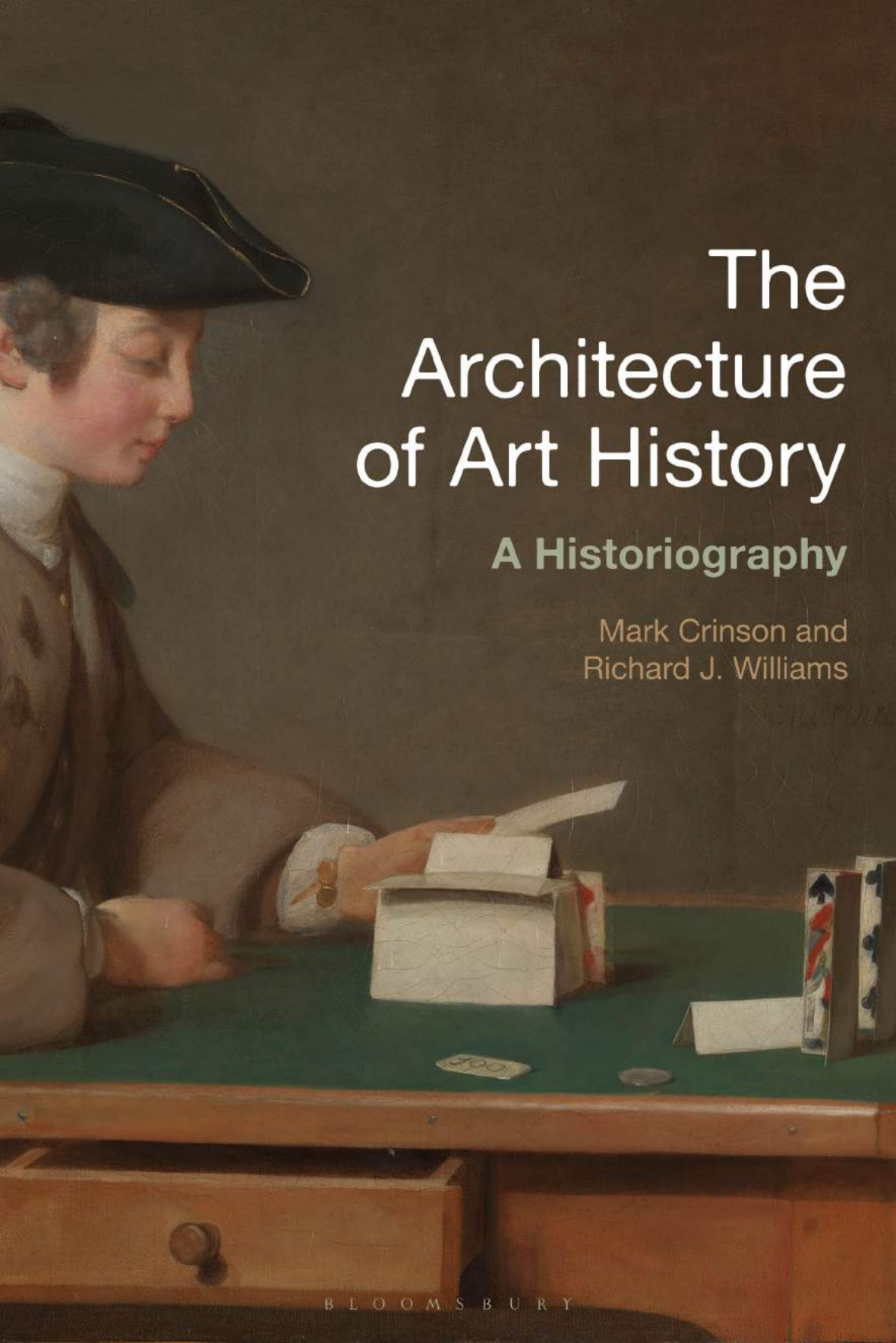

The Architecture of Art History

A Historiography

Mark Crinson and
Richard J. Williams

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Introduction

Let's take two very different objects – a French eighteenth-century painting and a Victorian church. Despite this somewhat arbitrary choice, the juxtaposition itself impels comparison and indicates the kinds of meaning long typical of the discipline of art history. The painting becomes more like a building, the church more like a painting. And yet, because both objects remain part of the discipline's canon, their unlikeness and the strangeness of bringing them into contact need some reclaiming. By putting them together we also epitomize a great deal of what this book is about.

The painting shows an act of concentration that is also a lesson in futility (Figure I.1). A boy assembles a house of cards. His doe-like eyes consider one card, held in mid-air as if about to be added to the pile on the green baize table. To the right, a folded jack of spades and six of clubs stand beside a fallen companion, a coin, and a ticket with the number 90.

