irony, is at play in Mårbacka. It is a coded enactment for a discerning queer eye. It is camp.

The guide continues into the next room. Despite the group not following, he starts to talk and can be heard through the door.

HARTMAN: The dining room of the old Mårbacka, Lagerlöf’s childhood home, has been retained. The cupboards, reaching from floor to ceiling, on both sides of the hall door, are also a relic of that time. The walls of the dining-room, divided into separate fields, are covered with charcoal-drawings done by Selma Lagerlöf’s uncle Christoffer Wallroth and put up in the 1908 transformation.¹⁶⁶ They are like postcards from places one way or the other connected to the relatives of Lagerlöf. The Seattle view for instance is made from a postcard.

Best whispers very lightly to Beau so the guide won’t hear and interfere.

BEST: I’ve never seen charcoal drawings mounted on the wall like that. I like the odd look of it.

The photographer and the lecturer remain in the grand salon. The south west corner of the salon is cut by a full length mirror with gilded frame; the entirety of the glittering space is reflected in a long diagonal. The photographer takes some snapshots of the lecturer in the salon via the grand mirror.

LECTURER: That mirror in the corner intrigues me. The way it is placed, it somehow reminds me of the interiors of Elsie de Wolfe, she always put mirrors in places where they prolong and distort the room. The eighteenth century Haga pavilion also comes to mind, but are there any mirrors across corners there? I have to check that out.¹⁶⁷

PHOTOGRAPHER: Could you move a little to the left?

LECTURER: This mirror is like a mask for the corner; it both hides where the walls meet and attracts the gaze. It joins the walls of the corner by obscuring where the one ends and the other starts. And, since the joining surface is reflective, it not only emphasizes the walls as enclosure but creates an opening into a fictive space at the actual joint.

PHOTOGRAPHER: Makes the room very photogenic.

LECTURER: Mmm, there is a very strong symmetry in this room. (*She gestures as she speaks*) The six windows, two in each outer wall, the two doors that flank the stove and the two other mirrors facing one another; it is a very formal symmetrical pattern that reinforces the lengthwise middle axis of the building. But the corner mirror, it breaks that symmetry.

You know what? That mirror shifts the regulations of this room just like the fifth pair of columns created a dissonance in the expected order of the façade. It is a subtle detail, but it creates another, equally strong, symmetry along the diagonal! It corresponds with lines in the herring bone parquet and some of the moldings of the ceiling.

PHOTOGRAPHER: Yes, the mirror really changes the space; maybe we should copy it at home?

LECTURER: The diagonal of the mirror doesn't reiterate any axis of the building at large; instead the continued space is projected into the landscape whose greenery can be seen through the windows that flank the mirror. It resonates with the outside in another way than the windows of the salon that follow the pattern of the manor house at large.

The lecturer withdraws from her speculations and turns towards the door where the tour guide disappeared. But she stops at the door opening and looks into the dining room. The guide group has just entered the kitchen at the other end of the building. It can be seen via the pantry. As the visitors pass into the kitchen the guide points out the former outer wall and then proceeds to talk about the large "manor-like" kitchen.

LECTURER: Princess, can you take a photo here?

The photographer joins her.

LECTURER: Those door openings; they are just slightly off from sitting perfectly in front of each other. The sequence of rooms – salon, dining room, pantry and kitchen – is in a suite, but there is no attempt to put the doors in a straight line. It must be because the only door

added in the transformation was to the kitchen which lies in the extended part of the building. But I like it; you get both the grandiose view of rooms following upon rooms and a kind of vivid mismatch.

While the lecturer has been talking Sally has come back from the guided tour to join them.

SALLY: Oh, what a sexy guide that is... why don't you take us upstairs?

PHOTOGRAPHER: Yes, let's, they won't mind.

The voice of the guide disappears as the small group sneaks up the stairs. As they reach the upper hall they hear a voice reading through the half open door of the library. Along the north side of the upper floor, is the large but narrow cabinet with Lagerlöf's study and library.

THE READING VOICE (Valborg Olander): The own home is a source of power, from which the previously rootless, listless, spiritless can regain confidence in life and trust in themselves. What all this can entail in new brave thoughts, new impulses are impossible to foretell. No doubt, the soil of one's own home has power to put forth fresher sprouts, than are successfully generated by a rootless, parasitic existence.¹⁶⁸

*Valborg Olander reads loud from Frances Wachtmeister's pamphlet Eget hem.*¹⁶⁹

SELMA LAGERLÖF: In former parlance to "get a home of one's own" meant that a young girl got married.¹⁷⁰

VALBORG OLANDER (*as she flicks some pages*): She is very clever

in her argumentation. Listen to these words by “worried conservatives” under the headline *Objections*:¹⁷¹

...is it not enough that the girls are lent to do other work than what they as future wives and mothers are brought up to be, shall men now also open for them the possibility of a home of their own, independent of marriage, why then men are soon completely redundant...¹⁷²

SELMA LAGERLÖF: It reminds me of my father. The poor fellow, women not directly controlled by men, that’s uncanny.

VALBORG OLANDER: Under the headline *Illustrative examples* there is a tender couple:

The creative artist, the painter, who after termination of her studies needs unruffled peace and solitude to be able fully to devote herself to work, longs for the inspiration and profound contribution of nature.

She joins forces with a good friend, who possesses the practical creativity, and with pleasure takes on the household duties and the care for the patch.¹⁷³

SELMA LAGERLÖF: I am so tired of this “good friend” circumlocution. Even in 2006 they do not dare to call our love by its right name; they use the euphemism “life-partners.”

VALBORG OLANDER: But isn’t that correct?

SELMA LAGERLÖF: Of course it is, but it is so safe; it acknowledges us without provoking anyone. Internalized

homophobia that’s what it is! I mean it is better than just ignoring you, and us, in fact much better than to reduce you to simply my secretary. To call us queer would bring those heterosexists out into the open and maybe more important tell an empowering story for non-straight people.

VALBORG OLANDER: I think it is happening, after all the author Birgitta Stenberg got your prize in 2005! Didn’t she say something like Selma Lagerlöf belonged to the first generation that created a queer world around themselves?¹⁷⁴

Since the door is ajar the lecturer, the photographer and Sally can peak into the library. The avocado green walls, filled with books, are bordered with gold and the four windows facing the garden are draped in almond jacquard silk curtains. Two crystal crowns add to the significance of the space. Visible behind the tiled stove on the left is an ottoman where two women relax on the embroidered cushions. The two are very close. The big leaves of a palmetto in an earthenware pot on a pedestal hang like a parasol above them. The floor and furniture are draped with heavy textiles and furs. The skirts of the women’s dresses blend with the drapes and it is not clear where the dresses end and the other textiles begin, somehow suggestive of the two women’s relation. They rest under the same cover, under which they are connected. One of them, “the secretary”, reclines on a chaise longue and the other one, “the author”, with notebook and pencil, sits beside her on the floor. Relaxed, she leans backwards, her head almost in the lap of the secretary, which forms a curve around the author.

VALBORG OLANDER: I like the queer couple of Wachtmeister’s book, they remind me of us. Listen:

While the one friend paints, the other one now works in the garden, and it is uncertain who feels happiest of the two, the one with the brush or the one with the spade.¹⁷⁵

SELMA LAGERLÖF: This home will, in an entirely different way, become a home when we settle together.¹⁷⁶ The Mårbacka building has started; it is so remarkable that in only a year's time you can move in with me. Even if you want a home of your own as well, most of the year you have to be with me. You have been patient, it was impossible to do this before. Most of all I hope that we will grow old together. We are going to let Clason design for you to be truly well off.¹⁷⁷ Wasn't it a fine thought that the "secretary" gets a room outside the bedroom, study or antechamber? It will be like in Russia.¹⁷⁸

VALBORG OLANDER: You are so sweet, building houses with the same certainty as novels.¹⁷⁹

LECTURER (*in a low voice*): Lagerlöf rebuilt this house so that Valborg Olander could stay here. Lagerlöf and Olander were discreet but surprisingly overt if we consider that their love was criminal.

Suddenly the head of the collie pops up from the folds of the drapes and furs around the chaise longue. The dog looks towards the door and tries a muffled growl; Lagerlöf calms it with gentle strokes.

SELMA LAGERLÖF: We will naturally go about it at an easy pace, for the sake of your close ones as well as for the sake of all the people.¹⁸⁰

VALBORG OLANDER: I am so tired of living without you. My darling, it is horrible to be parted from you. I just do not know how to live such a half life.¹⁸¹

SELMA LAGERLÖF: Soon we shall work together and make love, inflamed love. It fills me with pleasure to think about it.¹⁸²

The eavesdropping group in the hall looks a bit embarrassed at each other as an almost electrical tension spreads from the couple and Lagerlöf's hands disappears under the cover. Valborg Olander whose cheeks glow, continuously turns over the leaves of the book.

VALBORG OLANDER: Liss, this is about a friend of yours.

The ears of the collie jig as her name is called. Olander reads with a melodramatic voice.

VALBORG OLANDER: How many old maids do not spend all the saved treasures of their hearts on the little lapdog, the only living thing she can call her own, where she lives in the pension or furnished room.¹⁸³

Sally cracks in a loud laugh, the dog comes running out the door and the little eavesdropping group is disclosed.

SELMA LAGERLÖF: Oh, so it's you, I thought you'd come sooner or later. Well, don't just stand there! Come in and close the door behind you. Welcome, girls! Some tea, would that suit you?

LECTURER: With pleasure, it is, ah...

Lagerlöf is already pouring the tea.

VALBORG OLANDER: This house has always been full of ears. Do you remember when I called you about the Nobel Prize? The news was out in the entire county before we had hung up!¹⁸⁴

SELMA LAGERLÖF: Well, I had to shout into the receiver to get through.

Lagerlöf offers astrakhan tea to the intruders. The small tea glasses fitted in copper holders are probably brought home from her trip to the Middle East.

SELMA LAGERLÖF: So, you come from the “City that Floats on the Water”?

The lecturer nods energetically, just like a happy dog wagging its tail.

LECTURER: Yes, we’re from Stockholm.

PHOTOGRAPHER: What?

LECTURER: That’s how Lagerlöf described Stockholm in the adventures of Nils Holgerson.

SELMA LAGERLÖF: Call me Selma, I’m very fond of Miss Lanner’s sculpture.

She points towards the western short wall where a tinted map of Sweden is inserted under a canopy into a niche.¹⁸⁵ The display is crowned by a gilded sculpture of the goose Akka and the boy Nils Holgerson.¹⁸⁶ On both short walls there are rounded niches between rectangular doors. Above the six doors there are couples of nude cupids in action. Sally, who never loses her composure, tea cup in hand, has walked over to the writing desk at the other end of the library. A walking stick is displayed on the table.

SALLY: This limping of yours, why is it such a big deal? It’s a relatively small handicap, isn’t it?¹⁸⁷

There is rumbling from the guide group as they climb the wooden

staircase. The guide’s voice is heard in the upper hall, muted through the door of the library in which the small group falls quiet.

HARTMAN: Above the three doors of this hall you find drawings by Paul Nilsson, which show Mårbacka’s main building during three periods; Lagerlöf’s childhood home, and the appearances after the middle and last transformations in 1908 and 1923.

JULIAN: It is a historiography in images. This tension she creates by keeping the presence of the previous buildings even as she changes the building into something else is almost a paradox. The layers are different yet similar; this masquerade reminds me of a Russian doll.

HARTMAN: The metaphor of the Russian doll, yes, it rings a bell. I know someone has used it to describe the character Gösta Berling.

TABELLE: Excuse me, if I may, I know that Maria Karlsson makes that comparison in her essay on travesty and tableau in Lagerlöf’s authorship.¹⁸⁸ As a matter of fact Lagerlöf employed a succession of disguises to create her hero. The “surface signs” of Gösta Berling, so to speak, masquerade with the story and the context.

HARTMAN: Well, the novel was criticized for lack of psychological depth. From the hall we now go to the left into the room which has been dedicated to the memory of Selma Lagerlöf’s intimate friend, the author Sophie Elkan, from whom she inherited this furniture from the eighteen eighties.¹⁸⁹

The group in the library can hear the guide tour continue into the Elkan salon. They follow on their side of the wall, past the tiled stove, to the next door which leads directly to the Elkan salon. Lagerlöf gesticulates angrily.

SELMA LAGERLÖF: “Intimate friend” – what does that mean?
You do not inherit a friend.

Through the door they hear the muted voice of the guide continue.

HARTMAN: In its particular way, this salon has a homely charm.¹⁹⁰ The room has been decorated with pilasters by Göthe, the same artist who did the drawing room on the bottom floor. Here the motives are in brick red, which gives an impression of festivity. In former days it had a lighter kind of furniture that suited the decorations better. It was then called the second best parlor.¹⁹¹

In the library Olander has an outburst.

VALBORG OLANDER: It is a real profanation, isn't it?... To house male individuals under one's maiden roof.¹⁹²

SELMA LAGERLÖF: I am very content I moved the memorial salon from the attic floor since where it is now the guided tours must pass it, and for all queers there is an overt leakage. It can not be missed that Sophie played an important part in my life. Tell me, my new friends, do you think “intimate friend” is better than “life partner”? When do you think they will acknowledge that I loved women?

LECTURER: I'm sorry, Selma, and thank you, I need to go out and join the group again. That guided tour needs some shaping up!

Just as they are about to sneak out, the photographer turns back to Lagerlöf, embraces her arm in a kind of hug

PHOTOGRAPHER: I know it's out of place, but I just have to ask; would you mind giving me an autograph?

In her hand she holds a twenty crown note; the “Mårbacka dollar” which has Lagerlöf's portrait and scenes from her books on it. Lagerlöf laughs and signs her name on the note. Unnoticed, the lecturer, Sally and the photographer slip out. They use the door from the library to the hall and join the tour from the back.

LECTURER: After the death of Sophie Elkan in April 1921 the triangular drama Elkan-Lagerlöf-Olander ended. Lagerlöf's feelings and obligations towards Elkan were no longer in the way for a common household with Valborg Olander. Olander, on her side, had already made her mind up to move from Falun to Stockholm.¹⁹³

Eventually they decided to continue to have separate homes after all but Olander had her own room here at Mårbacka. And once Olander had her own apartment in Stockholm, on Karlavägen 99, Lagerlöf had a room of her own there. Previously, on their many visits to Stockholm, they had stayed at *Hotell Svecia*, in separate rooms naturally.

Look here is the photograph of Lagerlöf by Anna Schröder, and that's a bust of Hanna Pauli which Olga Lanner has created. There is such a display of Lagerlöf's love for women here!

Only some of the visitors have heard because the guide group has just moved into the next space via a small vestibule. On their way, they pass a closed door which leads to the large closet filled with Lagerlöf's tailored dresses, many from Augusta Lundin's fashion house in Stockholm and her modish hats. The lecturer hurriedly follows, but the photographer lingers behind to take some photographs in the Elkan room and Sally peeks into the closet. Someone has forgotten to lock the door.

HARTMAN: The second door of the ante-room leads to Selma Lagerlöf's bedroom; it lies to the west. The silk covering of the beautiful Gustavian bed has a pattern in white, gold and beige colors.¹⁹⁴ The bed in white and gold, crowned by a laurel wreath, is a copy of a bed at Gripsholm's castle; Lagerlöf translated into English means "laurel leaf".¹⁹⁵

LECTURER: There is such an insistence on Lagerlöf's maidenness in this room. Look at the photograph of her mother above the bed; it reminds us of the unmarried daughter. In Lagerlöf's first rebuilding of Mårbacka in the summer of 1908, this became her combined bedroom-studio and in many descriptions it is pointed out that it is the location of the former children's room. For instance Elin Wägner wrote as follows (*she reads from her notebook*):

She [Lagerlöf] sacrificed the best bedroom to make a big drawing-room, arranging a bedroom for her mother in the east attic room on the upper floor, instead. She herself chose to sleep in the old nursery in the west attic, but since this was the only room besides the mother's that was fit to withstand the rigours of winter, she often had to share it with guests.¹⁹⁶

SALLY: I know some guests she probably liked sharing it with...

LECTURER: Before the nineteen twenties transformation, she had neither her own bedroom nor a study here at Mårbacka. In her home in Falun, she had created an alluring study and library, designed by Klas Boman, in elegant mahogany built by Axel Johansson's fashionable furniture factory of the time in Falun.¹⁹⁷ When the

house in Falun was demolished in the nineteen sixties, the library was saved and later reconstructed in the *Museum of Dalecarlia*, where it can still be visited.¹⁹⁸ That Mårbacka lacked a proper study and a place for all the books so central in Lagerlöf's life were reasons for the rebuilding. She must have been so tired of working in her bedroom. Also, how better to represent the great author than with a significant library?

But before we go into the library, which is reached directly from the bedroom, I want you to look more closely at how the person Lagerlöf is exhibited in this room. I've pointed out the reference to her as the unmarried daughter. Here, on the floor, is a pair of her shoes put on display. With their different height in heels, they remind us of her handicap. Her physical deviation from the norm has been a way to explain why her lifestyle "limps" in regards to heteronormativity. And those beautiful dresses that hang there on the armory, they are distinguished looking outfits that cover the body. But you do not see any details which are more intimately linked to sensuality or bodily needs. No socks or underwear; combs, hairpins or perfume bottles; there isn't any mess. (*The lecturer looks at the guide.*) I mean, she probably was extremely orderly and I completely understand that the Mårbacka society wants to exhibit her amazing wardrobe; I just want to point out how the chosen details of this room display Lagerlöf. It is easy to see that it is a museum and not a room someone lives in.

On most portraits of Selma Lagerlöf that are reproduced she is old, which is also the case with the portraits displayed here at Mårbacka. Heteronormativity is built on the idea that sexual activity equals procreation. Therefore it is also beyond heteronor-

maturity that old women have sex, the norm makes it invisible or unthinkable. The walking stick of Lagerlöf is placed on the table next to her bed in her exhibited bed chamber at Mårbacka. It distracts us from any erotic fantasies since it reminds us of the old, limping lady that slept there. As Svante Norrhem has written, if lesbians are hidden; then old lesbians are even more invisible.¹⁹⁹ But, through other eyes, isn't the stick also a sexually charged object?

HARTMAN (*giggling somewhat nervously*): Yes, you know, after the release of her correspondence with Sophie Elkan and Valborg Olander in 1990 some critics found it possible to imagine that Lagerlöf had been in love with Sophie Elkan; a beautiful socialite, a Jewish widow marked by life, well traveled and also an author. But a love relation with Valborg Olander, who was a sturdy school teacher whom Selma Lagerlöf met when she was in her forties, that was beyond all possibilities. Someone ridiculed the idea and wrote that it was impossible to imagine these two in any advanced lesbian games.²⁰⁰

LECTURER: What a heterosexist assumption! Just because Olander doesn't conform to a patriarchal norm of femininity... and for that matter, just because someone is heterosexual, I don't want, or even think I can, imagine all straight couples' sexual activities.

SALLY: Oh, please don't go there!

Hartman hurries on to the next space, the library, where the colors of the walls as well as of the heavy silk curtains are green and gold. From the three windows of this long, narrow room one overlooks the garden which lies to the north. There are four bookcases along the window wall but the majority of the books is on shelves that extend along the opposite wall of the room.

HARTMAN: From the bedroom we come into the library. The most interesting interior at Mårbacka is the library, naturally foremost because it was Selma Lagerlöf's workroom. This is the room which one sees more frequently in print than the rest and therefore it is better known, even if visitors were not often admitted to it. It was the silent room of the house where none could intrude uninvited.²⁰¹

LECTURER: Special precaution was also taken to sound isolate the library in the refurbishment.²⁰²

HARTMAN: Here, where most of Selma Lagerlöf's later poetical works were created, the influence of her personality and of her spirit makes itself most felt.²⁰³

LECTURER: All these doors remind me of the slamming of doors in a bedroom farce. The library is, both materially and metaphorically, a literary space; just like a set design. The space is loaded like a stage; relations are inscribed in the decor, between the doors, the window recesses, the writing desk and the books.

The doors lead to rooms attributed to four women. First there is the door we entered through from Lagerlöf's bedroom, then there is one which leads directly to the Elkan salon, and the last is to the upper hall from which you reach the rooms of Valborg Olander and Ellen Lundgren, the house keeper, who got to have two rooms, a bedroom and a workroom, instead of Olander. Even if they are gone by now, the characters that once used this space are very present. But this bookish cabinet also includes the actors of today; often groups of tourists steered by a guide.

The library is seemingly an example of how Lagerlöf prepared the home to become a display of her literature. For instance, on top of the book shelves there is

a series of George Pauli's original illustrations of Gösta Berling's saga.

HARTMAN: No sound from the garden or from the tourists reached her here where she found the silence which was necessary for her in order to transform her thoughts and visions into prose and poetry.²⁰⁴

LECTURER: Shortly after Lagerlöf had bought Mårbacka she commissioned Ruth Brandberg, one of the first female garden designers in Sweden and a former student of Lagerlöf, to help her lay out a garden with ornamental plants, fruit trees, hedges and vegetable and flower tillage.²⁰⁵ I wonder what the building would have looked like if she had had a student that became an architect.

HARTMAN: She used to sit at the far end of the heavy oak table, if she did not prefer to read or reflect upon new plans on this couch from which one has a view over the garden and over the peaceful landscape beyond.²⁰⁶

JULIAN: Look, there is another walking stick on display here, and a photograph of an aged Selma.

HARTMAN: In order to protect the books, the foundation board has now put glass panes in front of the shelves. On both sides of the stove, in gold and blue, in the middle of the wall, you can see a few narrow shelves on which Selma Lagerlöf collected touching little souvenirs from her childhood or presents from children or other people.²⁰⁷

SALLY: Yes, she was a child all her life, wasn't she?

LECTURER: The library is not tucked away but a link. In other manor houses the library is a space aside rather the living-room is the main stage. In Isak Gustaf Clason's taxonomy of rooms in the private house, the library, which should be dignified, is one of the male marked spaces along with workroom, smoking and billiard rooms.²⁰⁸ One of Clason's architectural principles was that the li-

brary should be in a quiet corner. He told his students: "The library should naturally under no circumstances be a room giving access to other rooms."²⁰⁹ In neither of Clason's alternative plans for Mårbacka is the library stretched across the upper floor, as it came to be built. The idea for the library in fact came from Sophie Elkan. Selma Lagerlöf writes in a letter to Sophie Elkan:

I have written to Clason to change the upper long hallway to a library, as you proposed, and he has sent a modified drawing. Soon now I think the building will be fine.²¹⁰

This change in plans is one of the major influences that the correspondence between Lagerlöf and her lovers had on the transformation. What other discussions there might have been at the time, and how they influenced the building process, we cannot know, of course, but this reminds us that architecture is rarely, if ever, a one man (or woman) show.

JULIAN: Ok, so, Selma Lagerlöf's bedroom is at one short end of the cabinet, but what hides behind the wall at the other short end?

HARTMAN: Well, those two doors only cover a couple of cupboards, but they create a nice symmetry with the doors to Lagerlöf's bedroom and the book closet of the other short end, don't you think?

JULIAN: So, the building ends there?

HARTMAN: No, no, behind the wall is the room of Valborg Olander, but it is not part of the guided tour, I'm afraid.

JULIAN: Who was Valborg Olander?

HARTMAN: She was Lagerlöf's life partner.

SELMA LAGERLÖF: Isn't that a strange way to say that she was my lover?

The tour group freezes as Lagerlöf steps out of the shadow behind the curtain.

LECTURER: The library stretches between the two lover's bedrooms, Valborg and Selma. Their relationship is built into Mårbacka, as is obvious for anyone curious. I think that omitted bedroom reveals more than it hides. (*The lecturer turns towards Lagerlöf.*) You also showed your love for Sophie Elkan in the architecture, through an entire memorial salon. And, what is more, the Elkan salon can be reached from one of the six doors of the library. The rooms of the third woman who played such an important role for your life at Mårbacka, the house manager Ellen Lundgren, are also part of the relations inscribed around the library. The library really is the center stage of this architecture, and a kind of embodiment of yourself and your relations.

You staged this architecture for us to discover didn't you?

A car honks its horn and a dog barks outside. The curtain moves again and another figure steps forth with an imposing gesture; it is Valborg Olander.

VALBORG OLANDER: Time to go. I will teach you something about curtains when I come home, very beautiful according to my opinion.²¹¹

SELMA LAGERLÖF: I'd rather pull your curtains.

The dog barks again. Hand in hand the two women disappear

outside. The queer couple step into the convertible which takes off so swiftly the gravel spurts. Their long shawls flutter in the wind. As the people in the library hear the car disappear, the view from the window transforms. The landscape recedes and becomes a tapestry. The greenness that surrounds the group drains into yellow. They find themselves back in the Turkish Salon; the curtain is pulled on the Mårbacka tableau vivant.

