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The posthumous construction of Frank Lloyd Wright's unbuilt archive presents often unexamined challenges to his recognised canon and to the discipline of architecture.

Frank Lloyd Wright's posthumous architecture

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In June 2017, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York marked the sesquicentenary of Frank Lloyd Wright's birth with the opening of a major new exhibition, 'Frank Lloyd Wright at 150: Unpacking the Archive'. Drawing extensively upon the holdings of the Frank Lloyd Wright Archives, acquired by MoMA in partnership with the Avery Library at Columbia University in 2012, the exhibition was announced by its host institution as an occasion to 'open up Wright's work to critical inquiry and debate'.[1] Given its promise to assay the archive for new interpretations and insights, it is curious that MoMA said nothing of the kind of questions needing to be asked of Wright's work—nothing of the proverbial stones that remain unturned. After all, what needs to be said about an oeuvre that has been so exhaustively researched, so extensively published, and so widely celebrated that Frank Lloyd Wright was already a household name in his own lifetime?[2] MoMA ultimately addressed this question by delving deep into the archive to present a small number of works – many largely unknown – in rich detail. But what was surprising for an exhibition drawn from, and ostensibly about, one of the world's most coveted architectural archives, was how little it had to say about the archive itself, and its silence on the archive's present-day relationship to the more than 400 extant buildings, and many hundreds of unbuilt designs, that are identified with Wright.

Our purpose in this article is not a critique of the 'Unpacking the Archive' exhibition, nor its curatorial strategy and approach. Nevertheless, MoMA's presentation highlights a lacuna in the broader discourse on Wright, and in particular the Wright archive's relationship to his built works. In this respect, we argue that some of the most interesting questions and pressing issues arising from the Wright's legacy today directly concern the archive and its role in the various changes to the corpus of his built work in recent decades. While notable, the changes that are of interest to us here do not include the many controversial renovations and restorations of Wright's work that have taken place in recent years, nor those irreversible modifications made in the name of conservation or museumisation.[3] Moreover, we do not propose to reflect upon those projects that have been permanently lost through fire, natural disaster, or wilful demolition, for which the archive now contains the most important documentary records.[4] Rather than this loss of built works, we suggest the more challenging investigation concerns their addition: those posthumous constructions of previously demolished and never-before realised designs that are increasingly building the unbuilt archive.

While they are routinely dismissed by critics and academics, and overlooked in exhibitions such as MoMA's most recent show, our ambition is to take a serious look at the difficult challenges that posthumous works present to the discipline of architecture. In particular, that posthumously built projects tend to highlight and exacerbate the distance – the necessary gap – that already exists between the architect as the maker of architectural designs and representations, and the translation and construction of those designs by others. Moreover, that posthumous works conceive of the architectural archive as more than a simple resource for research, but rather, as a repository of instructions for building that, like a script for a play, can be performed by anyone, at any time, always and necessarily open to repetition and interpretation by others. Such ideas are a difficult presence in the discipline of architecture that is often wedded to a concept and celebration of the architect-as-auteur. Indeed, they threaten to undermine, even unravel, certain assumptions and popular myths about the authority and authorship of the architect upon which the profession rests.

To be, or not to be – that is the question.[5]

Since the early nineties there has been a small but notable boom in the construction of new Wright buildings—at least nine have been posthumously built, and numerous others attempted.[6] There is even an organisation, The Frank Lloyd Wright Revival Initiative, dedicated to rebuilding

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demolished Wright buildings.[7] The group's first project, the Banff Park Pavilion (designed in 1911, demolished 1939) in Alberta, Canada, recently received approval from local authorities, subject to funding.[8] According to historian (and Wright expert) Neil Levine, posthumous building constitutes one of the most 'tortuous, intensifying, and underexplored fault lines in the contemporary preservation/restoration story'.[9] This is arguably a problem that affects Wright's work more than most others, due to his immense popularity – he was perhaps the first so-called 'starchitect' – and to the commercial value of a Wright-designed building. It may also have something to do with the sheer number of unrealised designs that still exist in his archives, which tantalise fans and opportunists to build their very own Frank Lloyd Wright project. His unrealised works include designs for around 350 houses, along with almost anything else that can be imagined, from candlesticks to entire civic centres, as well as gas stations, garden features, bridges, lamp posts, automobiles, museums, cinemas, factories, parking garages, town halls, carpets, hospital buildings, playgrounds, office towers, amusement parks, restaurants, and one particularly conspicuous 1948 design for a resort perched on the rim of an Arizona meteor crater.[10]