Although the church assertively possesses its boxed-in site, we can be much less sure of its visual boundaries, of what they contain, and of how they affect what is around them (Figure I.2). The banded spire is seen long before the rest. Closer to the church, there is a distinct change in the street façades as two four-storey buildings, a clergy house and a school, rise sheer from the ground. They are built of a ruddy brick, marked with black bands, zigzags, and diaper patterns, and they offer one form of frame, one kind of difference to the surroundings. Between them a brick arch opens onto a courtyard, a small prefatory world, hard and angular. Escaping the rain or the traffic, you enter this cramped refuge and it envelopes you; looking at anything is to be subject to constant distraction, to sense building parts looming seemingly on either of your shoulders. Unlike the picture frame, the architectural work is never completely separate from the non-architectural, the church from the surrounding non-church.

In the painting, that first impression of simplicity is increasingly qualified, especially by the depicted space and its contained objects. Part of the table's short right side is cut by the picture's edge. The wall may be stone or may just be inscribed to simulate masonry. The light may be coming into a courtyard – which explains the severity of the wall – or it may be coming from a skylight or high clerestory window. And does the blurred far edge of the table touch the wall? These ambiguities continue on our side of the picture. The drawer of the table is half-open, facing the viewer, seeming to pass through the picture plane as if we had reached in and pulled it open.

FIGURE I.1 *Jean-Siméon Chardin – 'The House of Cards or The Son of M. Le Noir Amusing Himself by Making a House of Cards' (c. 1737). The National Gallery, London. Oil on canvas, 60 × 72 cm.*

If represented space and how we represent space are one axis of comparison, another is the putting together of things. The boy is a construction himself. He leans over the table's left side, poised and deliberate, the soft contours of his brown coat not revealing whether he stands or sits. And then there are the buttons and stolid folds, his curled locks, and linen-dressed skin. But he is also a little awry: his hat perched on his head, his blue-black hair ribbon beginning to come loose, one side of his turquoise collar broken free of its button and resting on his shoulder. The crispness of the gilt braid on his tricorne belies the blur of his pursed lips.

The flimsiness of the house of cards, and the care of tendering another card, also relates to the construction (or constructed-ness) of the table itself. Each piece is made apparent: the edging of the table top is attached with nails; the legs are held by visible wooden pegs; and the drawer's face is framed with marquetry. But its construction is frayed and repaired. Towards its left, the apparently chamfered edging is actually so worn that the varnish has come off. To the right, where the glow of varnish stops, there is a darker piece of edging as if a repair has been done. These worn things are affiliated to another set of objects – buttons, the drawer knob, the coin, perhaps the spade and clubs – all rounded and of similar size, all to be handled and held, and many still singular, as yet un-assembled.[1]

FIGURE I.2 *William Butterfield – All Saints, Margaret Street, London (1849–59). Photograph by Martin Charles.*

Construction is also represented in the church, in all those brick patterns and irregular, strata-like bands. But inside, many things clamour for attention: from the tiles on the walls, to those on the floor, to the mouldings, mosaics, gilding, capitals, and polished shafts. Even the repeated elements like the columns or the windows are not often treated the same way. In the freestanding piers of the nave, for instance, the machined precision of speckled granite shafts is contrasted with leaf-like alabaster capitals. Smaller features like the font and pulpit are treated as mini-architectures. The pulpit projects from a three-sided box that partially screens its steps, and in front is held up by short pillars. There is a succession of coloured bands, colonettes, and abstracted ornamental panels. Most of this ornament

says nothing about its making: its dynamic is produced with flat materials pieced together as smooth surfaces. Three-dimensional ornament, similarly, is mostly jointless; transitions are made abruptly in the same material or by the unexplained coming together of two materials. A lectern pushes out from the pulpit's upper edge, supported by still-smaller colonettes. But the mini-architecture deceives too: Its forms cannot hold their own against the larger architecture; their summations are partial; and the cosmos they are part of is hybrid and works by a kind of directed accumulation.

Could two objects be so different? One is a little longer than it is high and just over 2 feet in both dimensions; the other hemmed in on three sides by other buildings, 100 feet square in plan with its spire rising over 220 feet. One is an oil painting on canvas held within a gilt wooden frame; the other is made predominantly of brick and stone though also with ceramic and slate and various kinds of metal. One hangs on a wall in room 33 of London's National Gallery; the other stands on a small site in a street parallel to Oxford Street, a fifteen-minutes walk away. If we feel comfortable calling people 'viewers' of Chardin's painting (because, after all, what else would you do with it?), then surely this is less clear with Butterfield's church, where passers-by, congregants, even the homeless – looking at it, ignoring it, praying or sleeping in it – may be just as apt.