Notes

- 1 From “There was...” to “...in the design.” my translation of “Man fann något högdraget men samtidigt skevt i formgivningen”, Reijo Ruster, & Lars Westman, *Selma på Mårbacka*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 2000, 153.
- 2 One key to this particular design process is the correspondence between the Clason architects and Lagerlöf, which are in the manuscript collections at ‘Kungliga Biblioteket,’ the *Royal Swedish Library*, hereafter referred to as “KB”. It describes the process of collaboration and negotiation through which decisions about program and design were made. The first letters from Selma Lagerlöf to Isak Gustaf Clason are still missing; Lagerlöf had saved Clason’s replies and they are part of the Lagerlöf collections at KB. So it is not possible to tell exactly what she asked him for. In his first letter Clason asks her for a program and measured drawings something which she sent him July 16, 1919, according to a letter from I. G. Clason to Lagerlöf, July 28, 1919, KB. There is a hint to Lagerlöf’s taste in architecture in a letter she wrote to Sophie Elkan in 1910, #2189, also published in Selma Lagerlöf, *Du lär mig bli fri: Selma Lagerlöf skriver till Sophie Elkan* (“*You teach me to be free: Selma Lagerlöf writes to Sophie Elkan*”) selections and comments by Ying Toijer-Nilsson, Stockholm: Bonnier & Selma Lagerlöf-society, 1996, 354. She comments on a new villa built for the Bonnier family. It was solid and powerful but she would have preferred something lighter: “I would have built myself a rococo palace” (my translation of “Jag skulle ha gjort mig ett rokokoslott”, 354). She also dismissed the plain taste of her contemporaries. My thanks to architecture historian Victor Edman for giving me this reference.
- 3 Alice T Friedman, *Women and the Making of the Modern Home:*

A Social and Architectural History, NY: Harry N. Abrams, 1998, 16.

- 4 Rolf Hughes has helped me with the translation of “Den uppgift som år 1919 av Eder förelades mig var både högeligen intressant och svår. Hela världens, - ja eftervärldens - blickar skulle ju komma att granska arbetet. Det är ju betänkligt att så kraftigt omgestalta det gamla hemmet, fullt av minnen, Selma Lagerlöfs barndomshem. Men en arkitekt ska ju, som varje annan hantverkare, efter bästa förmåga tillhandagå sin byggherre med vad honom eller henne - oftast henne - lyster. Och så en sak till: häftade icke i detta fall minnena mera vid Henne än vid byggnaden?” Letter from I. G. Clason to Lagerlöf, January 12, 1924, KB, #159.
- 5 Mårbacka is one of many built environments created in a rural setting around an author or artist around the turn of the twentieth century Sweden, for instance Geijersgården in Ransäter, not far from Mårbacka, and Karin and Carl Larson’s home in Dalecarlia to mention a couple. It would be interesting to make a comparative study of Mårbacka and Ellen Key’s Strand. Ellen Key drew plans of Strand and gave them to the architect Yngve Rasmussen who made a fair copy of them. She was extremely involved in the building process and her detailed sketch book ‘I flera år samlade praktiska ting för stuga och trädgård’ is kept at KB, Ellen Key collection, L 41 3:24, 1910. Two drawings are reproduced in Helena Werner, *Kvinnliga arkitekter: om byggpionjärer och debatterna kring kvinnlig yrkesutövning i Sverige* (*Women Architects: on Building Pioneers and the Swedish Debates on Women in Professional Practice*) diss. Gothenburg University, Gothenburg studies in art and architecture series, no 23, 2006, 50-51. The previously ignored influences of women on the building process of Swedish manors have

- been studied by Anne Sumner, *Borgerliga ambitioner och adliga ideal: slott och byggherrar i Sverige kring sekelskiftet 1900 (Bourgeois ambitions and noble ideals: new country houses and their owners in Sweden around 1900)*, Stockholm : Carlsson, 2004, and Kajsa Bjurklint Rosenblad, *Scenografi för ett ståndsmässigt liv. Adels slottsbyggande i Skåne 1840-1900 (appr. "Setting in accordance with one's station. The Aristocratic Castle Building in Scania 1840-1900")*, Malmö: Sekel bokförlag, 2005.
- 6 The work Gerrit Rietveld and Truus Schröder did together "remains unique in the history of architecture: beloved, wondered at, intensely studied – but never imitated", Friedman, 70. Friedman also writes about the pivotal roles the Steins (Gertrude and her siblings) played as patrons for the architect Le Corbusier. Friedman, 64-91, 94.
- 7 Penny Sparke, *Elsie de Wolfé. The Birth of Modern Interior Decoration*, 12-13. See Lecture One.
- 8 Henrik O Andersson and Fredric Bedoire, *Swedish Architecture Drawings 1640-1970*, Stockholm: Byggförlaget, 1986, 138. National Property Board webpage [online]. Available: http://www.sfv.se/cms/sfv/vara_fastigheter/sverige/ab_stockholms_lan/museer/hallwylska_museet.html [Date accessed: June 12, 2006]
- 9 The very prestigious position held by Isak Gustaf Clason at the *Royal National Board of Building and Planning (Kungliga Byggnadsstyrelsen)* corresponded to the position appointed to Nicodemus Tessin the Younger in 1697. He was *First Surveyor (överintendent)* of all royal palaces, houses, buildings and gardens. Since 1993 the office has been called the National Property Board.
- 10 Andersson and Bedoire, *Stockholms byggnader. En bok om arkitektur och stadsbild i Stockholm ("The Buildings of Stockholm. A Book on Architecture and Townscape in Stockholm")*, Stockholm: Prisma, 1988, 208, 229. Hans Edestrand & Erik Lundberg, *Isak Gustaf Clason*, Stockholm: PA Nordstedt & söner, 1968, 115-117.
- 11 Letters from Gustaf Clason to Lagerlöf, October 18, 1922, #134, February 18, 1923, #138, September 7, 1923, #155 and drawings in the Clason collection of the museum of architecture.
- 12 Katarina Ek-Nilsson, 'Titanen och Sagodrottningen. Kulturella representationer av August Strindberg och Selma Lagerlöf' ("The Titan and the Fairytale Queen. Cultural representations of August Strindberg and Selma Lagerlöf"), Inga-Lill Aronsson & Birgitta Meurling eds., *Det bekömda museet: Genusperspektiv i museologi och museiverksamhet*, Uppsala: Department of ALM, Uppsala University publications, 2005, 71.
- 13 By the end of July 1907 Lagerlöf has a spoken agreement to buy the main building and garden of Mårbacka and in January 1908 the deal is done. In the fall of 1909 she buys the entire farm, 110 acres (45 ha) of arable fields and 40 acres (16 ha) of woods. The farm employed fourteen families at the time. Lagerlöf, *En riktig författarhustru: Selma Lagerlöf skriver till Valborg Olander ("A real author's wife: Selma Lagerlöf writes to Valborg Olander")*, selections and comments by Ying Toijer-Nilsson, Stockholm: Bonniers, 2006, 50, Lagerlöf, *Du lär mig bli fri*, 302, and Jan Brunius, *Mårbacka. Gårdarnas och släkternas historia ("Mårbacka: the history of the farms and families")*, Karlstad: Selma Lagerlöf-society, 1963, 103, 110.
- 14 She refurbished her house in Falun, built a large barn, a guest wing and a manager's house at Mårbacka, to mention a few projects. Letter from Selma Lagerlöf to Valborg Olander, October 11, 1919, KB, Brunius, 110-111, 114, and Birgitta Dandanell, *Selma Lagerlöf och Falun ("Selma Lagerlöf and Falun")* (1985), Falun: Dalarnas Museum's publications 45, 1992, 34.

- 15 For instance the farm *Lövdala* in Lagerlöf's book *Liljecronas hem* depicts a Mårbacka outfit.
- 16 Carl Anton Berlin, Isak Gustaf Clason Collections, *Riksarkivet (The National Archives)*. Mats Fredriksson has transcribed the notes in his forthcoming PhD thesis, *Herrgårdsrestaureringar av Isak Gustaf Clason* (approx. "Manor house restorations by Isak Gustaf Clason"), the page references are to the text discussed at the final seminar Stockholm: KTH, History of Architecture, December 7, 2005, 334-337. The lecture is also quoted in Rosenblad, *Scenografi för ett ståndsmässigt liv*.
- 17 "amusing Turkish style" my paraphrase of "treftigt och något lustigt till exempel efter turkiskt mönster", Fredriksson, 337. See 'Entr'act 2: Tentative' for comments on the ties between Oriental decoration and masculinity.
- 18 Fredriksson, 335.
- 19 Fredriksson, 340.
- 20 Fredriksson, 357, and Rosenblad, 28.
- 21 From "But when I..." to "...Your Selma" my translation of "Men när jag står i en kateder med några hundra åhörare omkring mig eller när jag är ensam med dig och får stirra mig galen i dina ögon är jag sann. Och därför älskar jag intet annat i världen. Din Selma" Letter from Lagerlöf to Sophie Elkan, February 22, 1894, manuscript collections at KB, #8. Also published in Lagerlöf, *Du lär mig bli fri*, 14.
- 22 Rolf Hughes has helped on the translation of "När det var baler blev hon sällan uppbjuden; hon led av sin hälsa och av att hon - i sina egna ögon - var så ful. En viss kompensation fick hon i sitt fantasiliv och i sitt diktande." Inga Söderblom & Sven-Gustaf Edqvist, *Litteraturhistoria*, Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 1992, 305.
- 23 Lisbeth Stenberg writes that Lagerlöf grew up before close relations between women were stigmatised by the pathology *lesbian*. Lisbeth Stenberg, *En genialisk lek. Kritik och över-*
- skridande i Selma Lagerlöfs tidiga författarskap* ("An ingenious game. Criticism and transgression in the early works of Selma Lagerlöf"), Diss. Göteborg: Department of Literature, Gothenburg University, 2001, 28.
- 24 *Queer* because Lagerlöf fits neither the binary categorization homo/heterosexual nor the heteronormative ideal of monogamy. See the final chapter 'Drawing the Curtains' for more definitions of *queer*.
- 25 For instance art historian Elisabeth Backman Broomé writes that the building constitutes an untraditional element in the culture of Värmland, where the manors are characterized by small scale and plainness. She states that it looks separate from the landscape. Elisabeth Backman Broomé, *Isak Gustaf Clasons ombyggnad av Selma Lagerlöfs Mårbacka* (Isak Gustaf Clason's rebuilding of Selma Lagerlöf's Mårbacka), Art Department, Uppsala University, Essay (D-level), Spring 2004, 1. Also Gösta von Schoultz, 'Mårbacka,' Sven T. Kjellberg, ed., *Slott och herresäten i Sverige*, Second Volume, Malmö: Allhems förlag, 1968, 306.
- 26 Ek-Nilsson, 63-64.
- 27 Ek-Nilsson, 53-91. Svante Norrhem, 'Hur kunde Selma skildra kärleken så passionerat?' ("How could Selma Lagerlöf portray love so passionately?"), *lambda nordica* 1997: nr 3, 37-51.
- 28 At site, in reality, it is not honeysuckle but woodbine that climbs the verandah. The tableau that follows (13-15) is a travesty of the tableau in Selma Lagerlöf's novel *Gösta Berling's saga*, *Gösta Berling's saga*, (New York: the American Scandinavian foundation, 1918), Lillie Tudeer, trans., Mineola, New York: Dover publications, 2004, 58-61.
- 29 From "Beau, who can..." to "...lost in love" paraphrase of Selma Lagerlöf, *Gösta Berling's saga*, 58-59.
- 30 From "I have never..." to "...splendor gleam!" paraphrase

- of Selma Lagerlöf, *Gösta Berling's saga*, 59.
- 31 From “The curtain...” to “...storm of applause.” paraphrase of Selma Lagerlöf, *ibid.*, 59-61.
- 32 From “It is an...” to “...happiness.” paraphrase of Selma Lagerlöf, *ibid.*, 61.
- 33 Despite Lagerlöf’s sizeable income her correspondence displays a constant struggle with finances; Mårbacka drained her resources, as did her generosity towards friends, relatives, employees and people in need. She debated whether it was ethical or not to keep such an expensive household, Vivi Edström, *Selma Lagerlöf – Livets vågspele* (“*Selma Lagerlöf – the daring venture of life*”), Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2002, 468.
- 34 On one frequently published photograph, a group of women draped in white robes performs a Sapphic dance in Natalie Barney’s garden in Neuilly. See the chapter ‘Drawing the Curtains’ for a description of the tableau vivant as a theatrical genre.
- 35 Lennart Edberg, ‘Mårbacka och Mårbackaguidningarna 60 år’, Lennart Edberg ed., *Mårbacka Minnesgård under 60 år 1942-2002* (“*Mårbacka Memorial Estate over 60 years*”), Sunne: Mårbackastiftelsen, 2002.
- 36 For a definition of the term *living-room* see Lecture One ‘Living-room’ around Eileen Gray/E.1027.
- 37 Norrhem, 37.
- 38 Frances Wachtmeister, *Eget hem. De ogifta kvinnornas Egna hems fråga* (“*Owen home. The question of home ownership for unmarried women*”), Stockholm: Bonniers, 1904. There is a database, “*Karlstad universitetsbiblioteks databas*”, with a catalogue of Lagerlöf’s library <http://www.bib.kau.se/?q=marbacka>
- 39 Virginia Woolf’s influential lecture-essay addresses the practical hindrances for women writers; along with great courage they needed a room of their own and a salary. It is discussed further in the chapter ‘Drawing the Curtains’, Virginia Woolf, *Ett eget rum* (‘A Room of One’s Own’, 1929), transl. Jane Lundblad, Stockholm: Tiden, 1991, 96-97.
- 40 Brady Bourroughs has helped me with the translation of “Det är fest att arbeta under eget tak!”, Wachtmeister, 8.
- 41 Lagerlöf subscribed to the women’s rights journal *Dagny* that recommended *Eget hem* for summer reading in 1905.
- 42 Selma Lagerlöf wrote in a letter to Valborg Olander in 1907 that she feared she was becoming a public institution, or a brand. Quoted in Ek-Nilsson, 70, Dandanell, 17. Letter from Lagerlöf to Olander July 18, 1907.
- 43 Selma Lagerlöf, *Gösta Berling's saga*, 61.
- 44 It can be interpreted as a key scene for the novel. Ulla-Britta Lagerroth who has written about the theatrical in Lagerlöf’s *Gösta Berling's Saga*, reads the scene as a mirror in the text, a *mise en abyme*, that reflects the theme of the entire story. Ulla-Britta Lagerroth, ‘Selma Lagerlöf och teatern’ (“Selma Lagerlöf and the Theatre”), *Årsbok 1999-2000. Vetenskaps societeten i Lund* (“*Yearbook 1999-2000. Society of Science in Lund*”), Lund, 2000, 105. Also published in Maria Karlsson and Lousie Vinge, eds., *I Selma Lagerlöfs värld* (“*In the world of Selma Lagerlöf*”), Lagerlöfstudies 2005, Sunne and Stockholm: Selma Lagerlöf society and Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2005, 9-37. Maria Karlsson has shown how gender is at play throughout the novel, both the oppression of gender roles and possible alternatives. She argues that Lagerlöf’s feminist approach points towards a more androgynous ideal. Maria Karlsson, ‘Travesti och tablå. Ett omklädningsrum hos Selma Lagerlöf’ (app. “Travesty and tableau. A dressing room at Selma Lagerlöf’s”), Eva Heggestad and Anna Williams, eds., *Omklädningsrum: könsöverskridanden och rollbyten från Tintomara till Tant Blomma* (app. “Dressing room: gender transgres-

- sions and role changes from *Tintomara to Aunt Flower*”), Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2004, 51-74.
- 45 Karlsson, ‘Travesti och tablå’, 52, also Tiina Rosenberg, *Byxbegär* (“*Pants-desire*”), Göteborg: Anamma, 2000, 11.
- 46 Elisabeth Backman Broomé claims this in her introduction to her study of the rebuilding of Mårbacka. She also writes that Värmland has a relatively large number of manors but in scale they are much less impressive in relation to other parts of Sweden. Broomé, 1. Katarina Ek-Nilsson notes that Lagerlöf expressed the view that if nothing else she had at least encouraged Värmland’s tourist industry. Ek-Nilsson, 72.
- 47 Louise Tham, ‘Rottneros’, *Svenska slott och herresäten*, 324.
- 48 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990), London & New York: Routledge, 1999.
- 49 Butler, ‘Imitation and Gender Insubordination’, Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale & David M. Halperin, eds., *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, London & New York: Routledge, 2003, 317.
- 50 Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 41.
- 51 Butler, *ibid.*, 174-75.
- 52 Cross-dressing plays on the possibility of dressing up and performing as the other gender, but when we begin to be more relaxed about it, permit the gender variations that always already exists, this genre of performance might become outdated.
- 53 Lagerlöf bought an old timber barn and used the material for the extension, as Clason had recommended. The length of the building was extended from 20 meters to 27 meters whereas it remained 10 meters broad. Measured drawing in Clason’s collection at Arkitekturmuseet. Letter from Lagerlöf to Olander, 1920.02.11, Lagerlöf, *En riktig författarhustru*, 157.
- 54 The main building was constructed in 1796 which is listed in the documents for fire insurance from 1820. Broomé, 5. Mårbacka was listed a farm in 1609, but the oldest buildings were situated north of the current Mårbacka, Brunius, 12.
- 55 Von Schoultz, 306.
- 56 Brunius, 107.
- 57 Historian Jan Brunius writes “Mårbacka’s simple, harsh manor building was hastily transformed to a villa with traits of the turn of the century gingerbread work and board architecture.” My translation of “Mårbackas enkla, kärva manbyggnad blev hastigt omvandlad till villa med drag av sekelskiftets snickarglädje och brädarkitektur.” Brunius, 107.
- 58 Selma Lagerlöf bought the house on Villavägen in Falun in January 1907, which she refurbished and extended in 1909-10, Dandanel, 34.
- 59 Lagerlöf had managed to be admitted to the teacher training course in Stockholm despite her father opposing the right of women to earn a profession. Lagerlöf graduated from ‘*Statens högre lärarinneseminarium*’ in 1885 and worked as a teacher in Karlskrona until 1897 when she decided to become a full-time writer and moved to Falun. Edström, 167, 210-212.
- 60 In 1842 elementary school became obligatory for Swedish children. The first publication of pattern-drawings, or in direct translation “Normal drawings”, for elementary schools was published by the state in 1865 and followed by new editions in 1878 and 1920. *Normalritningar till folkskolebyggnader jämte beskrifning* (“*Pattern-drawings for elementary schools supplemented with description*”), Stockholm: Kungliga överintendentsämbetet, 1865.
- 61 Semper, *The four elements of architecture and other writings*, Harry Francis Mallgrave, trans., Cambridge: Cambridge

- University Press, 1989, 293 (note 84).
- 62 The English term *cladding*, the protective covering on the outside of a building, possibly comes from *clad* a past tense and a past participle of *clothe*. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, Fourth Edition, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000.
- 63 Semper, *The four elements of architecture*, 28-29.
- 64 Semper, *The four elements of architecture*, 101-105. Semper looked for etymological proofs for his thesis on the close relation between architecture and textile. In the German language many words that describe building elements have their semantic roots in the field of textiles. Amongst other words Semper points out that *Wand*, which means *wall*, comes from *Gewandt*, which means *clothing* (garment). Semper, *Style. Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts; or, Practical Aesthetics*, 'Introduction' by Harry Francis Mallgrave, trans. Mallgrave and Michael Robinson, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004, 248. In this context I want to mention that *vägg*, *wall* in Swedish, according to Swedish Etymological Dictionary is related to the word *vidja*, *osier*. The dictionary tells us that "remnants of buildings with walls consisting of plaited twigs have been found in Sweden from the later stone age." My translation of "byggnadsrester med av flätade spön bestående väggar har man funnit i Sverige från den yngre stenåldern." Olof Hellquist, *Svensk Etymologisk Ordbok* ("Swedish Etymological Dictionary," 1922), Malmö: Gleerups, 1999, 1383.
- 65 Semper, *Style*, 247-250.
- 66 The male is assumed by Semper to be non-gendered. With an androcentric perspective he makes generalizations out of the individual *man*. See for example Semper, *The Four Elements*, 270. Nevertheless he builds his theory on textiles, of which he admits very little practical knowledge since knitting and weaving was not part of a young bourgeois man's upbringing since it was a female or working class practice in that particular time and place, see for instance Semper, *Style*, 220, 222 and 227.
- 67 Semper, *Style*, 247.
- 68 For example, the mask of cosmetics is deemed superficial and connected to absence, deficiency, and femininity. In the book *Socrates' Ancestor* Indra Kagis McEwen tells us a very different story. She draws attention to the Homeric use of the word *kosmos*, it is both *order* and *to order*. The Greek notion was that order appeared out of chaos through the performative act of ordering. Cosmetics, make-up, come from the Greek *kosmetikos*, which means *skilled in arranging*. To order in a skillful way is to ornate, thus no opposition is made between the decorative and the functional. Indra Kagis McEwen, *Socrates' Ancestor — An Essay on Architectural Beginnings*, Montréal, 1995, 43-44, 146.
- 69 To translate the term *Bekleidung* with cladding also helps me to distinguish between cross-dressing, more tied to the performance of the actor, and cross-cladding, more tied to the context of architecture.
- 70 Andersson and Bedoire, *Swedish Architecture*, 138.
- 71 The Swedish monarch Kristina (1626-1689), who reigned 1632 to 1654, was raised as a prince. Literature historian Eva Borgström has studied the cross-dressing, the transgendered and masculine traits of Kristina, and criticized the heteronormative history writing about Kristina. She was invited to one of the literary salons at Café Copacabana, her speech was called *Kristina – the king of queens. Out of the historical closet*, Stockholm, 2004.10.02. Historian of Ideas Kjell Lekeby has written a provocative study called *Kung Kristina – drottningen som ville byta kön* ("King Kristina – the queen that wanted to change sex"), Vertigo: Stockholm, 2000. In

- English Sara Waters has studied the images of Kristina in the early twentieth century “‘A Girton girl on the throne’: Queen Christina and Versions of Lesbianism, 1906-1933”, *Feminist Review*, No. 46, spring 1994. Eva Borgström, ‘Drottning Kristina och hermafroditens tankefigur’, *lambda nordica*, 1, 1998, also published in Eva Löfqvist ed., *Varför grävde man upp Drottning Kristina? Kvinnobilder i olika tider och kulturer*, Göteborg, 1997, 41-78. Eva Borgström, ‘Manlighetsmotivet i drottning Kristinas självbiografi’ (“The motive of manliness in queen Kristina’s biography”), Borgström, ed., *Makalösa kvinnor. Könsöverskridare i myt och verklighet*, Göteborg: Alfabetanamma, 2002, 193-238. Definition of *Karolin* from *Nationalencyklopedin (Swedish National Encyclopaedia)* [Online] Available: <http://www.ne.se/jsp/search/article.jsp?i_art_id=222379> [Date accessed May 4, 2006]
- 72 The country mansions and urban palaces of Nicodemus Tessin the elder (1615-81) are the symbols of the era of the great power. Andersson and Bedoire, *Swedish Architecture*, 50.
- 73 From “...the symbols of aristocratic life...” to “...and detailing.” *ibid.*
- 74 Riddarhuset was first designed by Simon De la Vallée, who was the first professional architect of Sweden and appointed royal *architecteur* in 1639. After the death of the father Jean De la Vallée and Jost Vingboons completed the building. Nicodemus Tessin the Elder used a similar, extravagant roof for the Drottningholm Palace, *ibid.*, 21, 44. Some of the first female professional architects of Sweden were Agnes Magnell, Anna Louise Mohr, Ingeborg Waern-Bugge and Kjerstin Göransson Stenslås, but that was in the 1910s and 1920s. (There was never a royal *architecteuse*) Anna Karlqvist, *Från eftersatt till eftersökt (“From disadvantaged to sought-after”)*, Stockholm: KTH, 1997.
- 75 For example *Riksantikvarieämbetet* (the Swedish National Heritage Board) explains “The desire for indigenous Swedish architectural forms resulted in a new kind of roof, known as säteritak or manor-house roof, a type of hipped roof with a raised vertical section at the top. The first example was probably the one on the House of the Nobility in Stockholm. The manor-house roof became the symbol of stately homes in the Caroline era.” *Kulturmiljöer i text och bild*, Swedish National Heritage Board website, [Online] Available: <<http://www.raa.se/kmb/Herrgarde.asp>> [Date accessed May 4, 2006]. Concerning “genuine Swedish-ness” see also Bengt G Söderberg ‘Introduction’ to *Slott och herresäten i Sverige, Uppland I, Malmö: Allhems förlag, 1967* and *Slott och herresäten i Sverige, Södermanland I, Malmö: Allhems förlag, 1968*.
- 76 Sten Åke Nilsson writes in *Nationalencyklopedin* that there has been a wish to trace specific national features to the Karolingian style but he underlines that the Swedish style is well integrated with European baroque.
- 77 Andersson and Bedoire, *Swedish Architecture*, 21.
- 78 Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654-1728), *ibid.*, 56.
- 79 *Ibid.*
- 80 Mats Fredriksson, 282-289. Steninge, a palatial architecture, belongs to the grand tradition of Swedish architecture history writing, developed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, whereas a building like Mårbacka is too insignificant to fit that category, nor does it fit into a history of peasant culture, being too grandiose. This is stated by Sigurd Wallin in 1918. He started to study the parsonages of Sweden because of this middle position. They are separated from the peasant culture but, Wallin argues, still nationally inscribed; he criticizes the ruling class for being too influenced by continental fashions. Sigurd Wallin, ‘De