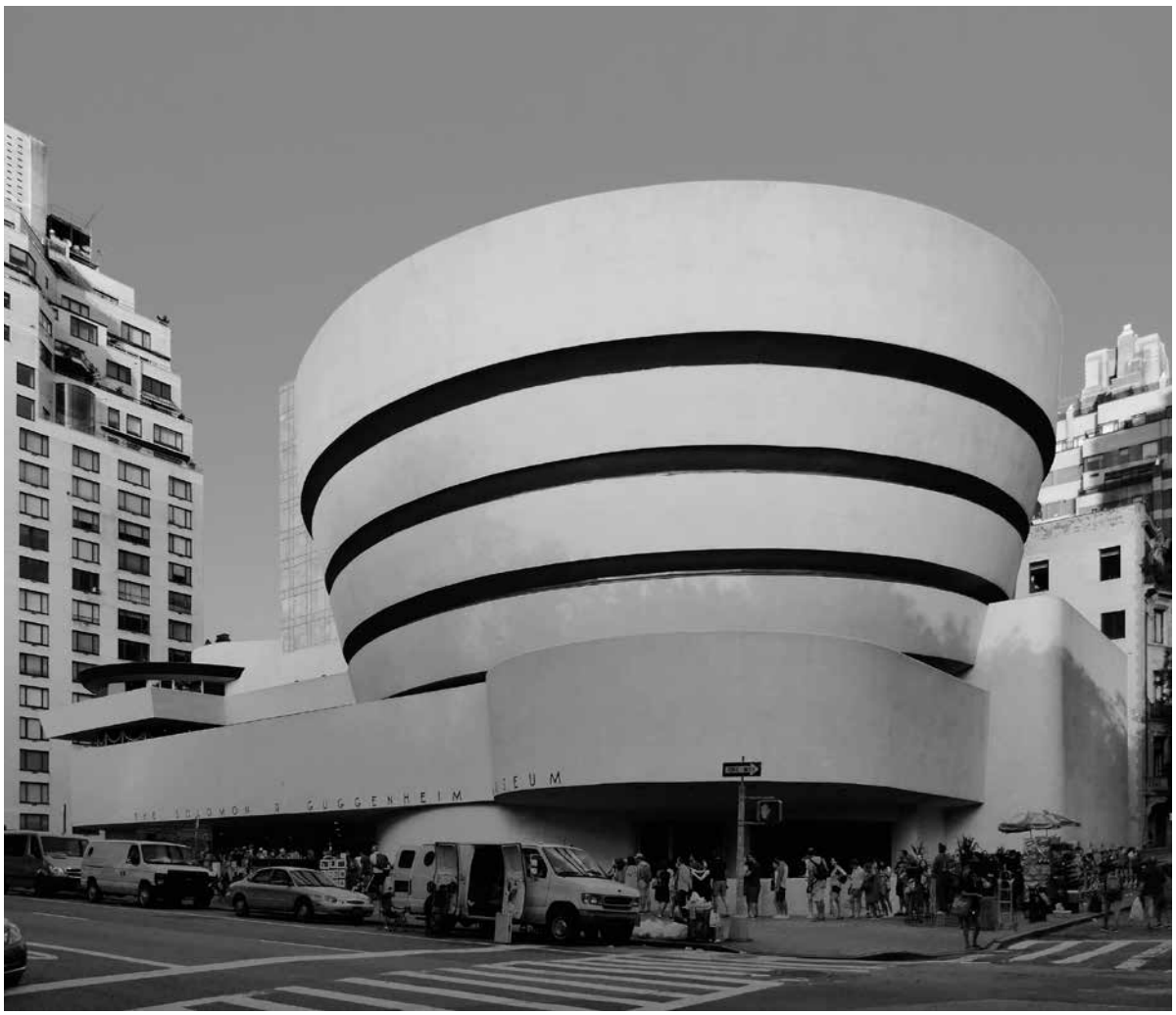
These unrealised designs present a conundrum for architectural historians, heritage professionals, Wright enthusiasts, and the lawyers responsible for protecting Wright's estate: that is, in what circumstances can posthumous works be recognised as genuine examples of Wright's architecture? Frustratingly, any straightforward criteria for turning unbuilt proposals into material forms that might be recognised as 'authentic' remain elusive and, arguably, irresolvable.[11] For one, every project varies in the information available – designs are sometimes abandoned after just a few sketches, while others have complete documentation. And, of course, some aspects of a design are never drawn, but rather, tested, adjusted, and resolved on site.[12] Projects also vary in the number and kind of changes that are needed for them to be built today, according to the requirements of contemporary legislation and the availability of particular materials and construction skills. Certainly, the posthumous construction of Wright's designs from the early twentieth century pose more difficult problems of translation than those designed at the end of his career. Whether or not posthumous work can ever be authentic, or should even be built at all, is highly contentious. To argue a position for or against implicates fundamental beliefs on the role and authority of the architect as author. It also draws into the mix age-old dilemmas on whether the work of architecture resides in its material manifestation or its conceptual proposition. Of course, the very possibility of such a schism between architecture's physical construction and intellectual work dates back to Alberti in the fifteenth century. Yet, the fact that today's architects are almost exclusively responsible for making representations of buildings – in drawings or textual descriptions and specifications – rather than building the structures themselves, does surprisingly little to resolve these tensions in a simple manner.

With regard to authorship and authenticity, philosopher Nelson Goodman has examined what is at stake in the split conception of architecture through a description of 'autographic' and 'allographic' arts.[13] Putting the complication of architecture's site specificity to one side, an autographic view of architecture privileges the physical construction and would regard it much like a traditional painting – the replication of which would amount to no more than a worthless forgery. By contrast, allographic arts are more permissive of reproduction and foreground the intellectual work. This view would hold that architecture is akin to a musical score, or a script for a play, wherein no one performance is more original than any other. As such, multiple 'original' or 'authentic' instantiations of any one building may be possible. After all, many would argue that architecture is inherently, and necessarily, reproducible: even the most revered buildings require maintenance and the replacement of parts, big and small, over time.[14] How such piecemeal replacements of an 'original' might impact the perceived authenticity of a given building is a bigger question than can be dealt with here but, followed to its extreme conclusion, we reach the same philosophical impasse as the ancients did with the paradox of the Ship of Theseus.[15] Goodman himself remains undecided. Despite its use of drawings, which operate in much the same way as allographic musical notation, he concludes that architecture remains a 'mixed and transitional' case, unable to separate itself from the unique built work.[16]