And yet despite these differences, there is also enough similarity in these objects, or perhaps similarity in our experience of them or our way of knowing them, to call each a 'work' – a *work* of architecture, a *work* of art. They result from processes of deliberation and making that clearly involve great consideration of how one encounters them. Similarly, they seem to demand a reciprocal level of consideration, both in detail and as whole things. As forms of thinking made material, thought-filled and thought-eliciting objects (understanding thinking here as 'superficial or profound, empty or meaningful, irresponsible or compelling, playful or serious'),[2] they are established within their moments of production as part of the ideological construction of art and architecture, legitimating their distinction from other kinds of object. Furthermore, the word 'work' may itself operate, or answer to, an ideological magic in them – they are the product of an act or deed that has changed materials so they can be experienced as aesthetic, much as clockwork was a mechanism that changed metal into time. They result from the intentional transformation of materials into something else, into another object, some of whose properties are to be understood aesthetically.[3]

But at the same time, a work may not be experienced as such: It may have no significance for viewers, the shifting ideological construction of art and architecture may have turned away from it, or its exalted status might be recognized just as much in other kinds of non-art and non-architecture objects. It may be a philistine act to refuse an object any significance as an artwork, and while that act was long viewed as one of ignorance or incivility by defenders of the work, it might also be understood in political terms.[4] Architecture, too, might be experienced in quite ordinary ways; indeed its

ubiquity – most of us live in buildings, work in them, and pass by them every day – is such that architecture is the most unassuming of the arts; its power and significance often resides precisely in the fact that we predominantly absorb or register it subconsciously, in a 'state of distraction'.[5] On the other hand, one of the defining qualities of architecture as opposed to a building, to use an old critical distinction, is that it can change assumptions or compel some reaction to it; so while the interior of All Saints constantly clamours for our attention, its exterior asserts its difference from its surroundings. You cannot take the magnitude of this in but you will not avoid it, it asserts. By contrast, Chardin's painting might be understood as defiantly unclamorous, as made to be experienced in quiet, barely expressive, object-like ways, much as we relate to an actual card table during our (presumably) mostly unexalted moods.[6] That does not so much make the painting's position on the wall of room 33 anomalous as suggest that it points self-reflexively to its status as artwork, to the work that a painter does as much as the work that a craftsman does (with the boy housebuilder somewhere between the two).[7] We know this game will ultimately stay within the realm of artworks and not just because of the picture's frame, literal and institutional, but because of its representational properties.

Contrasting the church and the oil painting crystallizes the issue at the heart of this book. Why should they be so privileged as to be considered together? Butterfield's church and Chardin's painting stand for a vast range of objects, made of different materials, found in different places and across a great span of historical contexts. Bringing these together is what the discipline of art history did from its beginnings in the nineteenth century as an academic subject, with its own journals, university departments, and curricula. What we call 'the architecture of art history' was this once almost unquestioned idea that the study of art history and the study of architectural history were one and the same thing, pursued by the same academics, their students and readers. (A note here on terminology – art history and architectural history are not symmetrical terms; while art history has often been used to include architectural history, architectural history never includes art history. Our use of 'art history' in this book should be clear from its particular contexts: sometimes in the expanded sense, sometimes only to refer to the fine arts and their associates in visual culture and contemporary art.)

This acceptance, that architectural history *is* art history, was not new in the historical relation between art and architecture. Artists and architects had often been one and the same person (Raphael, Michelangelo, Bernini), or had assumed similar status (Vasari's *Vite* of painters, sculptors, *and* architects), and art objects were often placed within or applied to architectural objects (the medieval cathedral), and so required that art historians be competent across the arts. Also, and increasingly from the Renaissance onwards, the so-called 'fine arts' and architecture were regarded as high art forms, of an intellectual and creative ambition that marked them as separate from the mass, vernacular, or popular arts. There were also other traditions, outside

academia, where study of art and architecture rubbed together in those who ventured on the Grand Tour and in that elusive figure, the antiquarian. The latter included Horace Walpole, Alexandre Lenoir, Alexandre Du Sommerard, William Stukeley, Sir John Soane, Sir Walter Scott, and William Beckford. The antiquarian collected and wrote about a diverse range of objects, including manuscripts, armour, fragments of architecture, paintings, textiles, plate, furniture, and glass. The recreation of atmosphere and association, the acquisition and display of taste, the obsession with authenticity could all feed as much on the architectural object as on the art object.[8] The unclassifiable figure of John Ruskin, whose work sprawled omnivorously but with characteristic purpose and influence across art and architectural history, also needs mention. And, following Ruskin, there are the connoisseurs and aesthetes, like Walter Pater, Adrian Stokes, and Kenneth Clarke, as interested in a Turner or Leonardo as in a Gothic or Byzantine cathedral.[9] There is also the self-styled humanist scholar, as most influentially embodied and expounded within academia by Jacob Burckhardt with his thesis of 'the state as a work of art' and the 'development of the individual' central to it.[10] This was captured in an architectural image, describing Raphael's School of Athens: 'This wonderfully beautiful hall, which forms the background, [is] not merely a picturesque idea but a consciously intended symbol of the healthy harmony between the powers of the soul and the mind. ... In such a building one could not but feel happy.'[11]

The subject of this book, 'the architecture of art history', concerns the academic discipline of art history and the intellectual basis for positioning art and architecture together within it. The narrative part of this is easily roughed out. The present-day discipline of art history still traces its roots back mainly to German academic art history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the development of distinctly more rigorous and ambitious ways of thinking about art, its development, its relation to other disciplines, and what it could say about past cultures. This new tradition was often known as *Kunstwissenschaft* and among its most important assumptions was that art and architecture should be studied and written about as if they were the same thing. One might separate them, of course, for more focused studies, but what Alois Riegl, Heinrich Wölfflin, and Erwin Panofsky (and, in a very different way that invoked broader connections, that other great figure of the tradition, Aby Warburg) all believed was that the most profound investigations into historical cultures would depend on knowledge of art *and* architecture, the assumption being that for critical-historical purposes they were fused. These art historians and their followers were equally adept in both media, switched easily between them, and devised schemes, research projects, and theories that worked across them.