- svenska prästgårdarna som objekt för kulturhistorisk forskning' ("The Swedish parsonages as objects for cultural historical research"), *Fataburen*, Stockholm: Nordiska museet and Nordstedt & söner, 1918.
- 81 Elisabeth Backman Broomé writes that the external appearance of Mårbacka after the second transformation in the nineteen twenties is an example of the villa ideals of the time in which certain traits were borrowed from building designs of previous epochs, Broomé, 24.
- 82 Vivi Edström writes that Lagerlöf did not chose one of the much more agreeable and more unpretentious alternatives that Clasons suggested and calls Mårbacka a "skrytbygge" (brag/showpiece). Edström, 469.
- 83 Sterner, 4. Also referenced in letter from Gustaf Clason to Selma Lagerlöf February 22, 1935, KB.
- 84 For instance married women in Sweden could not own property until 1874. The legal rights of unmarried women existed slightly earlier, the first step towards full citizenship came in 1858 when unmarried women above twenty five received the right to come of age through a court decision.
- 85 In the Swedish National Encyclopedia *herrgård* is explained as a larger country estate built in accordance with a gentleman's station. Just like the English *manor* the term refers to both a landed estate and the main house on an estate; a mansion. The main building of the estate, the corps de logis, is in Swedish called *manbyggnad* – the man's building, 86
From "Clason meant..." to "...too small" my translation of "Clason tyckte nog att terrängen och storleken på gården berättigade till att här uppfördes en "herrgårdsbyggnad". Det skulle inte vara för litet." In letter from Lagerlöf to Olander, September 30, 1919, Lagerlöf, *En riktig författarhustru*, 151.
- 87 "Öwar någon med annan person otukt, som emot naturen är, eller öwar någon otukt med djur; warde dömd till

- straffarbete i högst två år" 18 ch. 10§ strafflagen 1864. The law is quoted by Kerstin Munck in 'Makt, sexualitet och gränsöverskridanden hos Selma Lagerlöf. Exemplet Dunungen', Karlsson & Vinge, 140.
- 88 Lillian Faderman argues that the relation between women was not considered serious unless they suspected that the intimate friends practiced penetration. Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the love of men. Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from Renaissance to the Present*, William Morrow: New York, 1981.
- 89 My translation of "Man fann något högdraget men samtidigt skevt i formgivningen", Ruster & Westman, 153.
- 90 From "she never gets beyond..." to "...humble farms and manor houses." paraphrase and my translation of "Självt kommer jag aldrig över min förvåning när detta egendommeligt placerade hus plötsligt dyker upp en bit från bilvägen. I detta landskap som har så många vackra, förnämt anspråklösa gårdar och herrgårdsbyggnader." Edström, 469.
- 91 The uneasiness with the exterior look of the building is repeated again and again when the building is described, both in early descriptions like Maj Sterner's (who assures the reader that no exterior changes can distort the conception of Mårbacka. Sterner, 4) from 1935, and in contemporary texts such as that of Broomé, 1.
- 92 My translation of "Jag får nog höra, och det får kanske professorn med, att det var illa och pietetslöst, att göra Mårbacka till en bekväm och beboelig bostad. Vi skulle naturligtvis gjort något sådant som Geijers gården, som verkligen är mycket intressant och lustig, men där ingen kan bo. Den kan aldrig bli annat än ett museum. Det är ju helt annat med Mårbacka, som skall vara ett hem för människor." Letter from Selma Lagerlöf to I.G. Clason, January 2, 1924, KB.

- 93 From “Ugh, those...” to “...an angel.” my translation of “Usch, de där otäcka karlarna! Bara våga tänka på att gripa in i och kritisera din helgedom, ditt dyrt förvärvade eget personliga hem! Det är upprörande! Jag är säker att du ändå var som en ängel mot dem.” Letter from Valborg Olander to Selma Lagerlöf, July 23-24, 1909, KB, # 43.
- 94 Letter from Valborg Olander to Selma Lagerlöf, October 29, 1922, KB, also in Broomé, 8.
- 95 She wrote “During his entire life he had dreamed of raising a proper manor house on the beloved home farm.” Lagerlöf, *Mårbacka* (1922), Stockholm: Bonnierpocket, 1995, 2001, 181. It is a widespread story that Lagerlöf lived to make the dream of her cherished father come true. See for instance Sterner, 5, Brunius, 133 or von Schoultz, 306.
- 96 From “To enter...” to “...repetition itself.” (shortened), Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 189.
- 97 An architecture that exhibited itself over six months with an enormous choice of attractions and 27 million visitors, the *World’s Columbian Exposition* was an exaggerated result of the norms of society in respect to gender, ethnicity and class. This does not exclude the possibility of it being the playground for subversion of norms. The fair resulted in many publications. A very informative website where 1893 sources can be accessed is published by Paul v. Gavin Library, Illinois Institute of Technology [Online] Available: <<http://columbus.gl.iit.edu>> [Date accessed: March 15, 1999]. There is a extensive study of the Woman’s Building; Jeanne Madeline Weimann, *The Fair Women, The Story of The Woman’s Building, World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893*, Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981
- 98 In 1891 Sophia Hayden was the first woman to graduate in architecture from MIT, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA. At KTH, thirty years later, the first woman

admitted for a regular exam in architecture was Brita Snellman in 1921. When working on the realization architect Sophia Hayden was shown off as a role model for all female professionals. But when she got exhausted from the pressure of work and fame, she became proof that women didn’t have the strength to be architects. Weimann, 145, 177-180. Werner, 71-75. Here I briefly show an example of debated femininity at the 1893 Chicago fair. Gail Bederman has studied the discourse of race and masculinity at the *World’s Columbian Exposition*. Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

- 99 Many buildings diverged from the white classicist design code – for instance architect Gustaf Wickman designed *The Building of the Kingdom of Sweden and Norway* in tarred clapboarding. The most eye-catching exception was probably the *Transportation Building* designed by the queer architect Louis Sullivan in shades of red and orange with an ornate, grandiose portal in gold and green. The nickname ‘the White City’ works with the design code to reduce such examples and mark them as deviant. For an elaboration on homophobia in relation to the works of Sullivan, see Jennifer Bloomer, “D’Or”, Beatriz Colomina ed., *Sexuality & Space*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992, 162- 183. Fredric Bedoire, *En arkitekt och hans verksamhetsfält kring sekelskiftet. Gustav Wickmans arbeten 1884-1916*. Diss., School of Architecture, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, 1974, 128-129.
- 100 At the Midway Plaisance you found that which did not qualify for the “civilized” departments of the park; *Lapland Village* and other exotic, racist or sexualized exhibits of “less civilized” people, such as *Street of Cairo* and *Sitting Bull’s Camp*, the first *Ferris wheel* and Eadweard Muybridge’s *Zoopraxigraphical Hall*. Provokingly close, on the Midway

- Plaisance side “behind” the Woman’s Building, stood another building marked by femininity; *The World’s Congress of Beauties*. This congress was not assembled to discuss politics but to promote a dress company and display feminine beauty tied to nationality. On the banner hanging on the façade were the words “40 Ladies from 40 Nations”.
- 101 Jessica Blaustein, ‘Cleaning house. Or one nation, indivisible’, Dowler et al. (eds.), *Gender and Landscape*, 188-89.
- 102 My translation of ”det kvinnliga könet, uppskattat för sin kärlek till det ornamentala, skapade en av de enklaste byggnaderna i parken.”. *Chicago Vyer, Fotografiska vyer av Verldsutställningen och Midway Plaisance: huvudbyggnader och portaler ... : den mest omfattande och fullkomliga samling, som ännu utgifvits, af den Columbiska verldsutställningens märkvärdigheter*, Chicago: N. Jul & Co., 1894.
- 103 The article by Despina Stratigakos is accompanied by extensive illustrations, ‘Women and the Werkbund. Gender Politics and German Design Reform, 1907-14’, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, December 2003, 490-511. Another essay with a few images of the *Haus der Frau* by Despina Stratigakos, ‘The uncanny architect. Fears of lesbian builders and deviant homes in modern Germany’, is published in Hilde Heyen & Gulsum Baydar, eds., *Negotiating Domesticity. Spatial productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, London & New York: Routledge, 2005, 145-161.
- 104 Despina Stratigakos, ‘The uncanny architect.’, 150-151.
- 105 Despina Stratigakos, 151. Stratigakos refers to Fb., ‘deutsche Werkbund-Ausstellung’, *Kölner Tageblatt*, no.546, 25 July, 1914.
- 106 Despite the exact repetition of the design it is always the park-side which is represented in pictures. Of course the lagoon makes it picturesque, but the insistence on a main entrance also has to do with the construction of the midway as the backside or the non-representative part of the exhibition.
- 107 “a white heterosexual nationalist project”, Blaustein, 182.
- 108 From “a model home...” to “...family of man”, *ibid*.
- 109 Jessica Blaustein writes about the reproduction of gender and sexuality in relation to the cleanliness (read *whiteness*) of architecture: “...this work insists upon a mutually constitutive relationship between material productions of space and structures of morality that assign value to practices of gender and sexuality. For such structures are not imposed from above; they are erected, propped up in this particular case by a family of man desperately trying to keep their house clean.” *ibid*, 183.
- 110 Critical discourses on “whiteness” build on the challenges to white supremacy made by anti-racist and feminist thought and action. For further elaboration on whiteness see Richard Dyer, *White*, London, New York: Routledge, 1997 and in relation to architecture ‘Whiteness’, *AMY*, No 16, 1996.
- 111 The White House of Washington DC was built already in 1800 and designed by James Hoban. See the *White House Website*[Online]. Available: <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/facts.html>> [Date accessed: December 7, 2004].
- 112 In the pamphlet they argue that the American people are not loyal enough to live up to their own constitution. Ida B Wells, Frederick Douglass, Irvine Garland Penn and F.L. Barnett, *The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in The World’s Columbian Exposition* (1893), Robert W. Rydell, ed., Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999. I will not go into the racist and sexist ethnological displays of Africans and African-Americans at the Chicago exhibition in this text, but only point to the work of others. See for instance Rydell,

- ”Darkest Africa” African Shows at America’s World’s Fairs, 1893-1940.’ His analysis draws on Gertrude M. Scott, ‘Village Performances: Villages at the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition’ (PhD. Diss.), New York University, 1991. Gail Bederman has written about the work of Ida B. Wells; Gail Bederman, “‘Civilization,’ the decline of middle class manliness, and Ida B. Wells’s anti-lynching campaign (1892-94)”, *Radical history review*, 52, 1992, 4-30.
- 113 Toni Morrison, *Playing in the dark. Whiteness and the literary imagination*, New York: Vintage Books, 1993.
- 114 However the segregation was not complete; there may be other stories to be told simultaneously. There were some African American women on the board of the Woman’s Building. One alternate, attorney and educator Hale G. Parker, was selected from Missouri for the National Board, while one New York City school teacher, J. Imogene Howard, was state delegate from New York’s contingent to the fair. Chicago journalist Fannie Barrier Williams, served briefly in a clerical position on Bertha Palmer’s staff. They were marginalized but not excluded, as on the other boards for the exhibition. An anti-racism activist Williams addressed the *World’s Congress of Representative Women*, May 15-21, 1893, along with “white” feminists such as Jane Addams and Susan Anthony. Williams and other activists’ fight for civic rights for everyone must not be overlooked. Nevertheless the vision to contribute and celebrate fully as emancipated citizens, twenty-eight years after the end of slavery, was far from accomplished. The critical task is to keep on asking who is excluded within any new inclusion. Weimann, 531, 545, and Christopher Robert Reed, ‘The Black Presence at “White City”: African and African American Participation at the World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, May 1, 1893 - October 31, 1893’, *World’s Columbian Exposition Website* [Online]. Available <<http://columbus.gl.iit.edu>> [Date accessed: October 15, 2004].
- 115 Ingnaberg’s quarry is in the south of Sweden.
- 116 From “They can...” to “...of stone.” translation of “De kunna ju tagas lika tjocka och runda som de av sten.” quote from letter by Valborg Olander to Selma Lagerlöf March 23, 1922, KB, #95.
- 117 Letter from Olander to Lagerlöf, March 23, 1922, KB, #95, letter from Lagerlöf to Gustaf Clason, December 12, 1922, KB. Brunius also tells the story, 126.
- 118 For instance the home of the artists Karin and Carl Larsson, a memorial estate in Dalecarlia not far from Mårbacka, also created and manifested a Swedish-ness, but in a tone of everyday life. “Less inclined towards Modernism and Art Nouveau, Clason developed historicism towards a nationalistic architecture, based on the use of genuine materials.” Andersson and Bedoire, 136, 36.
- 119 Broomé 18.
- 120 Ulf Zander, *Fornstora dagar, moderna tider. Bruk och debatter om svensk historia från sekelskifte till sekelskifte*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2001. 144-146, 274.
- 121 Lagerlöf writes about the expected journalists in a letter to Gustaf Clason, June 15, 1923, a few days later she writes to Valborg Olander that the journalists are from Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Romania, Argentina, Columbia and Portugal, Letter from Olander to Lagerlöf, June 20, 1923, KB. From “The building is...” to “...of the world.” Rolf Hughes’ translation of “Bygget ser nu trevligare ut för var dag som går. Men det är också så mycket turister här så att det behövs. I nästa vecka komma 30 eller 40 journalister från alla världens delar.” Letter from Lagerlöf to Gustaf Clason, June 15, 1923, KB and Brunius, 129.
- 122 Rolf Hughes helped me with the translation of “Hela värld-

- dens, - ja efter världens - blickar skulle ju komma att granska arbetet.” Letter from I. G. Clason to Selma Lagerlöf, January 12, 1924, KB, #159.
- 123 My translation of “verkligan ganska ståtligt”, letter from Gustav Clason to Selma Lagerlöf, December 1, 1923, KB, #158.
- 124 That Clason is familiar with this technique of masking is obvious in his snide remarks on the representations of Mårbacka of 1909 in his first letter to Lagerlöf. It seems like Lagerlöf has sent him two representations, a painted postcard and a photograph, of the building. He compares them and writes that the artist of the postcard skillfully has hidden all the disturbing “ameliorations” to only let the old framework show in the foliage. Letter from Isak Gustaf Clason to Lagerlöf, March 12, 1919, KB.
- 125 In a letter Olander wrote “You ask about Clason’s façade. I think it is possible to have it according to the drawing, because you rarely stand where you have any unobstructed view at any distance.” My translation of “Du frågar om Clasons fasad. Jag tror nog att det går för sig att ha den så som ritningen, därför att man sällan står så att man har fri överblick över den på något avstånd.” Letter by Olander to Lagerlöf March 23, 1922, KB, #95. (Olander’s emphasis).
- 126 The façade drawing today hangs on the wall of Valborg Olander’s bedroom at Mårbacka. Jan Brunius writes about the dilemma of the asymmetry and how it wasn’t solved until December 1923. Brunius, 120, 126.
- 127 Rolf Hughes helped me with the translation from “Now the house...” to “...is complete.” of “Nu är huset på Mårbacka riktigt grannt. En portik med fem par pelare möter besökarens öga, maken finns inte i denna landsända. Du kan tro att det är något att se. Nu sätta vi upp pilastrar på väggarna och list under taket, sedan kommer köksverandan och så putsning. Därpå är det yttre färdigt.” Letter from Lagerlöf to Olander, May 17, 1923, KB.
- 128 Elsie de Wolfe, *The House in Good Taste*, New York: The Century Company, 1911, 4.
- 129 Elisabeth Backman Broomé writes that the second staircase probably was built in the fifties or sixties. There are no documents concerning the rebuilding either at Mårbacka or the building department in Sunne. Broomé, 29, footnote 69.
- 130 Von Schoultz, 307.
- 131 *Mårbacka memorial estate webpage* [Online]. Available: <<http://www.marbacka.s.se/>> [Date accessed: April 5, 2006]. Selma Lagerlöf, *The wonderful adventures of Nils and further adventures of Nils*(1906), translated by Velma Swanson Howard, London: Puffin, 1999 (1953).
- 132 From “This easy-chair...” to “...private guests.”, Thor Helge Kjellin, *Mårbacka. Guide through Selma Lagerlöf’s Home by Professor Helge Kjellin*, Karlstad: Mårbacka Foundation, 1947, 7.
- 133 From “I thought...” to “...and cold.” my translation and paraphrase of “Jag tänker mig att den gamla förstugan, befriad från trappan och WC blir ett rätt fint rum, även om den kallas hall och jag får där ett trevligt sällsamsrum och vardagsrum, som ju väl behövs i nedre våningen om vintern i synnerhet, då salongen är för stor och kall.” Letter from Lagerlöf to Olander, September 30, 1919, Lagerlöf, *En riktig författarhustru*, 151.
- 134 From “The guest book...” to “...her home.”, Kjellin, 7.
- 135 Lagerlöf’s will dated February 22, 1933 quoted in Edberg, 5.
- 136 From “On the wall...” to “...birthday.”, and from “The Furniture...” to “...unassuming.”, Kjellin, 7. From “Before we leave...” to “...of Torup” my translation and paraphrase.

- rase of “Innan vi lämna hallens yttre avdelning, må nämnas ett konstverk av en annan art, nämligen ett av den svenska hemselöjens yppersta textilarbeten, en kudde, utförd i skånsk flamskteknik, vilken pryder väggbänken och är en gåva av friherrinnan Henriette Coyet på Torup.” Sterner, 7.
- 137 My translation of “Till Doktor Lagerlöf på 50årsdagen från beundrarinnor. Falun den 20/11 1908.”, brass plate at Mårbacka.
- 138 From “large drawing room...” to “...the piano here”, Kjellin, 7.
- 139 Letter from Isac Gustaf Clason to Lagerlöf, March 31, 1921, KB, #115.
- 140 Despite a statistical balance in the number of female and male architects today, the role as head of office is still dominated by men. They are the ones who sign the projects, which hides anyone further down the hierarchy.
- 141 My translation of “kanske fanns även ett visst egenintresse därbakom”, Broomé, 21-22.
- 142 For instance Vivi Edström, whose biography on Lagerlöf I very much admire, finds it important to firmly state that “Selma did not make a revolt against the family conventions of her time. On the contrary. As an adult she had a family with her mother and aunt.” Lagerlöf did not make a revolt in the open, but, just like Edström interprets a lot of other aspects of Lagerlöf’s life, she performed a balance act in the bold venture of life. My translation of “Selma gjorde inget uppror mot sin tids familjekonventioner. Tvärtom. Som vuxen bildade hon familj med mamma och faster.” Edström, 461. Svante Norrhem has pointed out how the common attitude that Lagerlöf’s homosexuality is irrelevant reinstates the same homophobic norms that once made it impossible for Lagerlöf and Olander to be open about their love. Norrhem, 43-50.
- 143 The first time Lagerlöf writes that she wants Olander to live with her at Mårbacka is November 1903, several years before Lagerlöf even bought the manor. She also states that Olander should have a home of her own as well. Lagerlöf, *En riktig författarhustru*, 23. The question is discussed in several letters between Lagerlöf and Olander 1919-23, for instance letters from Lagerlöf to Olander April 3, September 8, 30, 1919, April 11, 15, 1921; letters from Olander to Lagerlöf September 1919, #120 and October 8, 1919, #129-130 (where Olander suggests to help Lagerlöf financially with the building project), October 22, 1920 and April 7, 1922.
- 144 From “The armchairs...” to “...an old bureau,” Kjellin, 7-8.
- 145 From “and the Blüthner...” to “...the northern wall.”, *ibid.*, 8.
- 146 Ruster & Westman, 68.
- 147 From “Unfortunately...” to “...old instrument.” my translation of “Tyvärr är pianisten lika dålig på det nya som på det gamla instrumentet.” Letter from Lagerlöf to Olander, September 19, 1921, KB.
- 148 From “An oil painting...” to “...hunting scenes.” Kjellin, 8.
- 149 From “The wall...” to “...flame.” *Ibid.*, 7.
- 150 From “...borrowed the motive...” to “...the seasons.” my translation and paraphrase of “...lånat ett förr ganska vanligt ämne nämligen symboliserande de fyra årstiderna, våren av blommor, sommaren av sädesax, hösten av frukter och vintern av en brasa, vilken lämpligen placeras i fältet över kakelugnen. Övriga fält prydas av stjärnhimlens storheter, vilka ju utöva ett visst inflytande på hur årstiderna gestalta sig.” Letter from Gustaf Clason to Lagerlöf, June 12, 1923, KB, # 144.
- 151 From “There was such...” to “...expert advise.” paraphrase

- (change from present to past tense) and my translation of “Det är sådan rikedom där på vackra motiv, att jag verkligen inte vet vad jag bör välja, utan behöver sakkunnig hjälp.” Letter from Lagerlöf to Isak Gustaf Clason, January 12, 1923, KB.
- 152 From “Naturally...” to “...permission” paraphrase and translation of “naturligtvis kan man göra något i samma sort och då lär man inte behöva begära tillåtelse.” Letter from Gustaf Clason to Lagerlöf, October 18, 1922, KB, #134, and reference to letter from Gustaf Clason to Lagerlöf June 6, 1923, KB, #142.
- 153 Brunius, 127.
- 154 From “A large house...” to “...symbol of power” paraphrase of historian Gudrun Andersson “Ett stort hus i kombination med markägande är en klassisk maktsymbol” interviewed in the daily newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*. The article, by Juan Flores, is about the Swedish prime minister and leader of the Social Democratic party of the time; Göran Persson who was building a manor house with his wife Anitra Steen, ‘Persson bryter mönstret’ (“Persson breaks the pattern”), *Dagens Nyheter*, April 16, 2006, 20.
- 155 The residence in Falun is mentioned as a reference in relation to the interiors, Lagerlöf in letter to Isak Gustaf Clason, January 12, 1923, KB. Since Lagerlöf’s letters to the architect 1919-20 are lost it is uncertain if it was a reference for other aspects of the project. What is important is that among the three alternatives Clason presented Lagerlöf chose the most impressive one. It was developed into the fourth, realized, alternative with the addition of the classicist pilasters and a longer verandah. The residence in Falun was built in the 1730s but was given a neoclassic dress in the 1780s. Louis Masreliez, known for his interior designs for King Gustav III such as the wonderful pavilion at Haga in Stockholm, made the drawings for the interior decorations.
- 156 Hans Beskow, ‘Falun residens och dess inredning’ (‘Falun residence and its interior decoration’), *Dalarnas hembyggsbok* (The Dalecarlia folklore book), Falun: Dalarnas Fornminnes och Hembyggsförening, 1954, 139-40.
- 157 From “copies of portraits...” to “...Värmland” Kjellin, 7.
- 158 Fabio Cleto, ‘Introduction: Queering the Camp’, Fabio Cleto, ed., *Camp. Queer aesthetics and the Performing Subject: A Reader* (1999), Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002, 10.
- 159 Camp and queer share the same critical stage. For instance Judith Butler developed the model of gender performativity and drag as a subversive practice on anthropologist Esther Newton’s study of drag queens, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (1972). Newton suggested that female impersonators reveal the process in which gender is constructed socially. She also states that “camp is in the eye of the homosexual beholder.”(Cleto, 102) Cleto describes the interconnectedness of camp and queer in relation to Susan Sontag’s widely debated essay ‘Notes on “Camp”’, where she brought out *camp* as a modern sensibility while simultaneously depoliticizing and disengaging it from queer culture. According to Cleto she turned it into a straight taste, but camp is always provisional and partial. Cleto describes camp as “provisional ‘wings’ and ‘chambers’ of a queer building whose walls are erected, dismantled and moved elsewhere, as soon as their performing ends are accomplished.”(Cleto, 36). Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 174, Esther Newton ‘Role Models’, Cleto, 96-109, and Susan Sontag, ‘Notes on “Camp”’, Cleto, 53-65.
- 160 Diana Souhami, *Wild girls. Paris, Sappho & Art: the Lives and*