The idea of architecture being manifest in either, or both, the representation or built work has support in copyright law. For example, the legal definition of an 'architectural work' in the United States includes 'the design of a building as embodied in any tangible medium of expression, including a building, architectural plans, or drawings'.[17] Moreover, even a casual perusal of an architectural archive such as Wright's will not only reveal that a work of architecture can be manifest in a variety of media, but that it is also, inherently, distributed in multiple forms. That is, any one project may be represented in countless numbers of drawings and sketches, in textual descriptions and annotations, in tables and specifications, in correspondence and any number of things besides. It can also manifest in multiple versions: tested, rejected, or abandoned. While not requiring the work to be built, these tangible expressions of a building sit alongside buildings themselves, and cumulatively constitute the 'work' of the architecture.

All this makes for a complex and contested territory for the realisation of posthumously built architecture, which is frequently dismissed by architectural critics, perhaps due to its

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1 Guggenheim Museum, New York, 2016.

problematic status and contested legitimacy in the oeuvre of an architect. Neil Levine, however, offers one of the more nuanced readings by describing posthumously produced architecture on a sliding scale of authenticity. Situated at the more acceptable end of the spectrum are replica constructions of buildings that once existed, particularly those projects that can be assisted with extensive photographs and original documentation (as in the famous case of Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona Pavilion, rebuilt in 1986). At the other extreme lies the increasingly popular practice of erecting unbuilt designs from incomplete archival records, frequently on new sites, and with new clients and programmes.[18] Regarding a number of new Wright buildings at this extreme, Levine is unequivocal. He argues that such works are not only a waste of funds that might be better spent preserving and restoring what already exists, but are also a serious betrayal of the Frank Lloyd Wright Archive. The problem, according to Levine, is that these projects construct an inauthentic representation of Wright's work and, in doing so, they supplant a more pure and precise understanding of his architecture as recorded by the archive. 'These buildings', Levine writes, 'rely totally on the archive at the same time as they undermine and traduce its singular preservationist role.'[19] This is an important point, but the circumstances of individual posthumous completions are diverse and the problems they raise extend beyond the archive alone. In fact, the debate on the authenticity, fidelity, and status of posthumously produced architecture is made complex by compounding issues of architectural authorship, the significance of site and, of course, the amount of time passed between design and construction. This is not to mention the further complication of the celebrity status and name-brand value of famed architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright. While we refrain from offering any critique of particular examples, in what follows, a series of Wright projects are considered to begin opening out some of the issues raised by posthumous construction.

Defer no time, delays have dangerous ends.[20]

Wright died on 9 April 1959, just short of his ninety-second birthday. One of his greatest works, the Guggenheim Museum in New York *[1]*, opened six months later on 21 October. The posthumous completion of the building is a sad footnote to his

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2 Monona Terrace Community and Convention Center, Madison, Wisconsin. Photo: Corey Coyle, 2013.

career, and to a building that is widely celebrated despite the practical difficulty of hanging pictures on its walls. But the fact that construction was completed without Wright is rarely brought up as a cause for concern over its authenticity, let alone its authorship. In her *New York Times* piece, published days after the Guggenheim's opening, Ada Louise Huxtable described the building as less a museum than a monument to its architect.[21] For Huxtable, Wright's intimate connection with the building is not weakened by its completion without him. Instead, it becomes stronger, and has come to represent the man himself. (Similar commentary accompanied the completion of the Scottish Parliament after Enric Miralles' untimely death, and will surely be a feature of the posthumous coverage of Zaha Hadid's unfinished projects.) Of course, the Guggenheim is not the kind of posthumous work Levine is critical of, since the architect's intentions were well documented at the time of his death. It is also quite common for architects to work until their last breath, and for their final works to be completed in the months and years that follow. As such, the posthumous completion of the Guggenheim and other projects such as the Don M. Stromquist House (1963, Bountiful, Utah), Gordon House (1964, Silverton, Oregon), or the Grady Gammage Memorial Auditorium (1964, Tempe, Arizona) in the years immediately following Wright's death generally fail to cause alarm.

More problematic are those works built long after the architect's death, such as the Monona Terrace Community and Convention Center in Madison (1994–7, Wisconsin), which Wright worked on for the last twenty-one years of his life, but which was built more than three decades after his passing *[2]*. While the exterior retained Wright's original design, critics suggest that he made only a small number of sketches for its interior, which was substantially redesigned by the successor office of Wright's practice, Taliesin (Associated) Architects (TAA, formerly known as the Taliesin Fellowship), to meet contemporary demands. Moreover, the scheme was developed from Wright's final, less detailed design, with significant changes to materials, programme, and construction techniques.[22] At best, the result is a hybrid of Wright's design, and an architectural speculation in the manner of Wright—a necessary compromise for the realisation of one of Wright's

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last great designs. At worst, in Levine's terms, it may constitute a betrayal – the decision to build more than thirty years after the master's death requiring changes that deviated too far from what was known or intended. Clearly, and unlike the Guggenheim, Monona Terrace also seems to exceed an undefined threshold of acceptable time for posthumous construction, after which the available techniques, materials, skills, construction methods, clients, and briefs have changed or evolved to such an extent that the distance between them and the original design can no longer be bridged. Similar claims have also been charged against the continuing work on Gaudi's Sagrada Familia in Barcelona, scheduled for completion in 2026, some one hundred years after the architect's death.