All this became much less common, however, after the spread of the German tradition, following diaspora and war, to Britain and the United States. Art historians became less inclined to create the ambitious historical schema that had depended on the unity, or nexus, of art and architecture.

Instead, we will argue, the turn away from the association of art and architecture generated some of art history's most interesting work, with writers each side of the new divide being stimulated by a kind of spectral presence of the partner discipline. While the intellectual reasons for the previously unified scholarship dissipated or disappeared entirely in the second half of the twentieth century, architectural historians remained in art history departments and their subject continued to be taught. (They were also to be found in architecture schools, of course, where their authority and relevance were challenged for different reasons, more to do with the attitudes to history of the now dominant modern movement.)

One of the most interesting aspects of the history of the nexus is that there has never been a crisis in the relation between art history and architectural history, but instead, unnoticed, a kind of 'suspended dialogue'.[12] If there had been such a crisis the obvious place to look for it would be in the New Art History that emerged in the 1980s. This was not so much a paradigm shift as a clash of multiple new paradigms (particularly from feminism, Marxism, and French versions of structuralism and post-structuralism) within a discipline sorely in need of them. The New Art History did not entirely neglect architectural history, and feminist accounts of vision and space as gendered constructions did work across the disciplines. Looking back at discussions of the 'crisis in the discipline' in the 1980s, what is striking is that this crisis was barely considered in terms of the relation between the two subjects.[13] There was simply no dialogue, for instance, between the best Marxist architectural history (Tafuri) and the equivalent in Marxist art history (T. J. Clark). (While Clark mentions Tafuri once, Tafuri appears not to have noticed Clark.)[14] For whatever reason, few architectural historians were reading Clark in the 1970s and 1980s, and Clark wasn't writing about architecture (although we will consider his writings about the Parisian boulevards as an oblique form of architectural history).[15] The fact that no New Art Historian called for a split with architectural history was because the disciplinary separation had already occurred, largely unacknowledged, certainly untheorized, and clearly without programmatic intent. Since then, and we argue actually long before that, architectural history has rarely been regarded as central to what art history departments do and why students want to study in them; architectural history's very existence in art history departments often baffles students, many of whom assume it should be studied elsewhere, and its future in these departments may well be precarious. And, from another perspective, what relevance today to architecture do art historically derived methods have? Isn't architecture's historical study better placed either in the social sciences or very close to the needs of the studio?

In art history's most recent disciplinary developments – whether around visual culture, global art history, art writing, and material culture studies – architecture has been little considered, even though these subjects or their equivalents have been extensively and independently considered in architectural history. Demonstratively, then, the subject remains marginal

to art history, and vice versa. This is not inherently a matter of regret, of course, and both disciplines have flourished in terms of ideas and methods from other sources. But there is, at the least, something missing from our understanding of the historiography of art history and, we would suggest, from aspects of its still untapped potential.

Few now believe in the ruptures of absolute paradigm change, despite Thomas Kuhn. (Perhaps even 'paradigm' itself, in its old meaning of the opposition of two terms, is peculiarly relevant to the nexus.)[16] The monuments and the strata of previous methods still form art history's disciplinary landscape. But while Wölfflin is only buried under top soil and Panofsky still looms skywards, if now more often in little dells and byways, the presence of architectural historians in art history departments is testament more usually to the emptied-out and now precariously ruined forms of the old nexus. At the very least, there is a necessary job of archaeology if the history of interconnection is to be properly understood, and that is in part what we attempt in this book. In that archaeology forgotten connections, surprisingly stillborn projects, and undeveloped lines of thought may be discovered, not to mention the impress of the other discipline in the work of those who ostensibly moved away from the nexus. Talk about forgotten history and untapped or lost potential, however, would have little importance if it were limited to art history as an academic pursuit; it is more widely important if art history is to contribute to what it means to have a public culture. On the one hand, the very heft of the discipline, the ability of its practitioners to contribute in a multidimensional way to cultural debate, has long been diminished by the division of intellectual labour in the universities.[17] On the other, the multi-aspected nature of culture in its spatial, visual, and material practices is ignored and lost through the forms of compartmentalization of which art history is only one manifestation. This is why the changing relationship between art history and architectural history matters well beyond these academic fields. These issues have been played out in a particularly public form in the global art museum, which extends the reach of art history far beyond the university. We return to these questions in our conclusions at the end of the book.