- Loves of Natalie Barney and Romaine Brooks*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2004, 61.
- 161 Ruster and Westman, 69.
- 162 The portraits show Daniel Lagerlöf (1651-1718), Mariana Kentzel (1672-1754), Anders Lagerlöf (1700-1769), Christina Engel Hofsten (1715-1761), Daniel Johan Lagerlöf (1737-1784), Brita Sejdalia (1746-1796), Erland Lagerlöf (1756-1827) and Agneta Troili (1769-1821).
- 163 Priests are common characters in Lagerlöf's writing – another example is the priest Karl-Artur Ekenstedt in the trilogy *Lövensköld*.
- 164 Karlsson, 55.
- 165 My translation of “poesiprosan med dess starka känslouttryck, kombineras med ironin mot den heroiska och patriarkala traditionen.” Edström, 162. Social differences marked by class and gender, as well as the tension between the new and old were themes that Selma Lagerlöf closely examined in her writing.
- 166 From “The dining room...” to “...Wallroth.” Kjellin, 8. There is a view of Filipstad, which was her mother's birthplace, Kungälv, Tisksågen outside Falun, Gustafsfors in Dalsland, Seattle in California and Lagerlöf's own home in Falun, *ibid.*
- 167 There are no mirrors across corners at the Haga pavilion. Noteworthy in this context is that the pavilion was renovated and to some extent reconstructed in the 1930s to a Gustavian appearance (late eighteenth century). This story was given to me by architecture historian Victor Edman who studies the twentieth century interest in the neo-classical Gustavian era, *Historicism in modernity. Architecture and the humanities in 20th century Sweden* (on-going research project at KTH School of Architecture), research leader Johan Mårtelius.
- 168 From “The own home...” to “...parasitic existence.” my translation of “Det egna hemmet är en kraftkälla, ur hvilken de förut rotlösa, håglösa, modlösa kunna återhämta förtroende till lifvet och tilltro till sig själva. Hvad allt detta kan medföra av nya modiga tankar, nya uppslag är omöjligt att förutsäga. Visst är, att det egna hemmets jordmån har kraft att bära friskare skott, än vad den rotlösa parasittillvaron lyckas frambringa.”, Wachtmeister, 8.
- 169 Wachtmeister's book is one of the few titles on housing in Lagerlöf's library. She subscribed to some journals *Idun : illustrerad tidning för kvinnan och hemmet* (“*Idun: illustrated journal for the woman and the home*”), *Hem i Sverige : tidskrift för bygge, trädgård och hemkultur* (“*Homes in Sweden: journal for building, garden and home culture*”) and there are two volumes of *Svenska hem i ord och bilder* (“*Swedish Homes in Words and Images*”) 1932 and 1935 (where Mårbacka is presented side by side with Sven Markeilius' functionalist villa in Bromma, Stockholm). All titles of the library at Mårbacka are listed in a database of Karlstad university library, ‘Lagerlöf's library,’ *Karlstad universitetsbiblioteks database* [Online]. Available: <<http://www.bib.kau.se/?q=marbacka>> [Date accessed: March 31, 2006.]
- 170 From “In former...” to “...married” paraphrase and my translation of “Att ‘få ett eget hem’ betydde efter gammalt språkbruk att en ung flicka blef gift”, G.A., ‘Litteratur för sommaren’, *Dagny*, 1905:11, 256, KVINSAM [Online]. Available: <<http://www.ub.gu.se/kvinn/digtid/03/>> [Date accessed: April 10, 2006]
- 171 “worried conservatives” and “objections” my translations of “ängsliga samhällsbevarare” and “invändningar”, Wachtmeister, 14, 16.
- 172 From “...is it not...” to “... completely redundant...” my translation of “...är det inte nog med att man låter flickorna ägna sig åt annat arbete än det de som blivande

- hustrur och mödrar äro danade för, skall man nu också öppna åt dem möjligheten af egna hem, oberoende av äktenskapet, då är ju mannen snart aldeles överflödig...”, *ibid.*, 16.
- 173 From “*The creative artist...*” to “... for the patch.” my translation of “*Den skapande konstnären, målaren, som efter slutade studier behöfver ostörd ro och ensamhet för att fullt och helt kunna ägna sig åt sitt arbete, längtar efter naturens inspirerande och fördjupade medverkan./.../ Hon slår sig samman med en god vän, som besitter den praktiska skaparlusten och som med glädje åtar sig de husliga bestyren och omsorgen om täppan.*” *ibid.*, 11.
- 174 Birgitta Stenberg, legendary for her books about her queer life, for instance *Kärlek i Europa*, was awarded the Selma Lagerlöf prize in 2005. In her acceptance speech she expressed her gratitude towards Lagerlöf and the society formed to care for Lagerlöf’s legacy for acknowledging queerness. From “belonged” to “themselves” my translation of “Lagerlöf tillhörde den första generationen som skapade en egen queer värld omkring sig”. Birgitta Stenberg, “Tack Selma!”, *Dagens Nyheter*, August 14, 2005, 4-5.
- 175 From “While the one...” to “... the spade.” my translation of “Medan nu den ena vännen målar, arbetar den andra i trädgården och ovisst är, hvilken av de två som känner sig lyckligast i sitt skapande, den med penseln eller den med spaden.” Wachtmeister, 11.
- 176 From “This home...” to “...settle together.” my translation of “Hemmet kommer att på ett helt annat sätt bli ett hem, då vi bli två.” Letter from Lagerlöf to Olander, April 15, 1921, KB. (A part of the letter is cut out.)
- 177 From “The Mårbacka building...” to “...well off.” paraphrase and my translation of “Mårbacka bygget är ju påbörjat, det är ju också så märkvärdigt och om något är bara skulle du kunna flytta till mig. /.../ om du vill ha ditt eget hem kvar, men mesta delen av året måste du ändå vara hos mig. /.../ Du har varit tålig, det var omöjligt att göra detta förut, mest hoppas jag att vi ska få åldras samman. Vi ska låta Clason rita så att du får det riktigt bra.” Letter card from Lagerlöf to Olander, April 11, 1921, Lagerlöf, *En riktig författarhustru*, 165-166.
- 178 From “Wasn’t it a fine...” to “...in Russia” my translation of “Och var det inte en fin tanke, att sekreteraren får ett rum utanför sitt sovrum, ett arbetsrum eller förmak. Det blir som i Ryssland.” Letter from Lagerlöf to Olander, September 30, 1919, Lagerlöf, *En riktig författarhustru*, 151.
- 179 From “You are...” to “...as novels.” Rolf Hughes’ translation of “Du är så söt, som bygger hus med samma säkerhet som romaner.” It probably refers to the first transformation of Mårbacka. Letter from Olander to Lagerlöf, July 16, 1909 (The year is question marked), KB, # 37.
- 180 From “We will...” to “...the people.” Paraphrase and my translation of “Vi får ju ta det makligt för din Augustas skull och likaså för alla människors skull.” Letter from Lagerlöf to Olander, April 15, 1921, KB.
- 181 From “My beloved...” to “...half life.” my translation of “Min älskade, det är förskräckligt att vara så skild från dig. Jag vet bara inte hur det kan gå att leva ett så här halvt liv.” Letter from Olander to Lagerlöf October 22, 1920, KB, # 153.
- 182 Rolf Hughes has helped on the translation of “Snart ska vi arbeta tillsammans och älska, älska upptända. Det är så härligt att tänka på.” Letter from Lagerlöf to Olander, 1909, quoted in Rüster and Westman, 115.
- 183 From “How many...” to “...furnished room” my translation of “Hur många gamla fröken slösar ej hela sitt hjärtas sparade rikedom på den lilla knähunden, det enda

- hon kan kalla sitt, där hon bor i pensionatet eller det möblerade rummet.” Wachtmeister, 8.
- 184 In 1909 Valborg Olander calls Lagerlöf from Falun to tell her she has been awarded the Nobel Prize in literature. She was not only the first woman to get the prize but also the first Swedish person to get it. Story reiterated in Rüster and Westman, 54.
- 185 The map is drawn by Johan Hörlin and the display is designed by Gustaf Clason.
- 186 The sculpture is made by Olga Lanner. Mentioned in letter from Gustaf Clason to Lagerlöf, July 13, 1923, KB #152.
- 187 Lagerlöf’s limping is one of the strongest characteristics in the image of Lagerlöf, for instance Katarina Ek-Nilsson describes how Lagerlöf in the Nobel Museum in Stockholm is symbolized by her shoes with one heel higher than the other.
- 188 Karlsson, 58.
- 189 From “Above the...” to “...the 1880-ies.”, Kjellin, 9.
- 190 From “This in...” to “...charm.” my translation of “som även den på sitt vis har en charm av hemtrevnad”, Sterner, 20.
- 191 From “The room has been...” to “...second best parlour.”, Kjellin, 9. Except from “Here the motives...” to “...of festivity.” my translation of “Härinne äro motiven i tegelrött, vilket ger ett intryck av festivitas.”, *ibid.*
- 192 From “It is a real...” to “...maiden roof.” my translation of “Det är en riktig profanation, inte sant?, att hysa manliga individer, under sitt jungfruliga (!) tak.” Letter from Olander to Lagerlöf, July 21, 1909, KB, #40-41.
- 193 In a letter to Olander Lagerlöf writes about the remarkable incident that the death of Elkan happened just before Olander’s decision to move to Stockholm. “Sällan har jag varit med om något så märkvärdigt som detta att hon gick bort ögonblicket innan du hade bestämt dig för Stockholm.” Letter card from Lagerlöf till Olander, April 11, 1921, Selma Lagerlöf, *En riktig författarhustru*, 165.
- 194 From “The second door...” to “...colors.”, Kjellin, 11.
- 195 Westman writes that the bed is a copy of a bed at Gripsholm and also points out the laurel leaf ornament. Rüster and Westman, 32-33.
- 196 From “She [Lagerlöf] sacrificed...” to “...with guests.” Elin Wägner, *Selma Lagerlöf, Från Jerusalem till Mårbacka (“Selma Lagerlöf. From Jerusalem to Mårbacka”)*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1943, vol.2, 60, quoted in Maja Petré, *Selma Lagerlöf and Mårbacka. A chronicle in pictures*, Sunne: Mårbackastiftelsen, 1979, 32.
- 197 Dandanell, 34. The library at Mårbacka was also produced at Axel Johansson’s furniture factory.
- 198 The furniture and other movables were sold at a public auction, but through private donors and local societies the library with effects were purchased and in 1985 the entire cabinet was reconstructed in the Museum of Dalecarlia in Falun. *Ibid.*, 34-35.
- 199 My translation of “Om lesbiska osynliggjorts har äldre lesbiska osynliggjorts ännu mer.” Norrhem, 47.
- 200 Per-Ove Ohlsson wrote “When one sees the photo of Selma Lagerlöf and Valborg Olander/.../ two ladies wearing floor-length coats and horrible hats, the thought of advanced lesbian games feels rather strange” my translation of “När man ser fotot av Selma Lagerlöf och Valborg Olander/.../ två långkappsklädda damer iförda de hiskligaste hattar, känns tanken på avancerade lesbiska lekar något sällsam” Per-Ove Ohlsson, *Borås Tidning*, June 2, 1996, quoted in Norrhem, 40, 48.
- 201 From “From the bed-room...” to “...intrude unasked.”

- Kjellin, 11. Except for “The most interesting ...” to “...Lagerlöf’s workroom.” my translation of “Den mest intressanta interiören på Mårbacka är biblioteket, naturligtvis främst av den orsaken att det är Selma Lagerlöfs arbetsrum.” Sterner, 15.
- 202 Detail drawings by Clasons, IG Clason collection, Architecture Museum, and discussions in letters from Gustaf Clason to Lagerlöf, 1921-22, KB.
- 203 From “Here, where... ..” to “...most felt.” Kjellin, 11.
- 204 From “No sound...” to “...poetry.”, *ibid.*
- 205 Ruth Brandberg (1878-1944) studied at the Horticultural College for Women in Swanley, Kent, and with IP Andersen in Copenhagen, who, around 1920, was one of the most influential garden designers of Denmark. Brunius, 107, letters from Lagerlöf to Olander, May and July 6, 1909, Lagerlöf, *En riktig författarhustru*, 58-59, 61-62, Elin Wägner, *Selma Lagerlöf, Från Jerusalem till Mårbacka* (“*Selma Lagerlöf. From Jerusalem to Mårbacka*”), vol.2, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1943, 68, Catharina Nolin, ‘Kvinnliga trädgårdsarkitekter under 1900-talets första hälft. Mot en professionell yrkesidentitet’ (“Female garden architects of the first half of the twentieth century. Towards a professional occupational identity”), paper at the *Women, Skill and Employment Conference*, Åbo, Finland, 2005.08.12-14. [Online] Available <<http://qhist2005.utu.fi/yrke.htm#>> [Date accessed: April 4, 2006]
- 206 From “She used...” to “...landscape behind.” Kjellin, 11.
- 207 From “No sound...” to “...other people.”, *ibid.*
- 208 Fredriksson, 337-338.
- 209 My translation of “Biblioteket bör naturligtvis under inga omständigheter vara något genomgångsrum.” Fredriksson, 338.
- 210 From “I have written...” to “...will be fine.” my translation of “Jag har skrivit till Clason om att förändra den övre långa hallen till bibliotek, som du föreslog, och han har skickat en ändrad ritning. Nu tror jag snart att bygget blir bra” letter from Lagerlöf to Elkan, February 5, 1920, # 2731, Lagerlöf, *Du lär mig bli fri*, 494.
- 211 From “I will” to “my taste.” Brady Burroughs has helped me with the translation of “Jag skall lära dig något bra när jag kommer hem, angående gardiner, mycket vackert i mitt tycke.” letter from Olander to Lagerlöf, July 16, 1909 (the year is question marked), KB, # 37.

Postscript
*Drawing the
Curtains*

This research project draws upon a range of critical practices; queer feminist theories are used as architecture theory; queer activism, design tools and theatrical performances are combined to create a research methodology. In this cross-cutting chapter I demonstrate the theoretical and methodological constructions, as well as comment on definitions of central terms; this is done through two parts – ‘The Salon Model’ and ‘Lectures.’ In the following section called ‘Overview’ I locate the research in relation to existing material, other research, and finally in the ‘Endnotes’ compare the case studies and make projections into a possible future.

The Salon Model

The literary salon of Natalie Barney/20 rue Jacob is a critical device that can demonstrate how the interconnected themes of this research – theatricality, queer feminism and architecture – are brought into play. The salon as a model for architecture can help us gain a better understanding of how our built environment plays a role in the construction of gender and sexuality. I also think this is one key to understanding and creating architecture other/wise, to make it less determined, more supple and transformative. This is a key motive for my research.

Linked historically to the drawing room, or the private salon, the literary salon can take place in many different settings, a café, an exhibition hall or a book shop. It is the

event that turns it into a salon. Thus the salon of matter, “the theater salon”, props and backdrops; and the acts – dialogues, flirtations, readings, portrayals, tableaux vivants, speeches – are woven together by the participants’ engagement at a particular moment.

Natalie Barney’s salon at 20 rue Jacob was important in the staging of queer lifestyles. It is particularly important from a lesbian perspective since it counter-acted the invisibility of lesbians in everyday life. Barney’s salon was performed through masquerading, cross-dressing and theatrical encounters, it was a disguise that hid, disclosed and even warped reality simultaneously. The settings – the building constellation, an eighteenth century pavilion in an unruly garden with a small classicist temple surrounded by tall apartment blocks in central Paris, the thought-provoking interior decoration with its eclectic collection of objects, textiles, portraits and books – are all part of this extravagant and thorough staging. Performances such as *tableaux vivants*, living images, often attributed to female sexuality were events that took place within the larger theatrical form of the salon. In Barney’s salon there was a blurred distinction between theater and life as the audience, consisting of friends, lovers and acquaintances were also the actors. Likewise, the place for the salon was the house where the salonnière lived. The literary salon is an enactment of architecture, because the architecture appears in the social theatrical event with a performative force.

Performativity and Heteronormativity

In any building activity, ideologies and norms are reiterated, but what I simultaneously want to bring into play is that this also works the other way around – subject positions are partly constructed through building activities. Feminist and

queer perspectives, especially the theories of *performativity* and *heteronormativity*, are critical starting points to investigate these constructions.

As I defined in lecture one *performativity* explains how subject positions such as *homosexual* or *female* are constructed socially and historically through performative acts where utterances coincide with actions. In *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (1997) Butler argues that the performative act is at once performed (theatrical) and linguistic. Since architecture is produced culturally, performativity is built into all architecture. For example, architecture prescribes behavior; bodies and social situations are engaged with building elements, settings and scenes. By repeating the same principles for how we build homes over and over again, these principles are naturalized. For example, one room of the home is repeatedly prescribed as *master bedroom*.¹ Thus taking for granted and even dictating a master, a term loaded with patriarchal power, in the household. The distribution of spaces has a performative force of authority. Nevertheless, any building – furnished, refurbished, interpreted or appropriated – yields an excess of possibilities.

My interest in 20 rue Jacob is mainly tied to the personal theater that took place there; the literary salon enacted in a home. 20 rue Jacob as well as the two other main building constellations of this dissertation – E.1027, and Mårbacka – are tied to a main character but they all housed a collective, a collective that was not the heterosexual family constellation. These architectures are tied to lifestyles that challenge heteronormativity. I do not suggest that you automatically escape norms of gender and sexuality just because you engage in lesbian or queer practices. There are many other social and cultural conventions and hierarchies that might dominate the architecture. Gray, Barney and Lagerlöf all

had feminist ideas about social change and architecture and with their financial resources they were able, even before women had obtained civic rights, to pursue the ideas of how they wanted to live in a way that eludes most people.

Heteronormativity, or the heterosexual matrix, is a queer theoretical term which can be defined as the structure that marks everyone, and everything, as heterosexual until proved otherwise. The norm inscribes other ways of living with unnaturalness, deviance or invisibility. The heterosexual matrix is based on gender scholar and poet Adrienne Rich's thoughts on compulsory heterosexuality and has been developed by Judith Butler.² The heterosexual matrix connects gender and sexuality; masculinity should be connected to men, and they should fall in love with and have sex with women who are feminine. Other combinations are dangerously tied up with "deviance" – because this is a structure of power – even though people are much more varied than the oppositional gender system insists upon.³

The heterosexual matrix conditions how we understand our built environment; the family that is assumed when designing places for living such as *the single family house* is a heterosexual couple with children.⁴ This family constellation drives the program for conventional housing designs, which, in the words of architecture historian Alice Friedman, "separate and allocate space according to a patriarchal model, regardless of the needs and preferences of individual clients and households."⁵

Central to performativity theory is the idea of the speech act. Moral philosopher John Langshaw Austin developed the term in his 1955 lecture series and subsequent book *How To Do Things with Words* (1962).⁶ It is telling that the classic example of Austin to explain a successful speech act is the authorized wedding seal of the heterosexual couple.⁷

This is a felicitous speech act where the intentions correspond with the effects. Judith Butler points out in *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (1997) that it is not the intention that makes a performative successful, rather the force of authority is accumulated "through the repetition or citation of a prior and authoritative set of practices."⁸ The vow "I do" receives legal force through the witnesses, the institutions, the spaces and the rituals that surrounds it.

However, the effect does not have to correspond with the intention. Austin excluded infelicitous speech acts from consideration; he called them "kinds of ill which infect all utterances."⁹ Austin wrote "a performative utterance will, for example, be *in a peculiar way* hollow or void if said on a stage." In *Signature Event Context* (1972) philosopher Jacques Derrida overthrew Austin's discrimination against theater and pointed out that without the theatrical practice of citation there would be no successful performatives at all.¹⁰ Derrida looked into what Austin excluded; the infelicitous speech acts, and developed the general idea of *iterability*, a simultaneous repetition and change.¹¹ When the performative act is reiterated there is always an excess that is uncontrollable, the repetition changes it, it exceeds our control. This explains how changes may take place. A failure gives rise to mutations. But some constructions are slower. In *Excitable Speech* Butler emphasized the historical context of the term by calling it "social iterability."¹²

Queer

The questions raised in this dissertation are tied to how architecture reflects and reiterates power relations, categorizations and subordinations. But as stated previously in the introduction, this dissertation is foremost a search for critically queer architecture; to find strategies for resistance to,

and transgression of, normative orders. *Queer* is an excessive term of performative force. My proposal is to read buildings as queer performative acts and not static preconditions. This opens architecture to interpretation and makes it less confined within normative constraints.¹³

Gender and theater theorist Tiina Rosenberg's informative book *Queerfeministisk agenda* (2002) as well as her lecture performances have been of great importance for my understanding of the terms of queer and feminist theory.¹⁴ In her "stand-ups" Rosenberg deploys different means – anecdotes, flirting, images and film quotes – that play with the border between lecturer and audience and destabilize the heteronormative regime that governs the "normal" lecture theater. She thus explains queer feminism by both telling and showing.

In order to act as a critical device the term *queer* has to slip out of definition and appropriations. Queer has a performative force that implies interchangeability and excess; the possibility to move, make several interpretations, slide over, or reposition limits. Throughout the dissertation I use temporary definitions of queer; sometimes referring to the theoretical lining of queer theory, sometimes to identify a position that resists gendered binaries, as neither tied to a homo- nor heterosexual realm.¹⁵ It is important to point out that I use queer as a contemporary analytical perspective to look at the cases Gray/E.1027, Barney/20 rue Jacob and Lagerlöf/Mårbacka – i.e. the term is not taken from their time and contexts. In *Tendencies* (1993) literature theorist and poet Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick calls queer a continuing moment and traced an etymology of the word:

The word "queer" itself means across – it comes from the Indo-European root *-twerkw-*, which also

yields the German *quer* (transverse), Latin *torquere* (to twist), English *athwart*.¹⁶

Sedgwick also suggests that the term queer spins "along dimensions that can't be subsumed under gender and sexuality at all: the ways that race, ethnicity, postcolonial nationality criss-cross with these *and other* identity-constituting, identity-fracturing discourses."¹⁷ The political force of the term lies in its slipperiness, of performing that which is not embraced by normative pressures.

The introduction to the anthology *Performativity and performance* (1995) co-written by Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick discovers the queer connotations in Austin's performance in *How to do things with words*. They show how the performative is infected with queerness. When Austin excluded the infelicitous speech acts from consideration he compared them to something uttered by an actor on stage. He wrote that language under such circumstances is not used "seriously, but in ways *parasitic* upon its normal use – ways which fall under the doctrine of the *etiologies* of language."¹⁸ Through a closer look at the word *etiologies* Parker and Sedgwick demonstrate that it is "linked with the perverted, the artificial, the unnatural, the abnormal, the effete, the diseased."¹⁹ They are disappointed to discover that "even for the dandyish Austin" theatricality is inseparable from normative homophobic assumptions.²⁰ The outburst by Austin and the exclusion of theatrical performance are constitutive of the separation of "normal" acts in the real world and the non-serious – "parasitic" – theatrical acts. This reading of Austin queers performativity. Queer is part of the other kinds of ill which infect all utterances, to paraphrase Austin. Parker and Sedgwick continue their analysis by reexamining Aus-

tin's founding example of the martial vow as an explicit performative inscribed with heteronormativity. As performance theorist William B Worthen puts it:

Parker and Sedgwick brilliantly rethink the workings of Austin's illocutionary "I do": the text gains its force not because the words themselves accomplish the action, but because saying "I do" in conventional rituals of wedding-theatre cites and so reproduces an entire genre of performance.²¹

Parker and Sedgwick look at marriage as a heteronormative theater; "a kind of forth wall or invisible proscenium arch that moves through the world."²² But as Worthen points out when dismantling the intense relation between the queer theory of performativity and performance studies in *Shakespeare and the Force of Modern Performance* (2003), they take the modern proscenium theater to characterize dramatic theater itself. Worthen writes "[Parker and Sedgwick] regard acting much as Austin does, as the straightforward citation of dramatic text."²³ They fail to recognize what Worthen's brilliant rethinking of the relations between performance and performativity bring out, namely that the theatrical performance defines performativity.²⁴

I think about the literary salon as an *overtly* performative architecture; that is, an architecture which appears in the event, through the actors and the actions, at the same time as it relies on the physical container. The force of its performance can transform reality. The salon of Natalie Barney/20 rue Jacob operated through bodies and walls, conversations and costumes, furniture and intrigues, and thereby created a queer scene. The salon has been, and still is, important in staging queer feminist cultures; a utopian

place that reworks the constraints of heteronormative society and creates another sociality. This enacted architecture is in the move; in the actions of the social scene. Its queerness makes a "natural" or "normal" behavior uncertain.