Others see the problem of Monona Terrace as one of authorship and attribution, rather than timing and available information. As the construction of Monona Terrace began, historian Narciso Menocal was quoted in *Time* describing the project as 'like finding a 15-page synopsis of a Hawthorne novel and having someone else turn it into a 500-page book'. Rightly, he asks, 'Whose novel is that?'[23] It is an important question for posthumous constructions, complicated in this instance by the role of the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation and TAA. Of course, architecture has rarely been the result of the efforts of a single individual, and the authority to claim authorship over a design is a conceptual and legal minefield. The issue of authorship is returned to later. Suffice it to say here that for many years the Foundation authorised the posthumous use of Wright's unbuilt designs and, until its dissolution in 2003 due to financial debts to the Foundation, TAA was responsible for the completion and modification of numerous posthumous works.[24]

Is there no respect of place, persons, nor time in you?[25]

Further complicating these works in Wright's posthumous oeuvre are a growing number of constructions that compound the problem of temporal distance with geographic detachment from the intended site. For instance, the 1923 design for another project in Madison – the Nakoma Country Club – was sold by the Foundation in the late 1990s and developed by TAA for a new mountain resort in Clio, California, opening in 2001. In this case, the resort owners have added to the original project with 'villas designed by Taliesin-trained architects that echo the spirit of the clubhouse with octagonal pitched roofs and sculptural stone fireplaces'.[26] Interestingly, the original 1923 Nakoma design was featured in one of the twelve thematic displays of the 2017 MoMA exhibition, which highlighted another highly problematic aspect of the design: its appropriation and conflation of culturally specific American Indian imagery and building types. However, what is pertinent to this discussion is that the MoMA exhibition said nothing of Nakoma's posthumous construction. Only a brief footnote in the exhibition catalogue indicated its realisation in the northern mountains of California – a tacit rejection, perhaps, of the building as a genuine work worthy of consideration in the Frank Lloyd Wright narrative.[27]

Wright's numerous unbuilt houses also remain a popular source of material for new builds, including one in Greystones (County Wicklow, Ireland), which was finished in 2007 from an adapted 1959 design by Wright for the Wieland House in Maryland. It remains the only Wright-designed building in Europe, although its claim to that particular status may not last. In 2003, the Foundation authorised Wright's design for the O'Keefe House (1947) in Santa Barbara for use on a site, thousands of kilometres away, in the rural Somerset landscape of England. That proposal only faltered in 2014 when local authorities refused building permission for the design, which was seen as out of character for the area.[28]

Still, even more audacious projects have been realised. The King Kamehameha Golf Club in Hawaii was opened in 1993, and was based on the modified design of a house Wright originally produced for Arthur Miller and Marilyn Monroe in 1957; this was itself a reworking of an unbuilt house designed for a site in Texas in 1949. Wright's recycling of his archive for such projects is curious in its own right, especially given the rhetoric of his so-called organic architecture that was developed fundamentally with a particular site in mind. Nevertheless, the Foundation sold the rights to the house plans, and TAA developed the design to suit the new client, site, and larger programme (most of which has been buried underground).[29] A plaque on the building declares it to be 'from an original design by Frank Lloyd Wright, adapted by Taliesin Architects, certified by the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation', and is accompanied by a red square logo bearing the architect's hand-scrawled initials. While the King Kamehameha Golf Club is not presented as an authentic Wright design, and is absent from the Foundation website, its association with Wright's name and foundation is highly dubious. Unlike Monona Terrace, Wright never imagined anything like the building that now occupies the slopes of Maui. Indeed, the project brings into question the value of the Foundation's endorsement, as well as its control over the Frank Lloyd Wright name and brand, which it continues to use to this day to market more than a thousand Wright-themed products through its online store. [30]

What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet.[31]

These are not the only posthumous projects for which the Foundation has licenced the use of Wright's unbuilt catalogue. With the excitement of the ongoing Darwin D. Martin House restoration and reconstruction project (1996–present) in Buffalo (New York) – one of four Wright houses in the region – several new Wright works have been realised to 'enhance' the Buffalo area as a Frank Lloyd Wright hotspot.[32] These include the Blue Sky Mausoleum at Forest Lawn Cemetery in 2004

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(designed 1928) *[3]*, the Fontana Boathouse in 2007 (designed 1905) *[4]*, and the 2014 completion of a gas station at the Pierce-Arrow Transport Museum based on a 1927 design *[5]*.[33] The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation supported the three projects, and while each incorporated significant modifications, the construction of the Fontana Boathouse remains particularly controversial. It is the only one that was not originally designed for a site in Buffalo (it was conceived by Wright as the Yahara River Boathouse in Madison, Wisconsin), and its 2007 realisation required considerable interpretation of Wright's 1905 design.[34] In fact, there was no ground floor plan among the four surviving drawings of the scheme, nor were there any sections or dimensions.[35] Changes were made to the intended construction methods and materials too: the original was proposed as a plaster-covered timber-framed structure, but the 2007 build is a precast concrete edifice on a steel frame.