For a glimpse of what *Kunstwissenschaft* meant and of its connective power over art and architecture we need only read the recent biographies of Nikolaus Pevsner. In their accounts of his intellectual formation, they depict a now almost unimaginable early-twentieth-century art historical world.[18] In the early 1920s our hero wanders Germany's best universities, seeking out his intellectual mentors – Wölfflin, Wilhelm Pinder, Adolph Goldschmidt, Werner Weisbach, and Rudolph Kautzch.[19] He grasps and takes huge dollops of *Kulturgeschichte* and *Kunstgeschichte* as *Geistgeschichte*. Later he works as an assistant in Dresden's Gemäldegalerie and teaches at Göttingen. He publishes on Leipzig Baroque architecture and Italian Mannerist art, on Tiepolo, Crespi, and Caravaggio. He reviews Le Corbusier's *Oeuvre complète*, meets the admired Walter Gropius, and writes appreciatively

of contemporary German art. Even if Pevsner's extraordinary intellectual industry accounts for some of this, much was bound up with the feverish energy driving art history, an energy fuelled by the idea of form. Form was the means by which new things could be thought; it channelled the intellect, was the projection of the body, the imprint of psychology, the manifest will of a people, and the articulation of *Geist*. This form-centred art history was unthinkable without art and architecture, together, at its core.

By contrast, we are suggesting that what was, in Pevsner's early career, the unthinkable – the split of art and architectural history – has long been commonplace in art history, if a largely unnoticed aspect of the discipline. One kind of evidence is how unconcerned with this theme are even those who have reflected most cogently upon the nature of the discipline in recent decades.[20] For instance, while Margaret Iversen and Stephen Melville's *Writing Art History* (2010) is unusual in even acknowledging architecture's place in their subject, it takes a special effort to notice this in the authors' reflection on how the intellectual history of the history of art has engaged with theory. One can see this differently manifested in what has been regarded as an instant classic of art history, Whitney Davis's *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (2011), a book praised as much for its contribution to the philosophy of art history as for what it has to say about art history's relation to visual culture.[21] Davis tells us that visual culture studies expand the range of objects beyond those considered by Wölfflin in the late nineteenth century (though not beyond, it should be said, those considered by Wölfflin's contemporary Alois Riegl). He quotes Wölfflin's famous phrase 'vision itself has a history', but ignores the fact that at least one half of that vision, and one half of that history, was bound up in architecture.

Inadvertently, perhaps, Davis even flaunts the irrelevance of architecture. In the culminating section of the book, he discusses Wittgenstein's 'parable of the builders' from his *Philosophical Investigations*. For Wittgenstein this analogy was a way to think through problems in the philosophy of language; for Davis it seems to be about the 'visibility and visual recognizability of the building and what we can define as the visuality and the visual culture of the builders in building it'.[22] Elaborate diagrams are provided of building elements, their 'quarry' and their colours. But all this only has an analogical function; it is not in any way about architecture but about language games. Davis's visual culture cannot fill the space left by the mutilation he carries out on Wölfflin's work. Indeed, the study of visual culture since its emergence in the 1990s has been notably averse to acknowledging, let alone seriously including, architecture in its remit. Its starting premise has generally been that the new media of the late twentieth century point to the centrality of visual media in everyday life, and to extend that into other periods is to understand 'the means by which cultures visualize themselves'.[23] But while visual culture often challenges one strand of art history that focuses exclusively on the traditional fine arts, it finds it hard to engage with an older tradition within art history – the tradition of Alois Riegl and the new

Vienna School – that was always cross-medial and included architecture.[24] The problems of seeing architecture, of asking how it becomes visible, and of whether its visuality is that of a distinct class of objects – once central to the discipline and of crucial importance to Riegl – are of little interest even to the best theorists of visual culture.[25]

Golden age escapism is not the motivation of this book. Instead, we relate our aims to a famous piece of polemic by T. J. Clark. Writing in 1974, from within a self-styled 'crisis' in art history, Clark pointed to a passage from an essay of 1922 in which György Lukács had cited three historians, two of whom were art historians, as urgently concerned with showing how cultural expressions were grounded in deeper 'structural forms'. Clark's point was twofold: first, it was that Lukács cited art historians as leading the discussion of fundamental intellectual issues; second, that those and other art historians, even when their debates were sharp and bitter, agreed on what the important questions were, 'the whole nature of artistic production … [about the] conditions of artistic creation … [the questions of] the artists' resources … [and his/her] materials'.[26] We do not write today (in 2018) from a similar sense of crisis, even if we do recognize a lack of disciplinary agreement on key questions that has become even more embedded and institutionalized since Clark wrote these words. But that is less our subject than what Clark himself ignored, an omission that his later work implicitly continued – that art history was, for the art historians of 1922, equally as much about what architects did as what artists did, about the environment as conceived, designed, and built, as about the environment as pictured. If what gave art history its ambition and its excitement in the German-speaking world, making it into 'the avantgarde of thought' [27] that intrigued critical thinkers beyond the discipline like Max Weber, Lukács, and Walter Benjamin, was not necessarily this nexus in itself, then the assumption of symbiotic relation behind Clark's 'production … conditions … resources … materials' gave the discipline both a broader purchase on its cultural and historical claims and a wider reception. It may be that this was one of those concerns of that period which were 'incapable of renovation', as Clark put it (though he showed no recognition of this). This book does not come out of any commitment to rollback history, but we are interested in why the dissolution of the link happened, why it was so little commented on, what effects it had, what reasons there may be in recent art history to test beyond 'renovation', and why the nexus may be worth reconsidering. We want to return to the tradition, then, in order to use it as a way of understanding disciplinary developments over more than a century, and how the discipline has conceived of its borders, its core concerns, and its ambitions.