Theatricality

Theater is a representational form that can realize a dream of transformation; accordingly I have borrowed some theatrical terms and approaches from both queer and performance theory. *Theatricality*, the spectacular, can reveal how gender performance and building interact since it foregrounds the externalized vision and does not make the claim of a "true" self representation. Moreover theatricality plays on the social scene. *Masks, costumes* and *disguises* are theatrical terms important in a queer context, where gender performances are understood as drag. Judith Butler has pointed out that it is always a surface sign that produces an illusion of an inner truth; "it produces on the skin, through the gesture, the move, the gait (that array of corporeal theatrics understood as gender presentation)..."²⁵ You do not have to be a drag king or queen – all gender is drag.²⁶ The terms masks, costumes and disguises are also ways to link architecture with the performing subjects, because buildings are dressing or enclosing the body. Tents, with a textile construction similar to clothing, are direct examples of buildings dressing the body, but for instance, bank palaces in the city can be conceived as business suits in colossal format participating in the representation of bank workers. This theatrical emphasis in the interpretation of architecture follows the writing of nineteenth century architecture theorist Gottfried Semper. The theatrical action of masking is a key notion in Semper's theory of *cladding*, architectural dressing.²⁷ The intriguing features of masks are

that through decoration they simultaneously conceal and reveal. The closet door might be masked by covering wallpaper but the keyhole, or the empty space in front, reveals the opening to the room nearby. Semper's textile theory of architecture as spatial enclosures connected to masking is a theatrical theory of architecture that continuously has informed this research. Turn of the twentieth century interior decorator Elsie de Wolfe designed along related theatrical theories, only she also embraced the gendered aspects of clothing.²⁸ The relations between subject positions and architecture are intimately connected to the clothing of the building and the way it is brought into play. Combined with performativity theory, architecture can be understood not only as visual spatial enclosures but also as surface signs; from ornaments, accessories and cosmetics, masks and clothing, via sceneries and settings, to walls and building constellations, inextricably intertwined with the performances, the corporeal theatrics surrounded by their sets of practices.²⁹ The gendered surface signs of architecture are in the spotlight throughout these writings and developed in lecture three 'Cross-cladding.'³⁰

The literary salon is a form of theater. Sue-Ellen Case has called it a *personal theater*, because the salon is theater and everyday life at once.³¹ Natalie Barney defined her life as art; she spent her life creating representations that did not stay within the borders of the private. The tableau vivant is a performance genre in the personal theater of the literary salon. This theatrical art form or parlor game is associated with the bourgeoisie during the Romanticist era.³² Furthermore, it was popular as an affirmative performance in queer and feminist circles in the early twentieth century, such as the salon of Barney.³³ The tableau vivant consists of a short scene, like Sappho and her disciples, or a set piece

in still form, the appearance of Don Juan beneath a balcony, which references famous characters or scenes. Performed within the private circle, the tableau vivant had a special meaning to women since in the theatrical impulse they could transgress their everyday roles in a pose of their own choice. In *A Feminist Introduction to Romanticism* (1998) Elizabeth Fay describes Emma Hart who was known for her amazing tableau vivants based on Greek tragedy. Hart was so skillful that the performance was considered her real self. Fay writes that Hart controlled the objectification of herself as art and thus allowed no space for the (male) gaze to define her. "Instead she exploits it in order to create a fantastic space in which she is the truth at the moment that she turns herself into fiction."³⁴ In a lesbian perspective the tableau vivant created scenes outside, or queer re-presentations, of heteronormative history and art. An impression of what they might have looked like is a tableau vivant in the BBC's production of Sarah Waters' *Tipping the Velvet* where Nan, the lead character, displays a historical sexual fantasy, 'Hermaphrodite', for a crowd of desirous women.³⁵ The tableau not only counteracted the normative denial of, but also affirmed, same sex desire. In the tableau vivant, architecture becomes part of the theatrical display. The tableau vivant created an imaginary space that operated through enactment to transform reality; the theatrical image became the primary way to look at the matter.³⁶

The literary salon, and the tableau vivant, spectacularly displays the part of architecture in gender and sexual performativity. But what is fascinating is that this way of "enacting architecture" could be used to interpret any built environment; after all, what is architecture devoid of people and activities? Does not all architecture appear in the event? My proposal is to investigate architecture as a per-

formative act, the authoritative forces and the excess meanings of architecture, as a path towards new architecture.

Lectures

In October 1928 in a lecture hall with red curtains at Cambridge University Virginia Woolf performed an imaginary reading of a novel by an imaginary writer:

And, determined to do my duty by her as reader if she would do her duty by me as writer, I turned the page and read . . . I am sorry to break off so abruptly. Are there no men present? Do you promise me that behind that red curtain over there the figure of Sir Chartres Biron is not concealed? We are all women you assure me? Then I may tell you that the very next words I read were these—‘Chloe liked Olivia . . .’ Do not start. Do not blush. Let us admit in the privacy of our own society that these things sometimes happen. Sometimes women do like women.

In a lecture hall filled exclusively by women Woolf’s statement ‘Chloe liked Olivia’ became possible. Though, even in the “privacy” of other women, Woolf frames it as a scandalous statement that could cause an immediate uproar or embarrass her audience. Why? The revolutionary statement that Chloe liked Olivia opens the door to a world where women are not only seen by men, and only in relation to men, but in relation to other women. Did she inspire laughter at the ironic words “Sometimes women do like women”? Woolf suggests that any liking between women, not necessarily tied to sexual desire, would upset the audience. Nevertheless an

exclusively female audience within a shielded room allows her to develop her argument, whereas the male audience, embodied by the hostile figure of Sir Chartres Biron, would be unproductive for the argument. The quote comes from Virginia Woolf’s renowned call for social change; ‘A Room of One’s Own’ (1929); an essay based on two lectures on women and fiction given by Woolf at Newnham and Girton Colleges, Cambridge, in October 1928.³⁷

As stated in the introduction the three interconnected themes – architecture, queer feminism and theatricality – influence not only what I write about, but also *how* I write. The main chapters of the dissertation masquerade as a series of lectures in the form and structure of scripted drama. The lecture series uses the theatrical form to establish a space to deliver the arguments of the *lecturer* (a character closely based on the author of these texts). Not only the lecturer but other characters are also given voices. Some characters are of the present; the *photographer* has followed the lecturer’s research on all the site visits, the stage crew Beau and Best help the lecturer with the more theatrical setups, the dainty colleague Julian, Tabelle a well-informed dyke with all the facts, and Sally, who is mainly there to destabilize the heteronormative space by flirting, are all part of the audience. Their lines are sometimes paraphrases of published writings, other times they resemble the words spoken by persons I know, but at the same time these representations are entirely imaginary. The dialogues are combined with a system of notes to give proper credit to literary sources. All quotes and paraphrases can be traced to their original source of publication. In Lecture Three, about *Cross-cladding* and the transformation of Mårbacka, two more characters appear; the drag-king-queen Svetlana and the visitors’ guide Hartman. Then there are some historical

characters whose voices, based on writings and interviews, come from the past; for instance the red duchesse Élisabeth de Gramont, a partner of the salonnière Natalie Barney (who also appears) and the first person in France to write about the designs of Eileen Gray. The words of other persons, such as Judith Butler and Jennifer Bloomer, are also present, but they appear in a more traditional academic way through quotes made mainly by the lecturer. The characters that are present differ slightly in tone but they are all part of the same choir. Heterosexists and homophobes are absent. What is sought for is a utopian space where the academic discussion is critical but also empowering without cock fights and the jealous guarding of preserves.

When Virginia Woolf introduced the theme; ‘Chloe liked Olivia’ she made an overtly queer reference. She hinted that it was possible that Chloe liked Olivia in an intimate or passionate way. The figure of Sir Chartres Biron who possibly skulked behind the red curtain was a comment upon the Radclyffe Hall obscenity trial which was underway at the time of the lectures. Biron was the presiding magistrate at the Hall trial.³⁸ The now classic lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) by Radclyffe Hall, which is partly set in a Paris much inspired by the lesbian-friendly salons of Natalie Barney, was banned in Britain for its allegedly perverted content.³⁹ Woolf’s concern about her audience being upset or embarrassed might have something to do with the homosexual content of her reference. The red curtain of Woolf’s lecture theater is one of the curtains that moves about in the form and content of this dissertation; one that echoes Natalie Barney’s aphorism “Never trust the decor.”⁴⁰

The term *lecture* spans a wide variety of performances. The outer model for these lecture-texts are based on speeches given in Stockholm at for instance Café Copaca-

bana’s Literary Salons, at an elective course at the School of Architecture, KTH, or at *Pride House*, the activist-academic-seminar part of Stockholm Pride Festival. What they have in common is that a speech was given by an invited guest for a limited group of about thirty people in a queer and/or architectural context. The audience consisted of a mixture of academics, friends, friends of friends, lovers and colleagues with a certain interest in the topic. They were indoors with sitting audiences. The lecturers were standing and the walls behind them were incorporated into the lectures; as writing board, surface for projections, or backdrop. The set-ups are simple and have a hierarchy of voices where the lecturer is privileged, but what goes on in any lecture theater exceeds the control of the lecturer. A poem about Valerie Solanas is being written on the fifth row, someone thinks about taking riding lessons and a third person is drawing a revealing caricature of the lecturer. The lecture always exceeds the space and time of the lecture theater. For instance a lecture on architecture held in the 1890s by architect Isak Gustaf Clason has been important for my interpretation of Selma Lagerlöf/Mårbacka; Clason’s lecture remains because of notes taken by the architecture student Carl Anton Berlin.⁴¹ A famous lecture on architecture where the performance has left the immediate body of the performer is Robert Smithson’s *Hotel Palenque*. His lecture exists as a slide installation with thirty one slides and an audio tape of the artist’s voice. First presented to architecture students at the University of Utah in 1972 it repeatedly gets exhibited in art museums.⁴²

These lecture-texts are excessive in other ways as well; they overflow the rim of each lecture hall and do not stick to the rules. Sometimes they borrow the form of a guided tour, moving through the architectures of the study, while some-

times the social scene takes over and they become more of a literary salon. I have not borrowed the narrative form of classical theater with beginning, conflict and catharsis rather I look upon the writings as a series of tableau vivants.

There are other powerful lecture manuscripts that have been important in the writing process, Helene Cixous' *Three steps on the ladder of writing*,⁴³ JL Austin's *How to do Things with Words*⁴⁴ and Gertrude Stein's *How Writing is Written*.⁴⁵ These texts play on the academic art of lecturing, but since they are in writing the play can happen over and over again, the curtain is not final. For instance Cixous plays with the double levels of performance; the text refers both to the writing and the speech:

I am trying to conclude. Suddenly, as it was page 158 – and the third hour was ending, I realized that perhaps there must be “conclusions” to my journeys.⁴⁶

The manuscript-form emphasizes the voice of the lecturer; the knowledge producer remains present throughout the text. This form has allowed me to play with the first person and create a third person “I”; the *lecturer*. As a main critique of the ruling tradition of the production of knowledge feminists have pointed out the pretence of an objective, disembodied knowledge producer. Philosopher Rosi Braidotti put it like this in her inaugural speech at Utrecht University (1990): “For feminist theory the only consistent way of making general theoretical points is to be aware that one is actually located somewhere specific.”⁴⁷ Jennifer Bloomer begins *Architecture and the Text* with a critique of the implied first person; “Under the mask of objectivity, ‘I’m interested in’ becomes ‘The focus of this study is.’”⁴⁸ She continues

“The following chapters make no pretense at objectivity: They represent the residue of my self, my cultural condition, my passion (love and hate) for architecture.”⁴⁹ The notion of the embodied, situated knowledge producer has caused an epistemological shift developed into the reflective feminist tradition of “I”.⁵⁰ The question of position might be even more central to feminist architecture theorists, than other gender scholars, since spatial arrangements of buildings and communities are central. In her essay ‘Giving an Account of Oneself’ Judith Butler discusses the feminist idea of positionality, how it is tied up with questions of reliability and points out that the situated subject becomes dangerously close to essentialism.⁵¹ Rather Butler argues for strategic subject positions with a focus on the political issues rather than identity groups.⁵² By tailoring a third person “I” (the lecturer) for the dissertation I (the writer of this book) want to emphasize the “I” which is performing as a professional, how this “I” is part of the enactment and can not be reduced to a single confessional “I”.

In the manuscripts by Cixous, Austin and Stein, a date and/or an address are given to situate the lecture. Cixous’ lectures start by “I speak to you today (today April 24, 1990, today June 24, 1990)” and an editorial note informs us that they were given at the University of California, Irvine.⁵³ The presence of an audience is sometimes felt in the tone of the lecturer or by a direct address, but they do not interrupt or contribute to the story. In Stein’s manuscript, for example, there is often a “you” addressed to the audience. Virginia Woolf referenced the trial by interrupting her lecture, in writing and presumably in the spoken lecture, to make sure no men are listening: “Do you promise me that behind that red curtain over there the figure of Sir Chartres Biron is not concealed?” This brilliant interruption by the

lecturer, and author, Virginia Woolf plays with the form of the written lecture; in a break it suddenly incorporates the space in which the lecture is performed and in addition, it relates to the larger political situation at the time; it brings presence and urgency to the text.

The enacted lectures of this research *take place*; they situate the knowledge and include the actors, actions and architectures. This is partly done through stage directions, but also through the voices of the characters. The knowledge producers – involving a cast of characters, the architectures of the lectures – the lecture theaters as well as the building constellations that are analyzed – and the social situation – parts of the sociality in which this research is made possible combined with the social scenes of the architectural cases – are present in the written text and possibly evoked when read. The performance takes place already in the written text and in the moment of reading it, although it would be possible to use it as a scripted drama and transform it to a staged performance. There is a large discourse in performance theory concerning the difference between script and play, which is somewhat analogous to architecture as representation.⁵⁴ To some extent the play is already there in the script, but simultaneously the script is a raw material to be translated into the play. William Worthen writes about dramatic performativity: “A stage performance is not determined by the internal “meanings” of the text, but is a site where the text is put into production”.⁵⁵ Worthen underlines that the theatrical performance exceeds the scripted drama. The performative force lies within the excess. Architecture has an intimate and absolutely critical relation to representation. In *Architectureproduction* (1988), for example, Beatriz Colomina suggests that to read architecture is to create architecture. She refers to the classical Greek

legend of the Cretan labyrinth and how the red thread of Ariadne disclosed the safe escape route. The thread of Ariadne represents the labyrinth but it is also a way to produce architecture, it is, in the words of Colomina “a device that has the result of throwing reality into crisis.”⁵⁶ The thread described the labyrinth and that representation caused the downfall of the material horrors built into the labyrinth.

In academic culture the written words are privileged, yet the working process oscillates between oral and written performances. Jennifer Bloomer is a wonderful lecture performer. She tells a broad and sometimes contradictory story by the use of many different voices and accents or through the use of parallel visual material. She has also explored the relation of spoken and written language, for instance some textual constructions in *Architecture and the Text* demands to be read aloud as the reader reads, because they depend on connections through homophonies.⁵⁷ In the second edition of John Langshaw Austin’s *How to do things with words* the editors have supplemented and at certain places corrected the first edition printed text in accordance with Austin’s notes for the lectures.⁵⁸ So, between the first and second edition the writing has moved back and forth to the lecture manuscript across the spoken performance. In addition, Shoshana Felman has studied the centrality of the embodied performance in Austin’s writing. In *The Scandal of the Speaking Body: Don Juan with J.L. Austin or Seduction in Two Languages* (1980) Felman points to the seductive and suspect manner in which Austin writes; he sets out jokes, makes literary slips and misfires. The speaking body always says something it does not intend; it acts in excess of what is said. These “excessive” aspects of Austin’s theory are according to Felman key to the force of the text.⁵⁹ Felman claims that the excess of the speaking body produce powerful scandals

which can throw new light on established truths.⁶⁰ On the new edition of her own text *The Scandal of the Speaking Body* (2002) Felman writes:

Speaking bodies (be they of professors, of philosophers, of psychoanalysts, of writers, or of readers) commit literary speech acts that exceed all philosophical intentions and all didactic purposes (mine included). This is the performative power of language that this book attempts dramatically at once to *read* and to *enact*, to demonstrate precisely in the act.⁶¹

The performances in writing of the lecture-texts attempt both to *read* and *enact* building constellations from a queer feminist perspective. The aim of this formal experiment is not only to explain and critique from a detached perspective but also to create and show architecture enacted. These performances stay close to the matters with a continuous involvement of actors. They are architectural designs in writing that embody action, movement, matter and speech. Different stages and walls, decorated and furnished, are set up for actions and discussions. The form and the style are used to develop the themes of the text with the purpose to investigate and bring out architecture as one of the material practices that constitute gender and sexual performativity. To demonstrate precisely in the act the performative power of architectural excess meanings.

The performances in writing of this book are attempts at the risky practice of challenging convention which is at the heart of feminist scholarship.⁶² Formal concerns are important in the process of writing and performing queer theory, because the political aim, to paraphrase Judith But-

ler, is to speak in ways that have not yet been legitimized, and hence produce legitimation in new and future forms.⁶³ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick experiments with received styles of writing – for instance the autobiographical narrative, the performance piece, the philosophical dialogue, the obituary – as critical methods for *Queer Performativity*.⁶⁴ Butler writes complicated and challenging texts in order to contest the seemingly lucid.⁶⁵ Sara Salih explains this as an ethics of difficulty in order to bring about “increased possibilities for the liveability and survival of sexual, and other, minorities.”⁶⁶ A third text of the year 1928, which just like *The Well of Lonliness* moves around the salon of Natalie Barney is Djuna Barnes’ *Ladies’ Almanack*.⁶⁷ Barnes used a language in disguise – “a convoluted Middle English notoriously difficult to decipher.”⁶⁸ It is full of puns and connotations directed towards queer readers and viewers, with a particular audience of lesbians in mind. Barnes wrote into being another reality where the heteronormative regime is destabilized in favor of a presupposed lesbian identity.⁶⁹ However Judith Butler also cautions “one can practice styles, but the styles that become available to you are not entirely a matter of choice.”⁷⁰

Formalities are perhaps even more pressing when writing architectural queer feminist theory. Architecture theory struggles to come close to the matter at hand, the spatial and material qualities of architecture. Architecture theorist Katja Grillner address writing as “a medium through which to develop a critical position towards the architectural project, and as a means by which spatial concerns may be carefully explored and/or designed in words.”⁷¹ In her doctoral thesis *Ramble, linger, and gaze. Dialogues from the landscape garden* (2000) Grillner moves within a dialogical mode of writing as a research method. “There is no shortcut through this garden”,

Grillner writes; “no ‘transparent’ summary can provide the same insights on a historical and methodological level.”⁷² In the essay ‘Writing and Landscape – Setting Scenes for Critical Reflection’ Grillner further develops a research methodology where the written text is designed as a fictional site for critical reflection.⁷³ Grillner, who has acted as my main advisor during this PhD project, and her ongoing research projects have supplied a productive and significant situation for the process of this dissertation.⁷⁴ *PhD by Architectural Design* is a concept used in the PhD program at the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College of London. The formal demands are two-fold; a project and a text. These two elements are interrelated and in many projects they are explored and brought together in productive and innovative ways.⁷⁵ The lecture-texts of this book can be read as architectures in themselves; a kind of PhD by Architectural Design.

The theatrical form of this work is a way to dress and activate the buildings for the reader, in order to make them come alive as subjects, or “vivid organisms” to paraphrase Eileen Gray, and show them from a queer perspective.⁷⁶ The critical task has been *to show* rather than *to tell* while simultaneously analyzing what has been shown. This formal experiment in writing contains an argument for the making of queer interpretations, as an aim for this investigation is to show and argue for ways of understanding architecture other than the normative. To enact architecture otherwise, might, eventually, lead to the creation of a more inclusive architectural practice.

Through the red curtains and the imagined architecture suggested by the Cambridge location Virginia Woolf involved the lecture hall in her essay-lecture. In writing she often evokes architecture in settings and metaphors, and a room is also part of her answer for how to end women’s sub-

ordination. She slyly proposed a material solution for women’s emancipation; to give her female writer, outfitted with courage, a room for herself and five hundred pounds a year.⁷⁷ Woolf discussed the hindrances “whole flights of words would need to wing their way illegitimately into existence before a woman could say what happens when she goes into a room.”⁷⁸ Performance, language and misbehavior are part of her solution, but, what I find exciting in Woolf’s words is that the setting is pulled into the plot as a performance in matter. The material conditions – flight of stairs, private rooms, and the act of entering – presented to an audience and subject to interpretation, and the illegitimate words that make possible critical reflection is like a charge from Woolf which sums up the ambitions of this dissertation.

Overview

Architecture theory is always intimate with other disciplines such as political philosophy.⁷⁹ Gender studies are multidisciplinary; gender is an analytical category deployed to investigate any discipline, and the theorizing of gender also comes out of many disciplines, for instance social anthropology, literature and political science.⁸⁰ Gender studies do not stop at the category gender, but have developed queer and intersectional methods for analysis to dismantle how for instance racism, homophobia and sexism interact. The background to queer theory is found in feminism, lesbian/gay studies and activism, film and literature theory; it is an intellectually promiscuous theory built on materialism, psycho analysis, linguistics, feminism and post/structuralism.⁸¹ As I have already shown there is also an intense relation between the queer theory of performativity and performance studies.⁸²

In the introduction I pointed out that the ways in which

buildings participate in the construction of gendered identities have been the focus of many feminist architecture theorists. For instance since the 1990s there has been an unceasing stream of anthologies on the subject, such as; *Sexuality and Space* (1992), *Architecture and Feminism* (1996), *Stud – Architectures of Masculinity* (1996), *The Architect Reconstructing her Practice* (1998), *Gender Space Architecture – An interdisciplinary introduction* (2000), *Women’s Places: Architecture and Design 1860–1960* (2003), *Speglingar av rum (“Reflections of space”*, 2005) and *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial productions of Gender in Modern Architecture* (2005).⁸³ These anthologies have broad methodological approaches and ambitions; some essays revisit architectures to search for their masked sexual or gendered content and others continue the initial feminist struggle to add women hitherto excluded from history. At the same time, these anthologies criticize the essentialist tendency, which marked many of “the second wave” feminist studies of architecture, i.e. the assumption that women added some inherent female perspective.⁸⁴

Design historian Penny Sparke writes in her introduction to *Women’s Places*, that architecture was the first area of material culture to retrieve women from history because it was “an overridingly masculine, and even more importantly, professionalized, field in which women felt they had to prove themselves and show that they had participated and could continue to participate.”⁸⁵ The subjects of gender and architecture are far from exhausted (I could only include one anthology in the Swedish language on the list, for example).⁸⁶ There is a wide range of Swedish feminist studies of space, architecture, material culture and geography with various theoretical approaches.⁸⁷ For instance, in 1995 the Swedish journal of women’s studies *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* published a themed issue on space. On the

front page the journal asks the question “How do women create living space?” and, as if anticipating my research, the issue includes texts about the literary salon by Ingrid Holmqvist, E.1027 by Beatriz Colomina and introduces *A Room of One’s Own* by Virginia Woolf.⁸⁸ However the intersecting questions of sexuality, queerness or heteronormativity are not addressed. In the struggle to bring out the women hidden from architectural history a recent doctoral dissertation at Gothenburg University fills in a significant gap; Helena Werner, *Kvinnliga arkitekter: om byggpionjärer och debatterna kring kvinnlig yrkesutövning i Sverige (Women Architects: on Building Pioneers and the Swedish Debates on Women in Professional Practice*, 2006).⁸⁹ The performative force of the male, western, middle class, heterosexual canon still dominates architectural education, the material practices of architecture and the enactments of architecture, whereas contributions by women and minority groups are deemed less important, less qualified, deviant or are simply omitted altogether. The struggle to bring out and insist on feminist aspects of the history and theory of architecture is definitely an on-going process in Sweden as elsewhere.

What feminist scholarship has found out is that it is not enough to add women to the mono-gendered history of men but the methods and structures of historiography need to be reconfigured. Through *queer readings* this dissertation works along a method of reinterpretation and it was important to choose architectural examples that already participate in history writing. In their turn they pull in other performances hidden from history. The three main architectures are all inscribed in the history of buildings and women, in three different, complementary and sometimes overlapping ways. Eileen Gray/E.1027 is described as a brilliant example of modernism in the history of architecture; there are several

biographies on Gray, a museum department in Dublin devoted to her work and a vast production of research.⁹⁰ She is inscribed in gay and lesbian history, but the ways sexuality influenced her architecture has not been addressed in architectural theory.⁹¹ Natalie Barney/20 rue Jacob has a significant place in gay and lesbian history writing, and the architecture of the building constellation is repeatedly used in literature to evoke queer subcultures. There are some building antiquarian sources as well, but the building constellation of 20 rue Jacob is insignificant within that epistemology.⁹² There are two related ways in which Selma Lagerlöf/Mårbacka are described; a literary-historical way where the manor is so intertwined with the author and her fictional writings that they can hardly be separated, and a building historian approach where historical facts of building activities and the contribution of the architectural office of Isak Gustaf Clason are in the spotlight.⁹³ I have tried to deploy all sources because the distinction between fiction and reality, theater and lived life, truth and appearance are binaries this dissertation tries to destabilize.

Queer Backgrounds

The door to the field of queer space was opened to me in the late 1990s with Aaron Betsky's book *Queer Space, Architecture and Same-Sex Desire* (1997).⁹⁴ Despite its bias towards gay men the book, which is filled with examples of what Betsky defines as queer architectures, was a trigger for me.