Anthony Puttnam, who served as an apprentice of Wright between 1953 and 1957, oversaw the boathouse and mausoleum projects. Their construction was supported by the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation and both are frequently presented as authentic Wright works. The implicit suggestion is that through his contact with Wright, Puttnam brings to these projects the authority and knowledge of Wright himself. Precisely what insights Puttnam might bring to designs such as the 1905 boathouse are difficult to imagine: he worked with Wright nearly half a century after the boathouse was designed, and at a time when Wright's approach had moved away from the so-called Prairie style to his later, mature works. Importantly, both the boatshed and mausoleum appear on the Foundation's website and are described as works designed by Wright, albeit with an acknowledgment of their actual completion dates and the role of Puttnam. A sign at the approach to the boathouse, however, omits Puttnam's name *[6]*. In a piece for *The Guardian*, architecture critic Oliver Wainwright quotes Puttnam as saying that the 2007 boathouse 'carries Mr Wright's spirit'. Puttnam adds:

> *I'm sure he would have had plenty to say about what we've done wrong. But I can guarantee he would have wanted these buildings built – he thought they were very good. And he intended his unbuilt projects to be a source of income for the foundation and the school.*[36]

While Puttnam may be right about Wright's hopes for these works to be built, their attribution remains problematic. With scant design information from Wright's plans, combined with extensive interpretation and modification to meet contemporary building requirements (such as the addition of a glass balustrade to the terrace), Puttnam could himself be recognised as the primary architect of the boatshed; Wright merely provided the inspiration. More accurately, and more generously, the work might be attributable to

3 Blue Sky Mausoleum, Buffalo, New York, 2017.

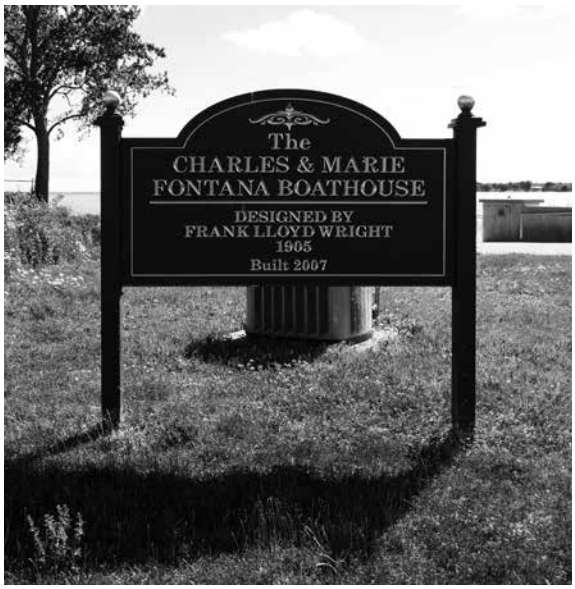
4 Fontana Boathouse, Buffalo, New York, 2017.

5 Gas station, Pierce-Arrow Transport Museum, Buffalo, New York, 2017.



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multiple authors, including Puttnam, Wright, and the many others who undoubtedly contributed to the realisation of project. This, however, would defy a long-standing convention of naming an individual office or architect as author, even for designs with which they had little in-depth involvement.

Of course, the name 'Frank Lloyd Wright' stands for more than the person himself. Rather, it is a brand, and a signature, which represents a body of architectural design – built and unbuilt – that was executed by a host of individuals whose names are generally erased from (or never recorded by) history. As Timothy Hyde suggests, the 'signature' of an architect can even stand for the entire operation and working methods of a collection of people in an office and its commissioners. In his account of the failed bid to posthumously build Mies van der Rohe's Mansion House Square in London in the mid-1980s, Hyde argues with respect to the contestation of Mies's authorship of the failed project that:

> *signature was not a mere personification, but an embodiment of a process of architectural practice. Not a personification of Mies, that is, but an embodiment of the acts and operations of Mies' office and its client.*[37]

6 Sign, Fontana Boathouse, Buffalo, New York, 2017.

7 Massaro House, Petra Island, Lake Mahopac, New York. Photo: Ecoleetage, 2008.



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In this respect, Hyde touches on the fundamental challenge of attribution that plagues so many architectural archives – not least of all Wright's, which captures a career spanning more than seven decades and the activities of a vast army of contributors.[38] As Peter Christensen writes, the determination of authorship is a fundamental metric of the archive. In this way, he argues, the archive becomes 'complicit in the cult of authorship'.[39] Still, and despite the authorial might of Wright, certain names of Wright's apprentices are well-known today, including their roles on particular works. Marion Mahoney, for instance, has been associated with certain early Wright designs, and is attributed with establishing the graphic style of the office with her exquisite and celebrated renderings. Likewise, Austrian-born architect, Rudolph Schindler, is known for his affiliation with Wright, and particularly for his role in the Hollyhock House in Los Angeles. However, the identification of these architects has generally only come later, and in conjunction with their own established careers. In effect, this recognition of select figures further occludes the important roles of others in Wright's office, and adds ever more weight to his name and status as an architectural master.