We have organized the book into six chapters. Chapter 1, 'The German Tradition', explores the central place of the art/architecture nexus in the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century tradition of art history known as *Kunstwissenschaft*. Here we argue that the experience of both art forms was understood to be related, that the means of analysis was shared, and

that together these arts were understood as expressing something important about society or about human capacity. Chapter 2, 'The Architectural Unconscious – Steinberg and Baxandall', investigates what happened to the art-architecture nexus as the academic German tradition spread via teaching, publication, and the diaspora of many of its leading practitioners. Two important late products of the German tradition, Leo Steinberg and Michael Baxandall, ostensibly moved away from early architectural interests to produce the work they are better known for, but we show how architecture remained embedded in their work as a kind of unconscious, motivating their consideration of art even when it was not explicit. In the following two chapters we examine ruptures with the art-architecture nexus, under pressure from both Modernism and the New Art History. Chapter 3, 'Modernism – Institutional and Phenomenal', explores the way the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York, played a crucial role in defining a new relationship between art and architectural history. Parallel to this institutional Modernism was a new analytical formalism that came to dominate mid-century art and architectural criticism, exemplified by Clement Greenberg but problematized, we argue, in the work of Colin Rowe. In Chapter 4, 'From Image to Environment: Reyner Banham's Architecture', we discuss an unwitting progenitor of the rupture between art and architecture, the critic and academic Reyner Banham, whose focus on architectural technology (lifts, air conditioning, structure) and on material culture (crisp packets, cars, advertising) sits uneasily in an art history context. But despite this, Banham's work might still be best understood in terms of a restaging of some of the central concerns of the German tradition. In the final two chapters we turn to art historical phenomena of the 1980s and since. In Chapter 5, we explore the status of architecture in the debates around the so-called 'New Art History' of the 1980s. Architecture here has a somewhat ghostly presence, but it contributed significantly to art history's understanding of the Parisian boulevards and arcades as remodelled by Baron Haussmann, and then in the notion of 'spaces of femininity'. Chapter 6 explores the trends in American art history and criticism since the 1990s, with a focus on the circle around the highly influential journal *October*. As part of the journal's interest in institutions, it paid renewed attention to questions of exterior form and meaning, in other words core art historical concerns.

This is by no means an exhaustive book. While it deals with many of the canonic figures of the discipline it is also selective and partial – our only defence here is that we followed lines of enquiry that we found the most productive and interesting. It will be for others to attempt a more comprehensive historical account if that is needed. And we are well aware of the differences in art historical cultures between institutions, let alone countries. That complex institutional history, including curricula, pedagogies, and even hiring policies, is again beyond the scope of this book. No, what we attempt here is a selective history of ideas – ideas which may come from the seminar or lecture room or be transmitted to them, but which

find their essential medium in writing (this is also why we place emphasis on the material forms of that writing in books and journals). We, in turn, write with some professional experience of the problem of architecture in art history, and a curiosity about why it should indeed be a problem. We hope that we have gone a little way towards explaining it.

1

The German tradition

There are few title pages like it in art history (Figure 1.1). *Grundbegriffe* announced the first German edition. The English word 'principles' lacks the kettle-drum cadence of the German ('ground rules' might be better if it did not have the air of diplomatic negotiation about it). And 'art history', too, scarcely has the compound majesty of '*Kunstgeschichtliche*'. So, like some sober treatise, 'Principles of Art History' it would become titled when first translated in 1932. The 'problem' of its subtitle, 'The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art', would clearly be done away with under the authority of these principles. Finally, there was the author's name – Heinrich Wölfflin – reassuringly balanced and symmetrical around the page's centre line. Facing these titles in that first translation, there was in addition an almost equally declaratory frontispiece, the clincher: a black-and-white photograph of one of Tiepolo's frescoed walls in the Palazzo Labia, Venice, turned on its side so it faces back to the title page more than out to the reader. In itself the fresco is an extraordinary series of painted architectural compartments framing a narrative event.[1] The point surely behind the choice of this image – reinforced by the push-and-pull of structure and opening, and the flickerings of ornament, draperies, and bodies – is that architecture and art are inextricably bound together. Their combination is powerfully dynamic, yet reassuring – complex, yet delicately nuanced.