The term *queer* had hit academic circles around 1990, the year when two of the books cited as the founding texts of queer theory were published; political philosopher Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet*.⁹⁵ In *Gender Trouble* Butler raises the question of performative gen-

der and the norms that govern gender and sexuality. Drag is discussed as a way to put into crisis the naturalized way to understand gender; to evoke a radical shift in the notion of the possible and the real.⁹⁶ Sedgwick argues that the closet of (male) homosexuality, or the regime of "the open secret," has shaped the value systems and epistemology of Western society. She exposes the panic of modern heterosexual capitalist patriarchy in its dependency of homosexuality which is always already there as a foreclosed other.⁹⁷

In the same year (1990), architecture historian Beatriz Colomina was responsible for organizing a symposium called *Sexuality and Space*, at the School of Architecture at Princeton University. Colomina also edited the anthology that followed (1992). The texts have had great influence on these enactments of architecture; Colomina's discussion in 'The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism' of the gendered terms clothing and masking in relation to architectural façades. Mark Wigley's examination of Gottfried Semper's theories of textiles and masks in 'Untitled: The Housing of Gender'. With reference to Luce Irigaray, *The Sex Which Is Not One*, Wigley points to the sexual closet as a mask and concludes that "Space is itself closeted." Catherine Ingraham's remarks on the door knob of the toilet, amongst other things, in 'Initial properties: Architecture and the Space of the Line'. And Jennifer Bloomer's essay 'D'Or' where the effeminized, the decadent, the golden Or/naments and especially the architecture of Louis Sullivan are released from homophobic and sexist interpretation. The *sexuality* of the anthology is wider than *heterosexuality*, but the term *queer* is not introduced.

A few years later the term queer space is in effective use. Beatriz Colomina and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, amongst others, collaborated in a *queer space* exhibition at *Storefront for*

Art and Architecture in New York, June 18 - July 30, 1994.⁹⁸ Sedgwick and literature theorist Michael Moon also wrote an essay in the architectural journal *Assemblage* 'Queers in (Single-Family) Space' (1994). It is a kind of joint architectural memoir about their lives in single-family houses, how they organized the space in the house they shared and what made it queer. In their take on queer space they emphasize the relation to heteronormative standards; queer takes off from the repetition of patriarchal conventions in single-family housing. The anthology *Stud – Architectures of Masculinity* (1996), edited and with a revealing introduction by Joel Sanders, use ideas of queer theory to disclose the masculine marked and homosocial discourse of architecture. Indebted to feminist insights of subject positions and gender in relation to architecture, Sanders however points to the absence of architectural theory that study men and masculinities in terms of gender. The anthology, following Sedgwick's theories, also fronts the daring links between male homosexuality and architectural masculinity. The title of the anthology refers to masculinity, a queer way to disconnect anatomy and gender performance, but there is no contribution that deals with architectures of female masculinity. Judith Halberstam's *Female Masculinity* (1998) aims at the protected status of male masculinity and argues for a more varied understanding of gender categories. And recently Despina Stratigakos has shown in 'The uncanny architect. Fears of lesbian builders and deviant homes in modern Germany' the centrality of derogatory arguments concerning the masculinity of female architects and their designs.⁹⁹

A great deal of literature on queer space emerges from cultural studies and geography. An overview that explores radical perspectives in human geography is *Dissident Geographies. An introduction to radical ideas and practice* (2000) by

Alison Blunt and Jane Wills. Particularly important for the architectural theory developed in *Behind Straight Curtains*, architecture as a social construction that appears in the action is Sally Munt's 'The Lesbian Flâneur', first published in the groundbreaking anthology *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities* (1995) edited by David Bell and Gill Valentine. Munt elaborates the notion of subject positions as something that appears socially in the movement in or around the corners of architecture. She writes "where we stand is less consequential than how we move."¹⁰⁰ Elsbeth Probyn also underlines the interaction of the social and the spatial in her 'Lesbians in Space. Gender, Sex and the Structure of Missing' (1995), claiming that only when the solitary body in space is posed in relation to other bodies can there be a productive alternative. The "lesbian manners of being produce space and are produced in space"¹⁰¹

The focus on the individual body not only causes an unproductive vulnerability but also plays into the (neo)liberal privatized, depoliticized gay culture of consumption.¹⁰² This is an argument against the term *queer*; from a term that once denoted degradation, it now functions again as an affirmative term which has made it a positive word, signifying individual liberation. However, the connotations of gay and queer remain very different and they still echo the statement in the 'Queer Nation Manifesto' (1990) where happy *gay* was renounced in favor of the rough word *queer*.¹⁰³ In order to act as a critical device the term queer has to slip out of definition and appropriations. Judith Halberstam follows this argument in the book *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies and Subcultural Lives* (2005) and calls for a queer representation without portrayals of the individual body. This does not create an absence. In Halberstam's interpretations of visual culture "without the body itself"

the queer subjects are always present. The present research moves towards such concerns, only this architectural work comes from an almost opposite representational tradition. In architecture photography, for instance, the body and its excesses are often erased. In too many architecture drawings the bodies are generic, ideal or universal, if not transparent. In some strange way architectural discourse has a tendency to re-omit the users/subjects involved.¹⁰⁴ An underlying motive of this research is to move away from the “unpolluted” photographs of architectural magazines, void of inhabitants, with their “untidy” interactions and desires. Judith Halberstam’s book also dismantles equation of queer with urbanity, examining the presumption that rural districts have nothing to do with queer space.

Architect Jane Rendell with her colleagues, Iain Borden and Barbara Penner at the Bartlett School of Architecture in London have contributed enormously to feminist practices of architecture through their comprehensive reader *Gender Space Architecture – An interdisciplinary introduction* (2000). In the introduction to the wonderfully ambitious anthology the editors Rendell, Penner and Borden apologize for their Anglo-centric shortcomings in representing fields which are not inscribed in the conventional history of western civilisation. They write:

A similar point needs emphasising in relation to sex and sexuality. While we have included a number of essays by male contributors and material which explores queer theory, homosexuality and masculinity, it is the case that the majority of chapters deal with the feminine and female aspects of gender and consider sexuality from a heterosexual perspective. Such a bias reflects the

shape of the subject area historically, although it is important to add that currently there are clear indications of a dramatic increase in research on masculinity, men and architecture, as well as gay politics, queer theory and urban space.¹⁰⁵

I have taken this as a challenge for my project. As I have already stated, my aim is to complement previous research with a queer study of gender and sexuality in architecture that takes lesbian, or female non-straight, subject positions. Such research would not have been possible without the promises and omissions in previous studies. Within architecture theory researchers still get away with a world of theory devoid of women. Feminist researchers have to insist, feminist perspectives are not there once and for all. There’s also a great deal of heteronormativity (or perhaps it should be called homophobia?) in architecture theory and history. There is even a tendency in architecture theory with homoerotic implications to downplay or closet such implications.¹⁰⁶ This is where I contribute.

Two theorists whose work, within the field of architecture theory, crisscross the aspects of queer backgrounds outlined here are Alice T. Friedman and Christopher Reed. Alice Friedman’s *Women and the Making of the Modern Home: A Social and Architectural History* (1998) explores how unconventional attitudes and ways of life have challenged architecture to act as a cultural force for change. Her interpretations of Philip Johnson’s Glass house/Guest house complex and Paul Rudolf’s Beekman Place apartment, in an essay in *Women’s Places: Architecture and Design 1860-1960* (2004) edited by Brenda Martin and Penny Sparke, bring out issues concerning sexuality, theatricality and privacy. Her point is that the formation of modern domestic architecture was brought

out by the needs of a-typical clients. The original designs came out of a radical challenge to normative categories of gender and sexuality.¹⁰⁷ Christopher Reed brings out another largely unwritten history in *Bloomsbury Rooms. Modernism, Subculture and Domesticity* (2004). Reed writes “Bloomsbury’s artists dedicated themselves, individually and collectively, to creating the conditions of domesticity outside mainstream definitions of home and family”.¹⁰⁸ What I find exciting is that the Bloomsbury group projected these aesthetic, sexual and political standards onto the public realm. Both Reed and Friedman relate to Virginia Woolf’s renowned call for social change; ‘A Room of One’s Own’. For instance Reed echoes the sarcastic voice of Woolf: “This is an important book, the critic assumes, because it deals with war. This is an insignificant book because it deals with the feelings of women in a drawing-room.”¹⁰⁹ Both *Bloomsbury Rooms* and *Women and the Making of the Modern Home* are forceful critiques of heteronormative and masculinist norms in modernism.

Endnotes

The three main cases, Eileen Gray/E.1027, Natalie Barney/20 rue Jacob and Selma Lagerlöf/Mårbacka, readily lend themselves to theatrical queer feminist interpretations because the actors, the acts and the architecture are entangled in particular ways. These buildings are social and theatrical accommodations of queer living; they can tell about the mutual dependence of actors, acts and architecture in order to change the perspective on future designs of architecture. The cases are all building creations but in three different ways; each case is analyzed through a particular kind of queer feminist perspective which reflects the overall aim of the dissertation. These architectures can be

interpreted as critiques of norms and contribute to the fields of possibility for architecture; they allow an exploration of the possibilities for shifts both in analysis and enactment of architecture in several ways.

In the analysis of Eileen Gray/E.1027 a central concern is how the architecture operates to blur boundaries between *building* and *ornament*; a pair of terms that in heteropatriarchal architectural theory has been uncritically gendered – building has been associated with *masculinity* and ornament with *femininity*. Gray constantly creates ambiguities and displaces fixed meanings of building components. Unlike the other two main cases of enacted architecture which play with existing buildings E.1027 was a new house, designed and built by Gray, who was the main architect of the building. 20 rue Jacob and Mårbacka were building constellations transformed through initiatives by the inhabitants, both authors; Natalie Barney and Selma Lagerlöf. The case of Eileen Gray/E.1027 allows an exploration into particular relations between architect and building.

The close relation between architecture, actors and event is the main perspective in the analysis of Natalie Barney/20 rue Jacob. The building constellation is queered by the queer event and the queer actors that appropriated it. The case shows the significance of the social scene and also the influence of a wider historical, literary and cultural context, for architectural transgressions. The home on 20 rue Jacob was an appropriation by Barney of an existing site, activated by the personal theater of her literary salon. Barney allowed decay, added new structures, and decorated the house as a theater setting. 20 rue Jacob has been multiplied and distributed as a fictional architecture and still functions an abundant source for new representations.

Also embraced by and multiplied in literature the Mår-

backa farm is inseparably linked to Selma Lagerlöf, her life and work. The difference from Barney/20 rue Jacob is that Selma Lagerlöf/Mårbacka has not been overtly tied to a queer culture. The main strand in the case of Selma Lagerlöf/Mårbacka is that the building can be seen as a kind of masquerade; *cross-cladding*, an architectural cross-dressing. It plays on the notion of passing and the discerning queer eye. Mårbacka was transformed to be a home for Lagerlöf, her female lovers, kin, friends and employees and a public display of the famous author Lagerlöf all in the exaggerated appearance of a patriarchal style manor house.

Many built environments, if not all, can be interpreted in relation to performativity and heteronormativity. One important reason for my choice of examples is that they all represent different kinds of enactments of architecture with the performative force to create new meanings and transform reality. The literary salon of Natalie Barney/20 rue Jacob is the most overt example of architecture as a material practice that appears in the act of creating a place for queers. Architect Eileen Gray thought about E.1027 as an act, she wrote that the building was “a moment in a much larger study.”¹¹⁰ In addition, E.1027 is a building that calls for an active and non-conformist inhabitant. The new dress of Lagerlöf’s old family farm, signed by architect Isak Gustaf Clason in the 1920s, was an extreme transformation, but the building activities at Mårbacka were much more than this. The example of Selma Lagerlöf/Mårbacka presents a masquerade of material transformations and a deliberate public, albeit masked, staging of a home.

In each case sexual fantasies are built into the buildings. E.1027 relates to the Parisian scene of queer culture, avant-garde art and literature. Bodies, not only the singular body, are well accommodated. Soft horizontal surfaces,

running water, places to retreat for intimacy, a variety of passages, playful entrances and hidden exits, all speak to me of a sensual abode of theory and flesh. The *temple à l’Amitié* at 20 rue Jacob manifests Barney’s ethics of friendship, which includes lesbian desire, sex acts between women and support of other women, artists and queers. Within the pavilion, the queer actors were always present in the setting through the portraits of Barney and her friends in various disguises, the naked women floating in the ceiling and the multitude of mirrors. The soft rugs, the rose colored textile wall covers and pillow abundant daybeds all evoked corporeal pleasures and the silver blue chamber on the upper floor paid homage to feminine extravaganza and permitted concealed intimacy. Mårbacka’s sexiness lies in the effort to keep the displayed home scrubbed of any suggestion of lesbian desire – and the patent failure to do so. The constant evocation of Selma Lagerlöf either as a limping child or as an old teller of fairytales rather hint at the exuberant cunning of the seductress. The plan of the upper floor with the library as a center stage around which the rooms devoted to particular persons of this all-female household are distributed speaks volumes of their relations. The library of the author Lagerlöf and the secretary Valborg Olander extends between the bedrooms of the two lovers Lagerlöf and Olander, but Lagerlöf commands the scene; there is no direct access from the library to Olander’s bedroom, only to Lagerlöf’s. To reach Olander’s room one passed through the same hallway that led to the housekeeper Ellen Lundgren’s two rooms. And, in addition, a domestic triangle is evoked by the memorial room devoted to Lagerlöf’s travel partner and lover Sophie Elkan next to Lagerlöf’s bedroom.

Both Lagerlöf/Mårbacka and Barney/20 rue Jacob

play with irony. There is an irony in that the authoritative architect Isak Gustaf Clason took on the disquieting and thorough transformation, and produced an apparent lack of symmetry in this classicist building project. Selma Lagerlöf's satisfaction with the asymmetry and her mocking attitude display an interesting power play between her and the grand architect. Without hesitation Natalie Barney added a garage to the salon. Such "Anglo-Saxon pragmatism", in the words of her biographer Jean Chalon, indicates an attitude of vital indiscretion towards history.

Other intersecting categories than gender and sexuality might create different readings, but these have been my main lenses in this research and choices concerning where and how to limit the project have been made in relation to them. I can only hope that my shortcomings are counterbalanced by insights delivered by the chosen perspectives and encourage others to follow with necessary discussions in the struggle for a more inclusive world view. There are some intersections concerning gender and sexuality that I have refrained from addressing in order to be able to finalize this writing. For instance, I do not go into the ties between queer living and urbanity, which could be interesting in a comparison of the rural settings of Mårbacka and E.1027 with the urban situation of 20 rue Jacob.¹¹¹ Further categories are involved in the analysis. Class privileges mark all the cases; they are all precious environments built by persons who could afford to build. Natalie Barney could live off an inherited fortune, Eileen Gray made her living through design but also had an allowance to lean on and Selma Lagerlöf created her wealth through the success of her books. In the case of Selma Lagerlöf/Mårbacka not only class but also nationality have been important for the interpretation. Just as Mårbacka defies norms of gen-

der and sexuality, the architecture overtly affirms codes of nationality and class. It was rebuilt with the "Swedish" manor house as model. The power suit of the transformed Mårbacka can be understood as a masquerading disguise; not only does it manifest Lagerlöf's importance as one of Sweden's most read and known authors but it also tells the story of someone who diverged from the norms of society, an independent woman who shared her home with other women (relatives, servants and lovers). The categories of age and physical deviance play into the interpretation of Mårbacka, unrelenting in the legacy of Lagerlöf and in the enactment of Mårbacka they have often served to explain, neutralize and diminish her way of life.

In each of the households of these women the housekeeper played a significant role. They are present in this work but they do not speak up; it is an absence, a silence that echoes their shadow positions behind their mistresses. Peter Adam writes somewhat unassumingly about Gray's life in the 1960s "The only person sharing her solitary life was her faithful housekeeper, Louise Dany, who had joined Eileen in 1927 at the age of nineteen."¹¹² They lived in the same apartment. Berthe Cleyrergue also worked half a decade as the housekeeper of a wealthy woman, Natalie Barney, but when she got married her home was slightly more separated from her "mistress"; she had a flat on the opposite side of the court. Ellen Lundgren was in charge of the great household of Selma Lagerlöf and two rooms were prepared for her in the main building after the rebuilding of the manor.

The main timespan of the dissertation is between the two world wars – a time of political tensions in Europe and a period when women achieved many civil rights. The salon of Natalie Barney housed conflicting political beliefs. Two extremes, both lovers of Barney, are represented by

the revolutionary Élisabeth de Gramont, a Marxist agitator, and the contemptuous painter Romaine Brooks, an intimate friend of the poet and later fascist officer Gabriele d'Annunzio. The culture of the salon does not inexorably lead to fascism or Stalinism; it is part of a turbulent time when political ideologies could be housed under the same roof.¹¹³ Eileen Gray was organized in UAM (Union des Artistes Moderne) a socialist union which was accused of Soviet collaboration in the 1930s. Gray's interest in social issues was from the thirties transformed into self-initiated political projects such as a worker's leisure center.¹¹⁴ Selma Lagerlöf was active in the women's movement and the related peace movement; always very diplomatic she became an important resource and was admitted to speak under the domes of patriarchy.¹¹⁵

In each of the cases Gray/E.1027, Barney/20 rue Jacob and Lagerlöf/Mårbacka, theatrical display and lived life overlap in particular ways that deconstruct any clear separation of life and theater. For instance, through her own carefully staged photographs Eileen Gray used E.1027 to display her design and the modern intimate life it was built to accommodate.¹¹⁶ 20 rue Jacob was shrouded in fictions even before Natalie Barney moved in – a mythology she furthered through her extravagant personal theater. Mårbacka was created as a display for the public eye, its future as a museum already in the mind of Selma Lagerlöf.¹¹⁷

Natalie Barney did not think much of restorations; she believed her legacy should live through her writings not some built monument. Eileen Gray's attitude was to test something and then move on, whereas Selma Lagerlöf participated in the creation of a museum around herself. At E.1027 full scale copies are going to be produced of the original building and furniture details and the building

is going to be restored to a frozen moment in time (1929) when Gray considered the building finished and complete. At 20 rue Jacob the pavilion and the garden have been transformed from its appearance during Barney's days. Only *Temple à l'Amitié* remains in her style and that is because it was restored in the early nineteen seventies to look the way Barney set it. The pavilion will be lived in again and transformed by future inhabitants.

The three enactments of architecture display different strategies in relation to visibility. Natalie Barney turned scandal into a strategy. She publicly staged her love encounters, as when she rode as a fair cavalier, dressed *à l'amazone* through *Bois de Boulogne* or hired an opera singer to perform love songs beneath the balcony of the poet Renée Vivien to show her misery at their break up.¹¹⁸ The linen curtains of Barney's chamber, which was never part of the salon, was embroidered with the sentence "*May our drawn curtain shield us from the world.*"¹¹⁹ The quote, from a poem devoted to lesbian eroticism by Charles Baudelaire, conveys the visual strategy of Barney; in a scandalously open manner where decor, disguises and masquerading were important ingredients, she staged her queer lifestyle. This performance of indiscretion and disguise deliberately operates upon excess meanings. What Shoshana Felman describes in *The Scandal of the Speaking Body* – the excess of the speaking body – produces powerful scandals which can throw new light and even shift established truths.¹²⁰ Homosexuality was (and still very much is) only tolerated as long as outward forms of decorum were maintained. Concerning Eileen Gray's strategy, Caroline Constant writes that "Gray's sense of propriety and natural shyness led her to carry out her personal life with extreme discretion."¹²¹ This can be thought of as an internalized fear, or homophobia, based on the denial

of the sexuality of women living outside conventional heterosexual marriages.¹²² But, it could also be interpreted as a clever approach that enables action in a constricted situation. In her architecture repetition is an important strategy: the exposed living-room with beds, a shower, lined by a balcony and an accordion window wall is doubled with an intimate bed-chamber, hidden behind overlapping walls, with a private balcony and an enclosed bathroom. Mårbacka plays the role of patriarchal manor house, but the atypical plan and program reveals the all-women household. Only it does not slip by unnoticed – there is repeated discomfort with this enactment of architecture. Natalie Barney's masquerade was not about passing but operating through scandalous visibility. She relied on her curtains to carefully direct the looks of the outside world. Her attitude conveys both a utopian belief in social change (we're here – face it!) and a reminder that any visual queer also provokes homophobes, including queer bashers. The questions raised in this dissertation are thus tied to how architecture reflects and reiterates power relations, categorizations and subordinations; any end is equally a beginning, a first glimpse behind the straight curtains of architecture.

Notes

- 1 In Swedish the common term is *föräldrasovrum* (in direct translation parental bedroom) thus evoking the normative family that most places for living are supposed to house.
- 2 Adrienne Rich, 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence' (1980), reprinted in Henry Abelove, Michele Aina Barale and David M. Halperin, eds., *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, London and New York, Routledge, 1993. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity* (1990), New York and London: Routledge, 1999, 42-43.
- 3 As artist Laurie Anderson said in her performance at *Stads-teatern* in Stockholm 2003: "I think there is a problem when we design our identities. We design them too small."
- 4 Heteronormativity in relation to architectural examples is explained further in Lecture One. Living-Room.
- 5 Alice T Friedman, 'Shifting the Paradigm: Houses Built for Women', J. Rothschild, ed., *Design & Feminism*, Rutgers University Press, 1999, 85.
- 6 John Langshaw Austin, *How to do things with words* (1962), Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997, 1-38, 109-120.
- 7 In some countries, such as Sweden, same sex marriage, or partnership, is authorized by the state. However, there are significant differences to a heterosexual partnership, such as the legality of the contract internationally. In Austin's time it was unthinkable that he could refer to anything other than a heterosexual marriage act, Austin, 5.
- 8 Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. London & New York: Routledge, 1997, 51. (Butler's emphasis)
- 9 Austin, 21. (Austin's emphasis)
- 10 Jacques Derrida, 'Signature Event Context'(1972) in *A Derrida reader: behind the blinds*, edited by Peggy Kamuf, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, 103.
- 11 Derrida, 90. Derrida traces the etymology of *iter* to the Sanskrit word for *other*; *itara*. The term iterability links repetition to alterity.
- 12 Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 150.
- 13 Queer readings has displayed foreclosed meanings in many cultural productions; for a thought-provoking study within the field of performance studies see the anthology *Passing Performances: Queer Readings of Leading Players in American Theater History* edited by Kim Marra & Robert A.Schanke, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- 14 Tiina Rosenberg, *Queerfeministisk agenda ("Queer-feminist agenda")*, Stockholm: Atlas, 2002.
- 15 In Lecture One 'Living room' these definitions of queer are discussed in relation to Eileen Gray/E.1027.
- 16 Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Tendencies*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1993, xii.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 8-9.
- 18 Austin, 22.
- 19 Andrew Parker & Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, eds., *Performativity and performance*, New York: Routledge, 1995, 5.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 William B Worthen, *Shakespeare and the Force of Modern Performance*, West Nyack, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 7.
- 22 Parker & Sedgwick, 11.
- 23 Worthen, 8.
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 Butler, 'Imitation and Gender Insubordination', Henry Abelove et al., 317.
- 26 In Lecture Three there is a detailed discussion of gender as drag.