Given the cultural and commercial value attached to Wright's name, it is not surprising that the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation guards it closely. Hence, when Joseph Massaro, a retired contractor, bought an island in Lake Mahopac in New York State in 1996 and proceeded to use a Frank Lloyd Wright design for his house (executed with the assistance of his own architect), legal action ensued *[7]*. This was despite the fact that Wright had designed the house for the site's previous owner, and the plans were included in the property's sale. The existing documentation consisted of a plan, a single perspective, as well as three elevations. Thomas A. Heinz, an architect and Wright scholar, combined these drawings with aspects of Wright's other work to complete the house design. 'So technically, Frank Lloyd Wright is the designer and I'm the architect', said Heinz.[40] A legal settlement with the Foundation was reached, requiring the house to be labelled as 'inspired by' rather than 'designed by' Frank Lloyd Wright.[41] Numerous changes were made by the owner and architect. The most controversial was the inclusion of stone exterior walls that are reminiscent of Wright's desert works. On this issue, the house's owner is unequivocal:

> *I'm the owner. [...] If I was here and Wright was alive today, I would end up with that rock. It would be my choice. And he would have accommodated the customer. It would still have been his design. [...] You can say all you want, that he didn't do this and he wouldn't do that, but the end result is, it's a Frank Lloyd Wright house*.[42]

The Lake Mahopac house remains absent from the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation's catalogue of built works. It is a notable omission considering it was built on its intended site, and underwent a very similar process of design adaptation as the Buffalo boathouse, albeit without a Wright-trained architect's guidance. The only significant difference between it and the boathouse, therefore, is the Foundation's consent – a fact that exposes a difficult tension between traditional or disciplinary concepts of authorship, and the legal or commercial authority to attribute it. It seems that, after all is said and done, the extent of Wright's role in the original design, and his presence or absence during construction, matters little to the determination of the work as a genuine Wright building.

Of course, such issues are not limited to the work of Frank Lloyd Wright alone. The death of Zaha Hadid in early 2016 left dozens of unbuilt or unfinished works on the drawing boards. While Hadid's designs are arguably less connected to their sites than those of Wright, her popularity – and the now limited supply of buildings by her own hand – will certainly add to their desirability. As some of her last works reach completion on site, what might become of Hadid's archive of unbuilt projects, incomplete sketches, and previously rejected schemes is uncertain. That within her own lifetime at least one of her designs was allegedly copied and reproduced on another site is a clear indication of the popularity and value of her architectural brand.[43] It also suggests that the possibility of posthumously produced Hadid designs looms large.

This impetus for posthumous construction, it would seem, is a largely unrecognised symptom of the celebrity architect phenomenon, and a consequence of the inadequate means with which authorship is typically attributed to works of architecture. Clearly, the dilemmas presented by posthumous construction cannot be resolved without first unravelling the status and commercial value attached to individual brand names, and the broader cultural practice of celebrating architects as autonomous authors. A future without starchitects, however, is highly unlikely, and runs counter to the operation of organisations such as the Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, and the many smaller groups that administer Wright house museums, guided tours, and historical sites, constituting a veritable Frank Lloyd Wright tourist industry. It is also antithetical to exhibitions such as MoMA's 'Unpacking the Archive', which tend to feed a public desire for heroic figures like Wright with beautiful displays of original drawings and a smorgasbord of Wright merchandise for sale.

Death makes no conquest of this conqueror: for now he lives in fame, though not in life.[44]

What then is to be made of Wright's posthumously built architecture, and what status, or significance, should it be given? It goes almost without saying that proponents will try to push works such as the Lake Mahopac house into the canon of recognised Wright buildings, and that critics will argue to keep them out. All the while, new buildings will continue to be built in Wright's name, with or without the approval of the Foundation and the various gatekeepers of the discipline. Surely nothing will be gained by ignoring the appearance of this kind of

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architecture: its dismissal in academic discussion, and in the publication and exhibition of Wright's work, does not help us to understand them better, let alone stop them. In fact, whether or not they can or even should be halted is arguable – the desire to own and build Wright's unbuilt work remains as strong as ever and, if former apprentice Anthony Puttnam is correct, Wright may have even intended for his unrealised designs to be completed after his death to provide income for his School.[45] We therefore argue that posthumous works need to be accounted for, interrogated, and examined as a serious (albeit difficult and amorphous) aspect of any architect's oeuvre – if, for no other reason than that it is nearly impossible to universally discount or exclude them. As the Wright examples show, there can be no firm criteria for what may be deemed an authentic or inauthentic posthumous work: the thresholds are ill-defined and impossible to police.

What is more certain, however, is that, to a lesser or greater degree, posthumous work frequently unsettles the temporal, geographical, and authorial expectations that are widely held about the production of architecture, even if those ideas have little basis in the reality of its professional practice. For one, posthumous architecture forces us to acknowledge and confront the distance that exists between the architect and any built work. It also demands a shift in our understanding of authorship and authenticity more generally. Perhaps as Bruno Latour and Adam Lowe have suggested, we also need to abandon our orthodox approach to the singular instantiation of an artwork and, instead, reconsider it – and its various reproductions, versions, and iterations – as part of a larger life and 'trajectory' of the work.[46] Nowhere is this argument more relevant than for architecture, which inherently exists in myriad tangible forms including, but not limited to, the buildings themselves.