Wölfflin's *Principles* is the summation of that convergence of the historical study of art and architecture that occurred in German, Austro-Hungarian, and Swiss universities in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries. The convergence was an integral part of what has been called the 'critical history of art', or *Kunstwissenschaft* (literally, the science of art). It marked a new and more ambitious corpus of ways of practising art history (including formalism and iconography), that was distinct from older traditions of connoisseurship and empiricism, and that was based on reference to a range of media across a range of historical periods.[2] The new practitioners included Alois Riegl, Wölfflin himself, and Erwin Panofsky, who, together with their immediate followers – Nikolaus Pevsner, Hans

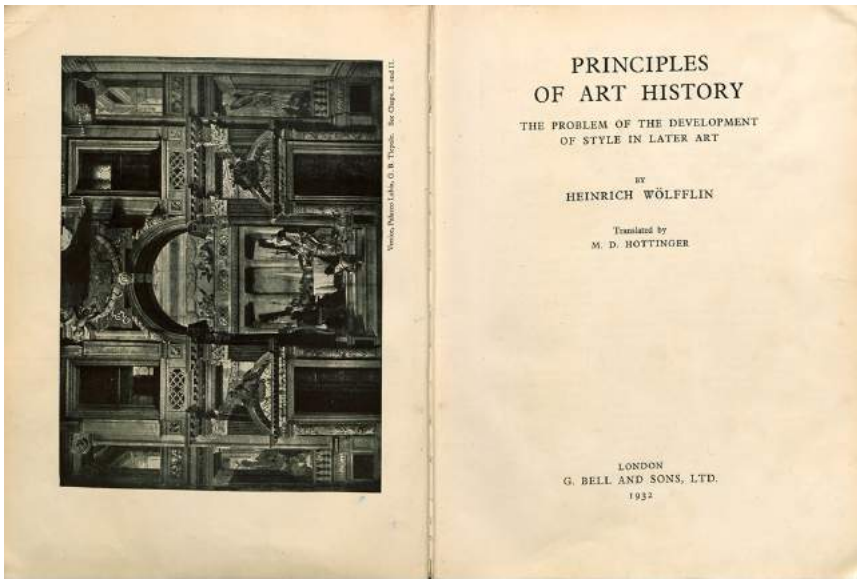


FIGURE 1.1 *Frontispiece and title page of Heinrich Wölfflin,* Principles of Art History *(first English edition, 1932). Photograph by Mark Crinson.*

Sedlmayr, Rudolf Wittkower, and Sigfried Giedion – all worked as if their major arguments were relevant to the discipline as a whole, and often beyond it. Such was the ambition of their work.[3]

In the critical history of art the link between art and architecture also had a phenomenological, philosophical, and moral basis. The experience of both art forms was related. They were both bound up in Hegel's idea that art gave form to the idea or 'absolute spirit' – with architecture as the first stage in the shaping of nature so it could become 'cognate with mind'[4] – and in the Kantian sense of aesthetics as a theory of sensible knowledge, the materialization of experience through the nexus. The means of analysis could therefore be shared, so that together these arts were understood as expressing something important about society, history, and human capacities. To write, as August Schmarsow did in 1893, that 'the history of architecture is the history of the sense of space' was not only to make a claim familiar in today's architectural schools, it was also to say something easily paired with an equally Kantian claim, that the history of painting is the history of the sense of vision or, in Schmarsow's view, the history of 'extensiveness'.[5] Whether present-day architects or art historians would go on to say, as Schmarsow did (following Hegel), that study of the arts 'is a basic constituent in the history of world views' is unlikely, but again this idea was essential to German art historians.[6] Other traditions – often called antiquarian or connoisseurial – also related art and architecture but they lacked both the overarching

historical claims and the underpinning theoretical schema of the critical art historians. This chapter investigates and compares the claims made in this tradition – essentially academic, but highly influential on artists and architects – for the interrelation of media that we have called the art-architecture nexus, and assesses the descriptive and analytical methods that accompanied it.

Whatever the other differences between these art historians, the concepts of form and style were crucial to their work. Form always related to something internal to the object, something non-mimetic or non-literal. The apparent paradox of form as both an external phenomenon and an extract is sometimes explained by the English language having only the term 'form', whereas German uses both *Gestalt* and *Form*.[7] As expressed in Adolf Hildebrand's influential *The Problem of Form in the Fine Arts* (1893), form was the essence apprehensible beyond the surface phenomena of impressions, a mediation between the self and the three-dimensional world of appearances, and a shaping of matter that positioned the artwork at one remove from that reality. Form came to be deployed, as Warburg and Panofsky saw it, as an 'anti-chaotic function', a reassuring structuring, and an enduring evidence of sensibility.[8] The organization of form in distinctive ways, whether by one artist, a movement, or a whole period, was known as style, and while style could be found in any cultural product, and many German art historians worked across the objects of material culture, its most distinct manifestations were in the fine arts and architecture, especially as their distinction was challenged by the industrial products of mass culture.[9] As forms and as styles, art and architecture might be understood as autonomous or immanent expressions, tied to certain overarching concepts: the *Geist*, the *Zeitgeist*, *Kunstwollen*, *Gestalt*. A closed circuit operated between form and such concepts, one that to varying degrees took in material, social, or other forms of explanation.