- 27 See Lecture Three Cross-cladding, Gottfried Semper, *Style. Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts; or, Practical Aesthetics*, 'Introduction' by Harry Francis Mallgrave, trans. Mallgrave and Michael Robinson, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2004 and Semper, *The four elements of architecture and other writings*. Mallgrave, trans., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- 28 The theories of Elsie de Wolfe are introduced in Lecture One, Elsie de Wolfe, *The House in Good Taste*, New York: The Century Company, 1911.
- 29 This is one way of understanding architecture that I have found productive in a queer feminist reading of architecture, with a focus on the display or surface signs. Two related possibilities are to understand architecture in terms of consumption and desire, or as a media culture. Beatriz Colomina's seminal book *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* was published in 1994. For recent studies on architecture and consumption see Helena Mattsson, *Arkitektur och konsumtion: Reyner Banham och utbyttbarhetens estetik (appr. "Architecture and consumption: Reyner Banham and the aesthetics of consumption,"* PhD diss., KTH, 2003), Eslöv: Symposium, 2004; and architecture as media; Malin Zimm, *Losing the Plot. Architecture and Narrativity in Fin-de-siècle media cultures*, PhD diss., KTH, Stockholm: Axl Books, 2005.
- 30 The theme is developed in Lecture Three, 'Cross-cladding'.
- 31 Sue-Ellen Case, *Feminism and Theatre*, London: MacMillan, 1988, 46-61.
- 32 Elizabeth A Fay, *A Feminist Introduction to Romanticism*, Oxford and Malden Mass, 1998, 226.
- 33 There are many stories of the tableaux vivants performed by Barney and her kin, for instance when Mata Hari rode naked through the garden. In one photograph, a group of women draped in white robes perform a Sapphic dance in front of a classicist colonnade in Natalie Barney's first garden in Neuilly, Diana Souhami, *Wild girls. Paris, Sappho & Art: the Lives and Loves of Natalie Barney and Romaine Brooks*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2004, 51. The stories are retold in the literature surrounding Barney (for instance Souhami, *ibid.*, 46, 60.) and in the collections of letters at *Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet* (BLJD), *Fêtes et réunions*, NCB Ms 96-98, 103-106, *Visite du Temple de l'amitié*, NCB Ms 167-168.
- 34 Fay, 227. Kirsten Gram Holmström also argues that the Tableau Vivant was particularly important as a female form of art. Kirsten Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants. Studies on some trends of theatre fashion, 1770-1815*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967.
- 35 I have not been able to detect any animated documentation from the salons of Natalie Barney. The tableau vivant appears in the second episode of *Tipping the Velvet* based on the novel by Sarah Waters, Sally Head Production, BBC, 2002. Sarah Waters, *Kyssa sammet (Tipping the Velvet)*, transl. Gun Zetterström, Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 2005, 270-71.
- 36 See Lecture Two for further discussion concerning Natalie Barney.
- 37 Virginia Woolf gave the lectures at the two women's colleges of Cambridge University, Newnham, Saturday, October 20 and Girton, Friday, October 26, 1928. No manuscripts survive of these lectures. Woolf wrote "The papers were too long to be read in full, and have since been altered and expanded." Virginia Woolf, *Ett eget rum (A Room of One's Own)*, Hogarth Press, 1929), translated into Swedish by Jane Lundblad, Stockholm: Tiden, 1991, preface.
- 38 Diana Souhami, *The Trials of Radclyffe Hall*, London: Virago, 1999.
- 39 Radclyffe Hall was put on trial under the Obscene Pub-

- lications Act for the novel about lesbian love. The book was banned in Britain until 1948. Alison Hennegan, in her 1981 introduction to *The Well of Loneliness*, comments upon the trial “With a satisfying irony, those critics and moralists who most noisily condemned the book, its author, and her subject matter were doing their best to ensure that the Well would never be quite so lonely again.” Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), London: Virago Press, 1982, viii. See Lecture Two for the relations between Hall’s book and Natalie Barney/20 rue Jacob.
- 40 Natalie Barney, *A Perilous Advantage. The Best of Natalie Clifford Barney*, edited & transl. Anna Livia, Norwich, Vermont: New Victoria Publishers, 1992, 117.
- 41 See Lecture Three. Carl Anton Berlin, Isak Gustaf Clason’s collection, *The National Archives (Riksarkivet)*. Mats Fredriksson has transcribed the notes in *Herrgårdss restaureringar av Isak Gustaf Clason* (appr. “Manor house restorations by Isak Gustaf Clason”), text at final seminar Stockholm: KTH, History of Architecture, 2005.12.07, forthcoming PhD dissertation. To assure the accuracy of the notes Fredriksson informs the reader that they have been signed by Isak Gustaf or Gustaf Clason. The lecture notes are also quoted in Kajsa Bjurklint Rosenblad, *Scenografi för ett ståndsmässigt liv. Adels slottsbyggande i Skåne 1840-1900* (appr. “Setting in accordance with one’s station. The Aristocratic Castle Building in Scania 1840-1900”), Malmö: Sekel bokförlag, 2005.
- 42 *Hotel Palenque* is referenced in Lecture Two. Robert Smithson, ‘Selected articles/reviews/essays about Robert Smithson’, New York: Estate of Robert Smithson, James Cohan Gallery [Online]. Available: <<http://www.robertsmithson.com/essays/palenque.htm>> [Date accessed October 23, 2006].
- 43 Helene Cixous, *Three Steps on the Ladder of Writing*, transl. Sarah Cornell and Susan Sellers, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993. Given by Cixous at the University of California, Irvine, in May 1990.
- 44 The lectures were given by Austin at Harvard University in 1955, Austin, preface.
- 45 Gertrude Stein, ‘How Writing is Written’, *How Writing is Written. Vol.2 of the previously Uncollected writings of Gertrude Stein*, ed. Robert Bartlett Haas, Los Angeles, 1974. Published in Swedish, transl. Anders Lundberg & Jonas (J) Magnusson, *OEI*, 14, 2003, 79-84.
- 46 Cixous, 156.
- 47 Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects. Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1994, 238. The quote comes from the chapter called ‘The Subject in Feminism’ which is the text of Braidotti’s inaugural speech at Utrecht University, May 16, 1990. Adrienne Rich has put forth the idea of “the politics of location”. Braidotti explains it as follows: “The politics of location means that the thinking, the theoretical process, is not abstract, universalized, objective, and detached, but rather that it is situated in the contingency of one’s experience, and as such it is a necessarily *partial* exercise. In other words, one’s intellectual vision is not a disembodied mental activity; rather, it is closely connected to one’s place of enunciation, that is, where one is actually speaking from.” Braidotti, 237.
- 48 Jennifer Bloomer, *Architecture and the Text –the S(c)rypts of Joyce and Piranesi*, New Haven och London: Yale University Press, 1993, 3.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Minnie Bruce Pratt’s essay ‘Identity: Skin Blood Heart,’ is an amazing work on feminist positionality where intersecting identity categories – “whiteness” is made visible in

- relation to gender, sexuality and class – is related to place. Elly Bulkin, Barbara Smith and Minnie Bruce Pratt, *Yours in struggle : three feminist perspectives on anti-semitism and racism*, New York: Long Haul Press, 1984, 11-63. The essay of Minnie Bruce Pratt is turned into a research methodology by Biddy Martin and Chandra Talpade Mohanty in ‘Feminist Politics: What’s Home Got to Do with It?’, Teresa de Lauretis, ed., *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986, 191-212.
- 51 Butler, ‘Giving an account of oneself’, *Diacritics*, Winter 2001, 31, 4, 22-40.
- 52 Also discussed in ‘Gender is Burning: Questions of Appropriation and subversion,’ Butler, *Bodies that Matter, on the Discursive Limits of “Sex”*, New York & London: Routledge, 1993, 121-124.
- 53 Cixous, 3.
- 54 For an overview of performance theory see Henry Bial, ed., *The Performance Studies Reader*, New York & London: Routledge, 2004. An orienting anthology on the relations between architecture and representation is Kester Rattenbury, ed., *this is not architecture*, New York & London: Routledge, 2002.
- 55 Worthen, 23.
- 56 Colomina, ‘Introduction: On Architecture, Production and Reproduction’, Colomina, ed., *Architectureproduction, Revisions: Papers on Architectural Theory and Criticism*, Vol. 2, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988, 6. Also reprinted in Rattenbury, 207. I leave the strong distinction between architecture and building that Colomina also makes here to the side; Colomina means that Ariadne achieved the first work of architecture (in the modern sense of the term) while Daedalus only built the labyrinth. She writes that their linguistic conditions are different, but doesn’t go into the linguistics of building.
- 57 ‘Construction three: *Le Carceri*,’ Bloomer, *Architecture and the Text*, 18, 107-127.
- 58 Expressed by the editors Marina Sbisà & J.O. Urmson in the 1975 preface to the second edition, Austin, 2003.
- 59 Shoshana Felman, *The Scandal of the Speaking Body: Don Juan with J.L. Austin or Seduction in Two Languages (Le Scandal du corps parlant, 1980)*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2002, 48 and Judith Butler’s Afterword.
- 60 This resonates with Natalie Barney’s strategy of making deliberate scandals to overthrow the truth of the apparitional lesbian. See Lecture one.
- 61 Felman, ix.
- 62 A great opportunity to debate and develop this ambition was given to me at the PhD course at the Nordic Summer School: *Creative and Academic Writing in Gender Studies* in Reykjavik, Iceland, June 2005. The teachers Nina Lykke, Sissel Lie, Anne Brewster, Laurel Richardson and the co-participants reflected and discussed the links between writing practices, epistemologies and methodologies within feminist theorizing.
- 63 Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 41.
- 64 Sedgwick, *Tendencies*, xiii-xiv, 11.
- 65 For a detailed discussion on the challenge of Butler’s texts see Sara Salih, ‘Judith Butler and the ethics of “difficulty”’, *Critical Quarterly*, vol.45, no.3, 2003.
- 66 Salih, 49.
- 67 Djuna Barnes (‘A Lady of Fashion’), *Ladies’ Almanack* (Paris: 1928), New York: Harper & Rower, 1972.
- 68 About the strategy of Barnes’ language in disguise see Amy Wells-Lynn, ‘The Intertextual, Sexually-Coded Rue Jacob: A Geocritical Approach to Djuna Barnes, Natalie Barney, and Radclyffe Hall’, *South Central Review*, Volume

- 22, Number 3, Durham: John Hopkins University Press, 2005, 82-85.
- 69 *Ladies' Almanack* is discussed in Lecture Two. I owe this interpretation to Ingrid Svensson's informative epilogue to the Swedish translation of *Ladies' Almanack (Damernas Almanacka, 1996)*.
- 70 Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xviii.
- 71 Katja Grillner, "The 'halt at the door of the boot-Shop'", Katja Grillner, Per Glembrandt & Sven-Olov Wallenstein, eds., *01.AKAD - Experimental Research in Architecture and Design - Beginnings*, Stockholm: Axl books, 2005, 69.
- 72 Grillner, *Ramble, linger and gaze. Dialogues from the landscape garden*, PhD Dissertation, School of Architecture, KTH, 2000, 4.
- 73 Grillner, "Writing and Landscape – Setting Scenes for Critical Reflection", *Journal of Architecture*, Theme ed. Jonathan Hill, Vol.8, 2003, 239-249.74
- 74 For instance I participated in a series of writing workshops offered by Grillner, called *Writing Architecture* with guest teachers, Jane Rendell, Rolf Hughes and Tracey Winton. It was structured partly around feminist theories of situated-ness. *Writing Architecture* workshop series is presented in Grillner, *01.AKAD*, 64-111. AKAD (the Academy for Practice-based Research in Architecture and Design) at the School of Architecture, KTH, chaired by Grillner, is a research group that develops research by architectural design, in Swedish called *konstnärlig forskning*.
- 75 The *PhD by Architectural Design* program at the Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL, directed by Jonathan Hill is presented at the Bartlett: Architecture [Online] Available: <http://www.bartlett.ucl.ac.uk/architecture/programmes/mphil_phd_d/mphil_phd_d.htm>. [Date accessed: Dec. 31, 2006]. Hill and Jane Rendell also organize research conferences on related themes; at the 2004 conference a major theme was called *Architecture-Writing*, chaired and developed by Rendell in order to investigate how writing both constructs and reflects meaning. I participated in the theme called *Criticism by Design*, chaired by Hill, around the question: "Can a design, whether drawn or built, question existing conditions and propose alternatives?" The conference is presented in the forthcoming *Critical Architecture*, Jane Rendell, Jonathan Hill, Mark Dorian & Murray Fraser, eds., London & New York: Routledge, 2007.
- 76 Eileen Gray wrote that E.1027 was "un organisme vivante", Gray and Jean Badovici, *L'Architecture Vivante – E.1027: Maison en Bord de Mer ("The Vivid Architecture – E.1027: House at the Brink of the Sea")*, no. 26, 1929, 28.
- 77 Woolf, 108.
- 78 bid., 100.
- 79 A famous example is late eighteenth century philosopher Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, a prison where architecture allows the observer to observe all prisoners without the prisoners being able to tell if they are being seen or not. In Michel Foucault's analysis of the Panopticon it becomes a model for how modern society disciplines and normalizes. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison (Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison)*, Paris: Gallimard, 1975.
- 80 For a broader understanding of the field of gender studies I have turned to the explanatory *Gender Studies. Terms and Debates* (2003), I use the term *gender studies* as a direct translation of the Swedish "*genusvetenskap*". Anne Cranny-Francis, Wendy Waring, Pam Stavropoulos and Joan Kirkby, *Gender Studies. Terms and Debates*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

- 81 For instance in the 1999 preface to *Gender Trouble* Judith Butler wrote that the text was marked by an American intellectual promiscuity, as well as an apparent Francocentrism where various French intellectuals (Michel Foucault, Monique Wittig, Julia Kristeva, Jacques Lacan) are read together; Butler, *Gender Trouble*, x.
- 82 The sources are all related to the places where they came to my attention, in Schools of Architecture and at Departments of Gender Studies. The main academic institutions have been School of Architecture, KTH (Royal Institute of Technology) and Center for Gender Studies, Stockholm University, but I would also like to mention conferences at the Bartlett, University College of London, Lund and Malmö Universities, the post professional master's program managed by Jennifer Bloomer at Iowa State University in 2000-2001 and the Nordic Summer School: *Creative and Academic Writing in Gender Studies* in Reykjavik, Iceland, June 2005.
- 83 This is a non-comprehensive list of the anthologies. I have only included the ones that have been useful during my work on this dissertation: Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Sexuality & Space*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992, Debra Coleman, Elizabeth Danze & Carol Henderson, *Architecture and Feminism*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway & Leslie Kanes Weisman, eds., *The Sex of Architecture*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996, Katerina Rüedi, Sarah Wigglesworth & Duncan McCorquodale, eds., *Desiring Practices. Architecture, Gender and the Interdisciplinary*, London: Black Dog Publishing, 1996, Joel Sanders, ed., *Stud – Architectures of Masculinity*, Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, Francesca Hughes, ed., *The Architect Reconstructing her Practice*, Cambridge & London: MIT Press, 1998, Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner & Iain Borden, eds., *Gender Space Architecture – An interdisciplinary introduction*, London: Routledge, 2000, Brenda Martin & Penny Sparke, eds., *Women's Places: Architecture and Design 1860-1960*, London and New York: Routledge, 2003, Tora Friberg, Carina Listerborn, Birgitta Andersson & Christina Scholten, *Spelningar av rum – om könskodade plaster och sammanhang (approximately: "Reflections of space – codes of sexuality in places and contexts")*, Eslöv: Symposion, 2005, Hilde Heyen & Gulsum Baydar, eds., *Negotiating Domesticity. Spatial productions of Gender in Modern Architecture*, London & New York: Routledge, 2005 and Lorraine Dowler, Josephine Carubia & Bonj Szczygiel, eds., *Gender and Landscape. Renegotiating morality and space*, London & New York: Routledge, 2005.
- 84 Second wave feminism is a term for the activist and theoretical struggle of the 1970s, expressed for instance in the thematic issue of *Heresies* on women and architecture. The essentialist tendency marks some of the published texts. *Heresies 11, A Feminist Publication on Art & Politics*, "Making Room, Women and Architecture", Vol. 3 No. 3 Issue 11, 1981.
- 85 Martin and Sparke, *Women's Places*, xi.
- 86 While not writing in Swedish I thought it was important to include a Swedish case study in this dissertation in order to engage in both a Swedish and an international discourse of architectural and feminist theory. Apart from the advantages of researching something close at hand with Selma Lagerlöf/Mårbacka I can play the part of translator, and thereby make the Swedish material available in English, to engage in the feminist struggle to repeatedly re-inscribe the ones who came before. I have used published translations when available. For other translations from Swedish to English I have had great help from Rolf Hughes and Brady Burroughs. The Selma Lagerlöf archive at the National Library of Sweden and the drawings of Isak Gustaf

- Clason architects' office at the Architecture Museum are both in Stockholm within walking distance from my office and the material is in Swedish, my first language.
- 87 An early study that builds upon the work of Dolores Hayden is Inga-Lisa Sangregorio, *Kvinnorum i mansvärld, Hur stadsplanering och bostadspolitik påverkat den amerikanska kvinnans situation* ("Women's spaces in a man's world, How urban planning and housing politics influences the situation of the American woman"), Stockholm: Forum för kvinnliga forskare och kvinnoforskning, Stockholms Universitet, 1981.
- 88 "How do women create living space?" Rolf Hughes' translation of "Hur skapar kvinnor livsrum?" *Livsrum* could be translated with the German *lebensraum*, or to reference Eileen Gray, with the term *living-room*. *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift (KVT, "Journal of Women's Studies")* thematic issue called 'Platsen i rummet' (appr. "The Place in the Room/Space"), Vol. 16, No 2-3, Umeå, 1995.
- 89 Helena Werner, *Kvinnliga arkitekter: om byggpionjärer och debatterna kring kvinnlig yrkesutövning i Sverige (Women Architects: on Building Pioneers and the Swedish Debates on Women in Professional Practice)* Diss. Gothenburg University, Gothenburg studies in art and architecture, no 23, 2006. In the hidden from history approach Werner cites architect Eva Rudberg above others as the one who has studied the first female architects of Sweden, Eva Rudberg, 'Kvinnor blir arkitekter' ("Women become architects") published in two parts in *Arkitektur*, No. 2 and 3, 1983. Other early studies, which mainly focus on adding women, includes the anthology *Den okända vardagen – om arbetet i hemmen* ("The unknown everyday life – about working at home"), B. Åkerman et al., eds., Stockholm: Akademitratur, 1983, and *Kvinnorum: porträtt av arkitekter* ("Women's spaces: portraits of architects"), Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 1991 – a catalogue and exhibition at the Architecture Museum in Stockholm which was mainly a collection of contemporary practicing women in architecture, edited by Gunilla Lundahl who also contributed with an essay 'Arkitektur grundad på erfarenheter av vardagslivet' ("Architecture based on the experiences of everyday life") in the thematic issue 'Platsen i rummet' of *KVT*, 108-112. In 1996 the *Women & Technology group*, with links to the Fredrika Bremer society, the Technical Museum and KTH, initiated an exhibition called *Den tekniska kvinnan – tillåten sedan 75 år* ("Women of Technology – permitted for 75 years", which I designed together with Marion Fust Saeternes and Thérèse Lindström) to celebrate and display the achievements since women were admitted to higher technological education; a process in which female architects played a significant role as they were the first to enter this all male domain. In relation to the exhibition, and as part of KTH's program to recruit more women, Anna Karlqvist made a survey *Från eftersatt till eftersökt* ("From disadvantaged to sought-after"), Stockholm: KTH, 1997, of the first women to study at KTH. The same year Meike Schalk was the initiator and editor of a thematic issue of the *Magazine of Modern Architecture (MAMA)* called 'Feminine Practices' which presented contemporary female architects and their visions on architecture, *MAMA*, No.26, 2000.
- 90 The National Museum of Ireland in Dublin has an Eileen Gray archive and a permanent exhibition in the department of Decorative Arts and History.
- 91 E.1027 was one of the few buildings by female architects that I ever encountered as an undergraduate student of architecture. Leonie Giesendorf's concrete villa in Djursholm and St.Göran's high school constructed around 1960 in Stockholm were the only Swedish examples. I have mainly consulted two biographies; Caroline Constant, *Ei-*

leen Gray, London: Phaidon, 2000 and Peter Adam, *Eileen Gray: architect, designer: a biography*, London & New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987. Eileen Gray is mentioned in relation to lesbian history by Terry Castle, *The Apparitional Lesbian: Female Homosexuality and Modern Culture*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, 18, Andrea Weiss, *Paris was a woman: portrait from the Left Bank*, London: Pandora, Harper Collins, 1995, 25 and Francesco Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont – Avant-gardiste*, Paris: Fayard, 2004, 382, but she is not named in the informative books Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, Paris 1900-1940, London: Virago Press, 1987 and Florence Tamange, *Histoire de l'homosexualité en Europe. Berlin, Londres, Paris 1919-1939*, Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 2000. Architecture theorist Lynne Walker examines the various interpretations of Gray and her work through the twentieth century in Lynne Walker, 'Architecture and Reputation: Eileen Gray, gender, and modernism', in Martin and Sparke, 87-111. A most important material for this queer reading is the publication of E.1027 co-signed by Eileen Gray and Jean Badovici, *L'Architecture Vivante – E.1027: Maison en Bord de Mer* (1929).

92 Natalie Barney and her world are embraced by fiction, I have cross-referenced many writings and images to figure out how to represent and interpret the case of Barney/20 rue Jacob. Out of the large amount of books two biographies Jean Chalon, *Chère Natalie Barney*, (re-edition of *Portrait d'une séductrice* published in 1976) Preface by Marguerite Yourcenar. Paris: Flammarion, 1992, and Souhami, *Wild girls*, have been important together with François Chapon, 'Nommons Miss Barney', introduction to Blin, Chapon, Prévot and Sieburth, *Autour de Natalie Clifford Barney*, Paris: Universités de Paris and BLJD, 1976, and the thematic issue of *Masques: revue des homosexualités*, No.

16, Winter, 1982-83, attributed 'Hommage à l'amazone: Natalie Clifford BARNEY'. I have also consulted the Natalie Barney collections, BLJD, to get accounts of the historical context and the relations between the actors (for instance the unsociable and jealous Romaine Brooks dismissed Eileen Gary as an ugly, sensual and uninteresting woman in a letter dated Sep.19, 1922, NCB.C2.2445.54.) The representations in Djuna Barnes, *Ladies' Almanack*, Natalie Barney, *Aventures de l'esprit*, Paris: Emile-Paul, 1929 (*Adventures of the Mind*, trans. J.S. Gattou, New York: New York University Press, 1992) and Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness*, as well as the interpretations by Amy Wells-Lynn, 'The Intertextual, Sexually-Coded Rue Jacob' and Sheila Crane, 'Mapping the Amazone's Salon: Symbolic Landscapes and Topographies of Identity in Natalie Clifford Barney's Literary Salon', in Lorraine Dowler et al., 145-161, have been significant in many ways. The listed works have supplied me not only with written descriptions but also with photographs and images, a work consulted foremost for the lithographs by André Rouveyre is Rémy de Gourmont, *Lettres intimes à l'Amazone*, Paris: la Centaine, 1926. Directed by Natalie Barney Rouveyre, or frère André as Barney nicknamed him, sketched the setting of 20 rue Jacob; sixteen images, five of them interiors, are published in *Lettres intimes*. Louis Malle's film *Le Feu Follet* (*The Fire Within* (USA) or *A Time To Live and A Time To Die* (UK)), France: Nouvelles Editions de Films, 1963, with a sequence filmed in Barney's garden is another important visual source. Other literature where Barney/20 rue Jacob appears in different disguises play smaller parts, Lucie De-larue-Mardrus, *L'Ange et Les Pervers*, Paris: J. Ferenczi et Fils, 1934, Liane de Pougy, *Idylle Saphique*, Paris: Librairie de la Plume, 1901, Ernst Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast*, Scrib-

ner: New York, 1996(1964), Colette, *Claudine s'en va – Journal d'Annie* (1903, *The Innocent Wife or Claudine and Annie*), Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1957, Rapazzini, *Un soir chez l'Amazone*, Paris: Fayard, 2001. For the historical context I have turned to Nicole G. Albert, *Saphisme et décadence; dans l'Europe fin de siècle*, Paris: La Martinière, 2005, Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank*, Tamange, *Histoire de l'homosexualité*, the documentary film by Greta Schiller, *Paris was a Woman*, peccadillo pictures, 2000 and the accompanying book Andrea Weiss, *Paris was a woman: portrait from the Left Bank*, London: Pandora, Harper Collins, 1995. The building historical sources are mainly two; the City of Paris list and regulations of historical monuments *Mairie de Paris, Règlement du Plan Local d'Urbanisme (PLU)*, Tome 2, 6ème arrondissement, 2001, and M. Melicourt, 'Le temple de l'Amitié à Paris', *Vieilles Maisons Françaises*, Oct. 1975, no 66, 28-29. For my understanding of Natalie Barney's literary salon I have turned to Sue-Ellen Case, *Feminism and Theatre*, Gloria Feman Orenstein, 'The Salon of Natalie Clifford Barney: An Interview with Berthe Cleyrergue', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol.4, no. 3, 1979, 484-496, and Rapazzini, 'Elisabeth de Gramont, Natalie Barney's "eternal mate"', *South Central Review*, 22.3, 2006, 6-31, and for the wider salon culture; Robert M. Crunden, *American Salons: Encounters with European Modernism 1885-1917*, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993, Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters, A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1994, Ingrid Holmquist, *Salongens Värld: Om text och kön i romantikens salongskultur* ("The World of the Salon: On Text and Sex in the Salon Culture of the Romantic Era"), Stockholm/Stehag: Symposium, 2000, and Anne Scott Sørensen, ed., *Nordisk salonkultur. Et studie i nordiske skønånder og*

salonmiljøer 1780-1850 ("Nordic salon culture. A study of Nordic aesthetes and salon milieus 1780-1850"), Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1998, especially the essay by Elisabeth Mansén, 'Salongens landskap och artefakter' ("The landscapes and artefacts of the salon"). In my discovery of the characters around Natalie Barney and in her map of the salon the website *glbtq: an encyclopedia of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer culture* <<http://www.glbtq.com>>, Chicago: glbtq, Inc., 2002 and the catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), <<http://www.bnf.fr>> have been accessible and valuable sources.