Moreover, it is a rare building indeed that is identical, or even adequate, to an architect's concept of it. Arguably, for most buildings, no single ideal ever exists. A built design is only ever one version – no more, no less – of an architectural proposition. It is only realised through the collective efforts, interpretations, and decisions of many, always subject to the compromise and misinterpretation of the architect's intention, not to mention subsequent renovations, additions and updates. On this point, Wright would certainly agree. Regarding his Arizona Biltmore Resort from 1927 (Phoenix, Arizona, designed with draughtsman Albert Chase McArthur), Wright is reported to have declared the much-compromised finished project as 'even worse' than he had anticipated.[47] The critical assessment of architectural works might therefore be better directed at the quality of the execution, rather than its authenticity or date of completion. Much like the lines of the Shakespeare plays that punctuate this article – words that have been staged by countless directors and read by countless more actors – the script for architecture remains open not only to one but many interpretations across time.

Notes

1. 'Frank Lloyd Wright at 150: Unpacking the Archive', Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) <https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/1660?locale=en > [accessed 8 February 2017].
2. 'Unpacking the Archive' was the fourth large-scale monographic exhibition on Wright's work to be staged by MoMA. The first retrospective in 1940 was during Wright's lifetime and was overseen by Wright. The second in 1962 – a career survey of 250 drawings – followed soon after Wright's death. Another was discussed in 1976, but it was not until 1994 that the third retrospective was realised.
3. The Darwin D. Martin house is notable as an example of controversial renovation. The Bachman-Wilson House in New Jersey (1954) was effectively taxidermied in 2015 – its linings and joinery stripped from its original skeleton, and reapplied to a new structure in an open-air museum display in Arkansas. Likewise, the Lindholm House (1952; Cloquet, Minnesota) is currently awaiting reassembly its new home in Acme, Pennsylvania. A similar fate was suffered by the second Little House (1912; Wayzata, Minnesota), which was demolished in 1972 and is now part of three period room displays in museums across three states.
4. Hurricane Katrina (2015) destroyed the Louis Sullivan Bungalow in Ocean Springs, Mississippi (1890), and another was significantly damaged. At least two more works have been demolished – the William S. Carr House (1916; Grand Beach, Michigan) in 2004, and the Hoffman Auto Showroom (1954; New York City) in 2013—while in 2006 the Wilbur Wynant House (1915; Gary, Indiana) became the latest addition to the long list of Wright's works lost to fire.
5. William Shakespeare, 'Hamlet', in *Complete Works of William Shakespeare* <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/> [accessed 2 October 2017].
6. This does not include the Scottsdale Spire, Arizona (designed 1957, built 2007), nor Wright's doghouse for the Berger family in California (designed late 1950s, built 1963, demolished 1973, rebuilt by the sons of the original client in 2011). In the three preceding decades, a much smaller number of posthumous works is known to have been built. Notable examples include the First Christian Church (Phoenix, Arizona) and some ancillary buildings of the Marin County Civic Center (San Rafael, California).
7. 'Frank Lloyd Wright Revival Initiative', *Frank Lloyd Wright Revival Initiative* <http://flwrevivalinitiative.org/> [accessed 5 September 2017].
8. 'Frank Lloyd Wright Revival Initiative Proceeds with Next Phase of Banff Pavilion Rebuild', *Canadian Architect* <https://www.canadianarchitect.com/architecture/frank-llloyd-wright-initiative-banff/1003734636/> [accessed 28 September 2017].
9. Neil Levine, 'Building the Unbuilt:

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Authenticity and the Archive', *Journal of the Society of Architectural* Historians, 67 (2008), 14.
10. List complied from a catalogue of Wright's work in Robert McCarter, *Frank Lloyd Wright* (London: Phaidon, 1997).
11. In his 1974 introduction to a catalogue of Wright's work, William Allin Storrer sidesteps questions on the criteria of authenticity. While he explains that Wright would disown works not completed in strict accordance with his plans, Storrer includes them in the catalogue. For Storrer, works supervised by Wright himself, by Wright's trusted builders, or by a Taliesin Fellow are deemed authentic. Regarding 1970s works underway, Storrer further notes (n.p.) that 'since none of these structures is complete at this writing, none is yet listed, though some may qualify as entries to the listing at a later date if Wright's concept of interior space remains unaltered.' The 2017 edition, however, includes none of these designs. *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright: A Complete Catalog* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1974); *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright: A Complete Catalog*, 4th edn (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2017).
12. See Reed Karaim, 'Re-Creating Wright's Lost Projects: The Frank Lloyd Wright Revival Initiative Has an Ambitious and Potentially Fraught Goal: To Construct the Architect's Unbuilt and Demolished Buildings', *Architect Magazine* <www.architectmagazine.com/design/re-creating-wrights-lost-projects_o> [accessed 28 September 2017].
13. Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols*, 2nd edn (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1976).
14. The Ise Shrine (Japan) is routinely held up as a model for this kind of substitution. It can also demonstrate how specific cultural contexts and vernacular traditions impact upon notions of authenticity and practices of material substitution. See Jordan Sand, 'Japan's Monument Problem: Ise Shrine as Metaphor', *Past & Present*, 226 (2015), 126–52.
15. The Ship of Theseus paradox is a philosophical debate concerning the authenticity of any object when all of its constituent parts have been replaced, piece-by-piece – in this case, the rotten timbers of a ship.
16. Goodman, *Languages of Art*, p. 221.
17. Sarah M. Hirschman, 'Legalizing Architecture: How Congress Defined the Discipline', *Future Anterior*, 12 (summer 2015), 27.
18. Levine, 'Building the Unbuilt: Authenticity and the Archive', 15.
19. Ibid., 17.
20. William Shakespeare, 'Henry VI, Part 1', in *Complete Works of William Shakespeare* <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/> [accessed 2 October 2017].
21. Ada Louise Huxtable, 'That Museum: Wright or Wrong?', *New York Times*, 25 October 1959, p. 16.
22. Levine, 'Building the Unbuilt: Authenticity and the Archive', 16.
23. John Elson and Wendy Cole, 'The Wrong Wright?', *Time*, 145 (1995), 70.
24. The then-CEO of the Foundation Jim Goulka explained that the cessation of TAA followed several years of reduced productivity, and that its 'borrowing from the Foundation created the risk that carrying the debt of a for-profit entity (TA) would endanger the Foundation's non-profit status.' Jim Goulka, 'Taliesin Architects Reorganized', *Talisein Fellows Newsletter*, 12 (2003), 1, 3.
25. William Shakespeare, 'Twelfth Night', in *Complete Works of William Shakespeare* <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/> [accessed 2 October 2017].
26. 'Nakoma Golf Resort', *Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation* <http://franklloydwright.org/site/nakoma-golf-resort/> [accessed 2 October 2017].
27. Barry Bergdoll and Jennifer Gray, *Frank Lloyd Wright at 150: Unpacking the Archive* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2017), p. 85 (fn. 33).
28. Rory Stott, 'UK's First Frank Lloyd Wright House Blocked by Planning Inspector', *ArchDaily* <http://www.archdaily.com/564077/uk-s-first-frank-lloyd-wright-house-blocked-by-planning-inspector/> [accessed 8 February 2017].
29. 'Clubhouse Brochure', *King Kamehameha Golf Club* <http://kamehamehagolf.com/pdf/Clubhouse_Brochure_2012.pdf> [accessed 8 February 2017].
30. 'Information', *Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation* <http://www.franklloydwright.org/foundation/information.html#financials> [accessed 8 February 2017].
31. William Shakespeare, 'Romeo and Juliet', in *Complete Works of William Shakespeare* <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/> [accessed 2 October 2017].
32. 'Frank Lloyd Wright's Martin House Complex: Restoration'', *Martin House Restoration Corporation* <http://www.darwinmartinhouse.org/restoration.cfm> [accessed 28 September 2017.
33. Oliver Wainwright, 'Frank Lloyd Wright and the Zombie Building Boom', *Guardian,* 20 July 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/jul/20/frank-lloyd-wright-and-the-zombie-building-boom > [accessed 8 February 2017].
34. With the Nakoma Country Club and Yahara River Boathouse now constructed elsewhere, Madison is considering construction of other unbuilt works that Wright designed for the town. Ron McRea, 'Wright Again: Many Frank Lloyd Wright Designs for Madison Were Never Built. Now, Some Are Getting a Second Chance', *Capital Times,* 14 June 2017 <http://host.madison.com/ct/entertainment/city_life/wright-again-many-frank-lloyd-wright-designs-for-madison-were/article_d4fd1133-abbe-5ea5-a35e-aac57e1da5c7.html> [accessed 28 September 2017].
35. Levine, 'Building the Unbuilt: Authenticity and the Archive', 17.
36. Wainwright, 'Frank Lloyd Wright and the Zombie Building Boom'.
37. Timothy Hyde, 'Notes on Architectural Persons', *Aggregate* <http://we-aggregate.org/piece/notes-on-architectural-persons> [accessed 31 August 2017].
38. Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer claims that despite Wright being assisted throughout his career by some excellent apprentices, he would review every drawing that left his office, often adding his own 'special touches' to it. *Treasures of Taliesin: Seventy-Seven Unbuilt Designs*, 2nd edn (San Francisco: Pomegranate, 1999), p. 9.
39. Peter Christensen, 'Some Conceptual Problems in the Collection of Architects' Archives', in *Show & Tell: Architektur Sammeln Collecting Architecture,* ed. by Andres Lepik (Munich; Ostfildern: Architekturmuseum der TU München; Hatje Cantz, 2014), pp. 216–37 (p. 225).
40. Steve Rose, '"This Is His Finest Work"', *Guardian,* 28 August 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2006/aug/28/architecture.usa > [accessed 8 February 2017].
41. Thomas Williams, 'Home Lives up to Frank Lloyd Wright Legend, Owner Says', *Los Angeles Times* (2017) <http://www.latimes.com/home/la-hm.0609.massaro-pg-photogallery.html> [accessed 8 February 2017].
42. Rose, '"This Is His Finest Work"'.
43. Oliver Wainwright, 'Seeing Double: What China's Copycat Culture Means for Architecture', *Guardian,* 7 January 2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/architecture-design-blog/2013/jan/07/china-copycat-

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44. William Shakespeare, 'Richard III', in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/> [accessed 2 October 2017].
45. Wainwright, 'Seeing Double'.
46. Bruno Latour and Adam Lowe, 'The Migration of the Aura, or How to Explore the Original through Its Facsimiles', in *Switching Codes: Thinking through Digital Technology in the Humanities and the Arts,* ed. by Thomas Bartscherer and Roderick Coover (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), pp. 275–98.
47. 'Arizona Biltmore Resort', *Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation* <http://franklloydwright.org/site/arizona-biltmore-resort/> [Accessed 6 December 2017].

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