93

The most important sources I have consulted that come out of the studies of literature are the biography by Vivi Edström, *Selma Lagerlöf – Livets vågspel* ("Selma Lagerlöf – the daring venture of life"), Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 2002, Ulla-Britta Lagerroth 'Selma Lagerlöf och teatern' ("Selma Lagerlöf and the theater"), Kerstin Munck, 'Makt, sexualitet och gränsöverskridanden hos Selma Lagerlöf. Exemplet Dunungen' ("Power, sexuality and transgressions at Selma Lagerlöf's. The example The Nestling") and Lisbeth Stenberg, 'Mörkret och makten över symboliseringen. Kring Selma Lagerlöfs dikt "Till Mörkret"' ("Darkness and the power over the process of symbolization. About Selma Lagerlöf's poem "To Darkness"), all in the anthology published in the series of Lagerlöf studies *I Selma Lagerlöfs värld* ("In the World of Selma Lagerlöf") edited by Maria Karlsson & Lousie Vinge, Sunne & Stockholm: Selma Lagerlöf Society & Symposium, 2005, 9-37, 131-142 & 83-102, and the biography by Elin Wägner, *Selma Lagerlöf, Från Jerusalem till Mårbacka* ("Selma Lagerlöf. From Jerusalem to Mårbacka"), vol.2, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1943. The Lagerlöf Society was also behind the publication of the building historical survey by Jan Brunius, *Mårbacka: gårdarnas och släkternas historia* ("Mår-

backa: the history of the farms and families”), Karlstad: Selma Lagerlöf Society, 1963, another building historical text is Gösta von Schoultz, ‘Mårbacka’, Sven T. Kjellberg, ed., *Slott och herresäten i Sverige*, Second Volume, Malmö: Allhems förlag, 1968, and a recent dissertation that comes out of the department of art history is Elisabeth Backman Broomé, *Isak Gustaf Clasons ombyggnad av Selma Lagerlöfs Mårbacka (Isak Gustaf Clason’s rebuilding of Selma Lagerlöf’s Mårbacka)*, Uppsala University, Spring 2004. From the point of museum creation the interpretations in Katarina Ek-Nilsson, ‘Titanen och Sagodrottningen. Kulturella representationer av August Strindberg och Selma Lagerlöf’ (“The Titan and the Fairytale Queen. Cultural representations of August Strindberg and Selma Lagerlöf”), Inga-Lill Aronsson & Birgitta Meurling, eds., *Det bekömda museet: Genusperspektiv i museologi och museiverksamhet* (“The gendered museum: Gender perspectives in museology and museum productions”), Uppsala: Department of ALM, Uppsala University publications, 2005, 53-91, has greatly influenced my work. The foundation that runs the museum of Mårbacka publishes an informative webpage; *Mårbacka memorial estate* <<http://www.marbacka.se/>>, and many printed texts; the leaflet Lennart Edberg, ed., *Mårbacka Minnesgård under 60 år 1942-2002* (“Mårbacka Memorial Estate during 60 years”, 2002), in several languages *Selma Lagerlöf and Mårbacka, A chronicle in pictures* (1979) by Maja Petré and the detailed account Thor Helge Kjellin, *Mårbacka. Guide through Selma Lagerlöf’s Home* (1947). Maj Sterner wrote a similar extensively detailed article ‘Selma Lagerlöfs hem på Mårbacka’ (“Selma Lagerlöf’s home at Mårbacka”), *Svenska Hem i ord och bilder: illustrerad månadstidskrift för skönhet och trevnad i hemmet* (“Swedish Homes in Words and Images: Illustrated Monthly for Beauty and Comfort in the Home”), No.1, 1935, 4-24. The museum of Dalecarlia is behind Bir-

gitta Dandanell, *Selma Lagerlöf och Falun* (“Selma Lagerlöf and Falun”) (1985), Falun: Dalarnas Museum’s publications 45, 1992. The queerness of Lagerlöf and her work is discussed in a PhD dissertation by Lisbeth Stenberg, *En genialisk lek. Kritik och överskridande i Selma Lagerlöfs tidiga författarskap* (“An ingenious game. Criticism and transgression in the early works of Selma Lagerlöf”), Göteborg: Department of Literature, Gothenburg University, 2001, Svante Norrhem, ‘Hur kunde Selma skildra kärleken så passionerat?’ (“How could Selma Lagerlöf portray love so passionately?”), *lambda nordica* 1997: nr 3, 37-51, Maria Karlsson, ‘Travesti och tablå. Ett omklädningsrum hos Selma Lagerlöf’ (“Travesty and tableau. A dressing room at Selma Lagerlöf’s”), Eva Heggestad & Anna Williams, eds., *Omklädningsrum: könsöverskridanden och rollbyten från Tintomara till Tant Blomma* (“Dressing room: gender transgressions and role changes from Tintomara to Aunt Flower”), Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2004, 51-74, and the colorful *Selma på Mårbacka* (“Selma at Mårbacka”) with texts by Lars Westman and photographs by Reijo Ruster, Stockholm: Bonniers, 2000. Two archives in Stockholm have been primary sources; the Selma Lagerlöf collection at KB, with letters between Lagerlöf and the architects Clason, Sophie Elkan and Valborg Olander (some letters from Lagerlöf to the two latter are published with selections and comments by Ying Toijer-Nilsson; *Du lär mig bli fri: Selma Lagerlöf skriver till Sophie Elkan* (“You teach me to be free: Selma Lagerlöf writes to Sophie Elkan”), Stockholm: Bonnier & Selma Lagerlöf-society, 1996 and *En riktig författarhustru: Selma Lagerlöf skriver till Valborg Olander* (“A real author’s wife: Selma Lagerlöf writes to Valborg Olander”), Stockholm: Bonniers, 2006), and the Isak Gustaf Clason collection with Mårbacka drawings and building specifications in the archive of the Museum of Architecture, in addition the archive at Mårbacka has contributed

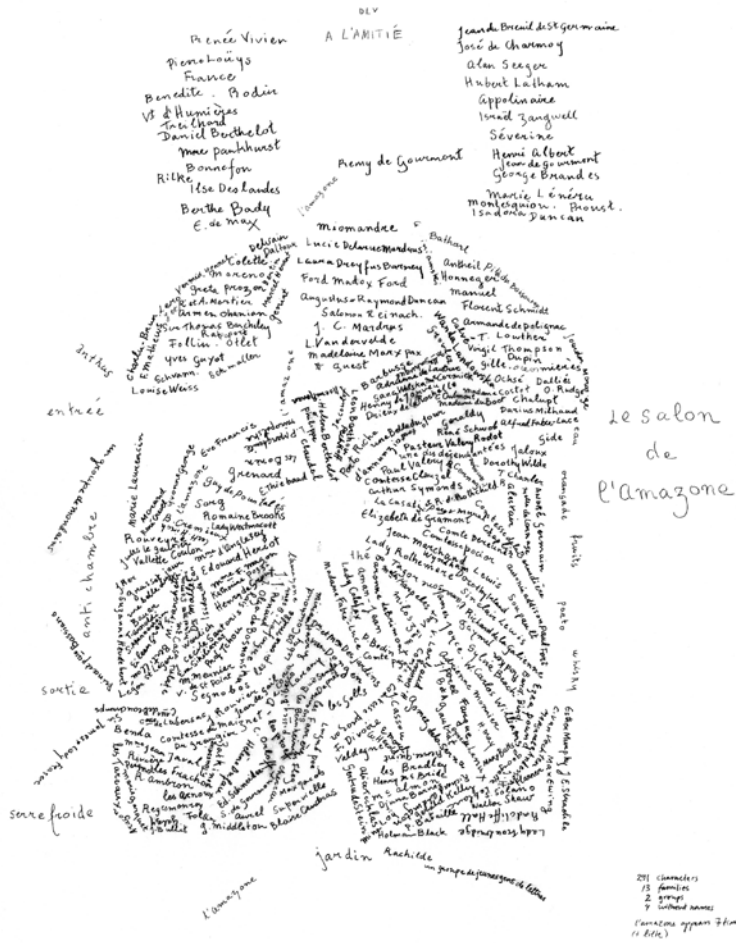
- with pictures of life in photographs and in writing. Out of Selma Lagerlöf's vast production I have mainly turned to two literary representations; *Gösta Berling's saga* (New York: the American Scandinavian foundation, 1918), translated by Lillie Tudeer, Mineola, New York: Dover publications, 2004 and *Mårbacka* (1922), Stockholm: Bonnierpocket, 1995, 2001.
- 94 My dear colleague Sanna Fogelvik and I were surfing on the internet for some sexy architecture theory when we found *Queer Space* and ordered it promptly. Betsky's book came out of a fairly large discourse on queer space, which I at the time knew nothing about. Aaron Betsky, *Queer Space, Architecture and Same-Sex Desire*, New York: William Morrow and Co., 1997.
- 95 Among the first to use the term Queer Theory was Theresa de Lauretis. She was guest editor of the summer 1991 issue of the periodical *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* that followed the conference 'Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities', University of California, Santa Cruz, in February 1990. Cranny-Francis et al., 76, and Rosenberg, *Queerfeministisk agenda*, 65.
- 96 Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xxii.
- 97 Sedgwick, 'Epistemology of the Closet', Henry Abelove et al., 45-61. Terry Castle dismantles Sedgwick's argument from a lesbian perspective, especially the way she put it in her earlier book *Between Men* (1985). Castle points out that the homosexual panic also hits lesbians and that a female homosocial structure can radically suppress the patriarchal homosocial structure. Terry Castle, *The Apparitional Lesbian: Female Homosexuality and Modern Culture*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, 68-72.
- 98 Curators: Beatriz Colomina, Dennis Dollens, Cindi Patton, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Henry Urbach and Mark Wigley, exhibitors: Jay Critchley, Michelle Fornabai, Rocco Giannetti, Benjamin Gianni, Blake Goble, Paul Halshofer, Gordon Brent Ingram, Martha Judge, Tom Kalin, Adam Kuby, Mao-Jung Lee, Paul Lewis, Jörgen Mayer, Brian McGrath, Mitchell Owen, Cindi Patton, Peter Pelsinski, Robert Ransick, Charles Renfro, REPOhistory, Mark Robbins, Maura Sheehan, Marc Tsuiumaki, Greg Tuck and Mark Watkins. *Storefront for Art and Architecture* [Online]. Available <<http://www.storefrontnews.org/exhibitions/past90.html>> [Date accessed: June 9, 2005]
- 99 Despina Stratigakos, 'The uncanny architect. Fears of lesbian builders and deviant homes in modern Germany' – a study of the Haus der Frau at the German Werkbund Exhibition by architect Margarete Knüppelholz-Roeser – appears in Heyen and Baydar, 145-161.
- 100 Sally Munt, *Heroic Desire. Lesbian Identity and Cultural Space*, London & Washington: Cassell, 1998, 179. In *Heroic Desire* Munt discusses how the lesbian's movement through time and space can be seen as a visual statement that carries a belief in social transformation and invokes a utopian community.
- 101 Elspeth Probyn, 'Lesbians in Space: Gender, Sex and the Structure of Missing', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1995, 79. The article is written in response to David Bell, Jon Binnie, Julia Cream and Gill Valentine, 'All hyped up and nowhere to go', *Gender, Place and Culture*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1994, 31-48.
- 102 At this point I have refrained from going further into this discussion, which requires an analysis of late capitalist society. I intend to consider this once this work is completed. For a further discussion read Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality: Neo-Liberalism, Cultural Politics and the Attack on Democracy*, Boston: Beacon Press, 2003.

- 103 The ‘Queer Nation Manifesto’ was a leaflet published anonymously by Queers and distributed in June 1990 at NY Pride, Rosenberg, *Queerfeministsik agenda*, 167, 175. The leaflet is published in its entirety, in English, as an appendix to *Queerfeministsik agenda*, 167-178.
- 104 There are of course also other architects and photographers who work to include the actors. Architect Lina Bo Bardi for instance created fantastic drawings in which even the tiniest actor has specific characteristics. Isa Grinspum Ferraz, *Lina Bo Bardi*, São Paulo: Instituto Lina Bo et P.M. Bardi & Milano: Edizioni Charta, 1994.
- 105 Rendell, Penner and Borden, eds., xii.
- 106 For example, Joel Sanders insists on feminism but it is only in the last section of his introduction to *Stud* that he writes about “one of this volume’s most important subtexts: the role of architecture on the formation of the modern sexual subject” and how “numerous contributors draw on queer theory”. Sanders, 23.
- 107 Alice T Friedman, *Women and the Making of the Modern Home: A Social and Architectural History*, NY: Harry N. Abrams, 1998, 130-131.
- 108 Christopher Reed, *Bloomsbury Rooms. Modernism, Subculture and Domesticity*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004, 7.
- 109 Reed, 4.
- 110 My translation of “un moment dans un recherche plus générale,” Gray and Badovici, 28.
- 111 In the book *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies and Subcultural Lives* Judith Halberstam dismantles the association of queers with urban space and examines the assumption that rural districts have nothing to do with queer space. In a Swedish context Arne Nilsson has looked at the intersection between city life and homosexuality, Arne Nilsson, ‘Storstaden en särskilt attraktiv homomiljö?’ (app. “The big city as a particularly attractive homo-environment?”), Ewa Gunnarsson, Anders Neergaard & Arne Nilsson, eds., *Kors & tvärs: Intersektionalitet och makt i storstadens arbetsliv* (“Through & across: Intersections and power in urban working life”), Stockholm: normal, 2006, 117-133. Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place. Transgender Bodies and Subcultural Lives*, New York & London: New York University Press, 2005.
- 112 Adam, 7.
- 113 During the First World War Natalie Barney organized pacifist meetings, criticized by the militant Élisabeth de Gramont, Rapazzini, *Élisabeth de Gramont*, 318. Barney spent the Second World War in Italy together with Brooks and under fascist protection, Chalon, 225-241. My venture into the salon culture around Barney was hesitant because of this part of Barney’s personal history and was part of the decision to limit the research to the years demarcated by her book *Aventures de l’esprit*, 1910-1930.
- 114 Constant, 165-187.
- 115 Edström, 378-395. Lagerlöf’s speech at the 1911 international votes for women congress in Stockholm is published in *Troll och människor* (“Trolls and humans”), Stockholm: Bonniers, 1915.
- 116 The photographs I refer to are published in Gray and Badovici, *L’Architecture Vivante –E.1027: Maison en Bord de Mer*. There are thirty three posters with Eileen Gray’s black and white photographs, some of which are hand colored, in the publication.
- 117 She wanted to turn it into a place of rest and amusement for elderly single women, letter from Lagerlöf to Ida Bäckman, Sep. 3, 1939, quoted in Brunius, 136.
- 118 The opera singer was Emma Calvé and she sang an aria

- from Christoph Willibald von Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762). Souhami, *Wild Girls*, 45.
- 119 Translation in Souhami, *ibid.*, 61, of “*Que nos rideaux fermés nous séparent du monde*” Charles Baudelaire, ‘Femmes damnées: Delphine et Hippolyte’, *Fleur du Mal* (1857), Paris: José Corti, 1942, 179. Also in Chalon, 129. The importance of the poetry of Baudelaire to the lesbian scene of early twentieth century Paris is discussed in Lectures One and Two.
- 120 Barney wrote about her strategy of indiscretion in *Aventures de l'esprit*, 2-3, and *A Perilous Advantage*, 94. Barney's ethics of indiscretion is discussed in Benstock, 293-294. Shari Benstock quotes Barney who argued that society failed to recognize female homosexuals, it was “a distorting mirror which makes [lesbians] appear unrecognizable”, Benstock, 289.
- 121 Constant, 11.
- 122 A recent, brilliant study on modern heteronormative constructions of women and sexuality is Pia Laskar, *Ett bidrag till heterosexualitetens historia. Kön, sexualitet & njutningsnormer i sexhandböcker 1800-1920* (“*A Contribution to the History of Heterosexuality: Sex, sexuality and norms of pleasure in sex manuals 1800-1920*”), Stockholm: Modernista, 2005. Alice Friedman has looked into the architectural implications of the suppression of female sexuality and points to a crude example; the Farnsworth house. Friedman writes “The house's glass walls and open plan rendered the client completely visible, particularly at night, where the rectangle of light glowed like a television set in the rural Illinois countryside with the miniaturized figure of Edith Farnsworth on the inside.” The design was based on the normative assumption of architect Mies van der Rohe that his client Dr. Edith Farnsworth, a single woman, didn't have any intimate life to shield from the outside world. Friedman, ‘Shifting the Paradigm’, 87.

Appendix
*Le Salon de
l'Amazone*

Tabelle's List of Characters on Barney's Map



291 (carrés)
 15 familles
 2 groupes
 9 couples
 (carrés occupés 7 h 30
 à 10 h.)

Carte du Salon de l'Amazonne
 entre 1910 et 1920.

A

- Addison, Antonia
- Albert, Henri
- Aldington, Richard
- Alestair
- Anderson, Margaret
- Aman-Jean
- Ambron, R.
- Annunzio, Gabriele d'
- Anglesy, Mme d'
- Antheil
- Apollinaire, Guillaume
- Aragon
- Arnoldi, T.
- Arnoux, les
- Aurel
- Bady, Berthe
- Ban/uar
- Barbusse
- Barney, Laura Dreyfus
- Barnes, Djuna
- Barcheley, Sir Thomas
- Barthou, Léon
- Bassiano, Prince et Princesse
- Bataille, P.
- Batts, Mary
- Bathorl
- Beach, Sylvia
- Beauchamps, Comtesse de
- Benda
- Benedite
- Béraudière, Comtesse de la
- Bernheim, les
- Berthelot, Daniel

B

Berthelot, Hélène et Philippe
 Bertillou
 Bertin
 Bereune, Comte
 Bibesco, Princesse J.
 Bird, Bard
 Bodin, P.
 Boissouray, Pilà du
 Bonin, les
 Bonnefon
 Bononska, Olga de
 Boot, Madame du
 Bradley, les
 Brandes, George
 Brimont, Baronne de
 Brooks, Romaine
 Brun
 Bullit, J.
 Calvé, Emma
 Casa Fulate, Ms.
 Casati, la
 Cassou, J
 Cendrars, Blaise
 Chalupt
 Chanler, T.
 Chaplin
 Charlu
 Charmoy, José de
 Chercau
 Claudel (Paul*/Camille)
 Clauzel, Comtesse
 Colette
 Colefax, Lady

C

D

Cormick, Mme
 Cornaz, R.
 Coster, Madame
 Couchoud, Dr
 Coulon
 Crémieux, B.
 Crevel, René
 Dalliés
 Daltour
 Davrey, H.
 Delarue-Mardrus, Lucie
 Delvain
 Deprés, Susanne
 Desjardins, Dr et Mme
 Deslandes, Ilse
 Divoire, F.
 Dufau, Hélène
 Dummières, Gille
 Duncan, Augustus et Raymond
 Duncan, Isadora
 Dupin, Yonnel
 Ewing, Max
 Eyre de Lanux (Elizabeth)
 Fabre-Luce, Alfred
 Fabre-Luce, Madame
 Fargue
 Farrère, les
 Flanner, Jannet
 Fleg, les
 Föllin
 Ford, Ford Madox
 Fort, Paul
 Frachon, les

E
F

G

France, Anatole
 Francis, Eve
 Franchetti, M.
 Fraser, Sir James et Lady
 Gail, Jean de
 Galienne, Richard de la
 Galzy
 Garquet, Marie
 Gautier, Jules le
 Gautrat, Betsy et A
 Géniat
 Géraldy
 Germain, André
 George, Yvonne
 Gide, André
 Gollz, les
 Gourmont, Jean de
 Gourmont, Remy de
 Gourmont, S. de
 Gramont, Élisabeth de
 Grangier, Dr.
 Grasset
 Gray, Eileen
 Grenard
 Groulez
 Groux, Henry de
 guest
 Guyot, Yves
 Gu/aymel

H

H., J.
 Hall, Radclyffe
 Harry, Miriam
 Herold, W.

I
J

Herrand, Marcel
 Herriot, Edouard
 Heudebert, Suzanne
 Hirsch, les H.
 Holman/u-Black
 Honneger
 Humières, Vicomte d'
 Irland, Dorothy

Jacob, Max
 Jacoulof
 Jaloux
 Javal, Mme Jean
 Jouveau88, Henry de
 Joyce, James

K
L

Karpelés, Mlle
 Kelly, Gerald
 Landowska, Wanda
 Larbaud, V.
 Lare, Isidor de
 Larnage, Mlle de
 Larony
 Lafargue, Mnes. B.
 Latham, Hubert
 Laurencin, Marie
 Lautrec, Adrienne de
 Lebey
 Leblanc, Georgette
 Léger
 Lénéru, Marie
 Lero
 Lewis, Sinclair
 Lewis, Wyndham

M

Louÿs, Pierre
 Lowther, T.
 Loÿ, Mina
 Lugné-Poë
 Lubersac, Comtesse de
 Maiznet-Decora, Comtesse de
 Mallet, Dr.
 Margherite, L. P
 Mannerheim, S.
 Manuel
 Marchand, Jean
 Mardrus, J. C.
 Marx Pax, Madeleine
 Mag/son, Mme F.
 Mathews, F.
 Max, Edouard de
 May, H.
 Mc Bride, Henry
 Mc Elmon
 Meunier, Mario
 Middleton, G
 Milhaud, Darius
 Mille, les Pierre
 Milosz
 Miomandre, Francis de
 Miropolska
 Monnier, Adrienne
 Monroy, Regis
 Montesquiou, Robert de
 Morand
 Morange, Jourdan
 Moreno
 Morel, E.

O

Mortier, G et R. et A.
 Murphy, Esther
 Ochsé Ocksé
 Ohanian, Armen
 Orloff, Channa
 Otlet
 Oulmont. C.

P

O88forex
 Pagan/г, Comte
 Pankhurst, Mme
 Pary v Mural ?
 Pechkoff
 Peignot, Rivière
 Pitoeff, les
 Polignac, Armande de
 Porel, J.
 Porto-Riche
 Pound, Ezra
 Pour/ntalès, Guy de
 Pouciot, Comtesse
 Pozzi, Katherine Catherine
 Proust, Marcel
 Prozon, Comte et Comtesse
 Prozon, Greta
 Quint, Pierre

Q
R

Rachilde (Marguerite Eymery)
 Rais, J.
 Rapoport
 Reinach, Salomon
 Renan, Noémie
 Renàud, J.J.
 Rernoid

S

Rilke, Rainer Maria
 Rivière
 Rochelle, Dricux de la
 Rodin, Auguste
 Rodker (Rod Ker)
 Rothemere, Lady
 Rothschild, M. et R. de
 Rouveyre, "Frère André"
 Rouvier, J.
 Rudger, O.
 Sahuqué, Mlle
 Saint-Germain, Jean du Breuil de
 Saint-Léger
 Saint Point, V. de
 Sartoris, Cecile
 Schmaller
 Schmidt, Florent
 Schneider, Ed.
 Schwab (Schwob, René)
 Schvann
 Seeger, Alan
 Seignobos
 Senglé, Bu/rit
 Serna, Gomez de la
 Séverine
 Shaw, Walter
 Sikilianos, Eva (Palmer)
 Solano, Solita
 Somoni, Mr. et Mrs.
 Sorg
 Soupault, Philippe
 Stein, Gertrude
 Stractily, J. E.

T

Supervielle
 Symonds, Arthur
 Tagore
 Tareaux, les
 Tchou, Prof.
 Thompson, Virgil
 Thiebau/nd, E.
 Toklas, Alice B.
 Touissaint, F.

U

Treilhard
 Troubridge, lady Una
 un groupe de mondains
 un groupe de jeunes gens de lettres
 une belle du de jour
 une belle du de jour
 une des désenchantées

V

Valdange
 Valéry, Paul
 Vallery-Roadot, Pasteur
 Vallette, Alfred
 Van der Velde, L.
 Van Dongen, Kees
 Van Vechten, C.
 Vermid
 Vivien, Renée
 Vogt, Mme

W

Walska, Sana
 Warlich
 Weiss, Louise
 Westmacott, lady
 Wilde, Dorothy "Dolly"
 Williams, William Carlos
 Winiarski, les

Y Yonnel

Z Zangewell, Israël
Zatkine

295 characters (of which 4 are without names)

+ 13 families “les Arnoux”

+ 2 groups

+ l’amazone (appears 6 times apart
from the title)

Other Texts:

DLV (555)

Amitié, A l’

Anthus

anti chambre

entrée

eau

fruits

orangcade

porto

serre froide

sortie

thé

whisky

Names from map of Natalie Barney, ‘Le Salon de l’Amazone,’ *Aventures de l’esprit*, frontispiece. This list adds 164 names to the previously published list of selected names in Jean Chalon, *Chère Natalie Barney*, 193-194.

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BLJD	Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
KTH	Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan, Royal Institute of Technology
KB	Kungliga Biblioteket, National Library of Sweden
KVT	Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift, Journal of Women's Studies
NCB	Natalie Clifford Barney

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Architect and gender scholar Katarina Bonnevier is a teacher and researcher at the School of Architecture and the Built Environment, Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm, Sweden. *Behind Straight Curtains* is her doctoral dissertation. Bonnevier has recently contributed to *Negotiating Domesticity* (2005, eds. Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar) and *Critical Architecture* (2007, eds. Jane Rendell, Jonathan Hill et al.), both available from Routledge.

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