The range of objects encompassed by style and form was, for some of the German art historians, potentially limitless. Alois Riegl's idea of the *Kunstwollen*, for instance, denoted the drive or impulse to create that was the connecting thread between the object and its world: in Riegl's words, '[the *Kunstwollen*] regulates man's relationship to the sensorily perceptible appearance of things', it governs the plastic arts and links them to other ways of expressing the world view of a particular period. Julius von Schlosser had written about musical instruments and ivory saddles as much as medieval art, and more famously Wölfflin had gestured at how the *Lebensgefühl* (the attitude to life) could be as well expressed by the Gothic shoe as the Gothic cathedral.[10] These are the expressive shapes of their time, and therefore of the collective human mind or will, finding material form through shared style. For these ends, it seems that any cultural object was a valid object of study – a drinking cup or brooch as much as a Rembrandt group portrait – so, it might sometimes seem, architecture had no special partnership with art as prime objects of aesthetic value; art and architecture were simply

part of an environment created around the world view of a particular place and time.

As with other art histories based primarily on form, and then divining generalities about period or nation, the theory was vulnerable to those cultural simplifications (orientalism, racism, the *Volk*, primitivism) that were to become increasingly suspect to art and architectural historians during the twentieth century. But, as the next chapter will show, this was only one of several reasons why the tradition came unstuck.[11]

Wölfflin's formalism

Crucial to the success of German art history was the promise it held of relating the formal qualities of the art object to its historical moment. The motto for this might be the title of Max Dvořák's book *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte* (1924), or *Art History as the History of the Spirit*. The art historian who held these ambitions before his readers and who brought methodology to the forefront of his practice instead of the 'subjective chaos' of such predecessors as his teacher Jacob Burckhardt, was Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945).[12] Wölfflin's most influential works were *Renaissance und Barock* (1888), *Die klassische Kunst* (1899, translated as *Classic Art*), and the *Principles of Art History* (1915), and his influence was also conveyed through his PhD students and his teaching positions first as successor to Burckhardt's chair at the University of Basel and then at the apex of German academic art history as chair at Berlin University. One initial example from the *Principles* demonstrates how crucial the nexus was to Wölfflin's desired art history, even before we come to the theoretical system itself. This is a short descriptive passage on Dutch art, early in the book, where we move from the foliage of trees in landscapes to the wickerwork of a basket, to the 'network of whitened joints on a brick wall, the pattern of neatly set flagstones', to the apparent lightness of stone in Amsterdam's Rathaus, all of which are said to provide indices of Dutch national feeling in the seventeenth century.[13]

Wölfflin's three key books refine upon each other, but also build alternately on their twinned media and twinned periods. The first book is largely on architecture of both periods, the second on art of the High Renaissance, and the third on both art and architecture in the Baroque. As a whole, this represents an overarching diachrony or cyclic movement and, within this, equally importantly, a synchrony across media. Architecture is the generator here, while Renaissance and the newly credentialized Baroque operate as the twin poles and dialectical components in the schema. (Unknown to Wölfflin at the time, a third term – Mannerism – would open up a transitional period between them, another area for neophyte Wölfflinians to develop.) The project is as confident of its big historical statements as it is aloof from any

immersion in the workings of extra-art historical material. From one point of view, the body and, eventually, opticality come to stand in for that absent other. From another, the social and the political are always displaced by the search for reconciliation *within* the aesthetic.[14]

While Renaissance might signify all that is rational and lucid, and Baroque all that is chaotic and excessive, Wölfflin's fascination with the latter went well beyond its oppositional status. Baroque art historiography, especially of Wölfflin's kind, was given impetus by the installation of the reassembled ancient Greek Pergamon altar in Berlin in 1879. This provided a spectacular instance not merely of a literal art-architecture nexus but, equally significantly, of the necessity to read across the art forms.[15] As well as the Baroque-like qualities of the reliefs, the altar was isolated in the stark spaces of the museum so that it could leave its original purposes behind in entering the institution of art. In much the same way, Wölfflin's arguments depended on the isolation that operated within his reproductions. Much has been made of Wölfflin's use of two lantern slide projectors in his teaching, a device which was hugely influential in lodging a binocular comparative method into the pedagogic DNA of the discipline.[16] One aspect of this has been less considered – the way that here, as much as in the images in his books, the non-formal context of architecture was discarded in favour of the isolated form of the building itself. This became one of the characteristic things that art historians did with architecture, even when they seemed to have long discarded Wölfflin's formalism. And there was another aspect to his approach that continued to privilege architecture. Art history as it developed over the next half-century would extend Wölfflin's Baroque fascination; indeed, the reaction against the nexus might in part be understood as a reaction against Baroque's special position in representing intermedial diffuseness, its cross-disciplinary generosity.[17]

Wölfflin's founding premise, developed in his 1886 PhD thesis, was that architecture, psychology, and the human body were interrelated.[18] Key here was the theory of *Einfühlung* or empathy, deriving from recent debates among psychologists and philosophers. Buildings are organized like bodies: they express like we express, they are like us in their function and structure, their windows are like eyes, their walls are like clothes or even skin, and our very breathing is felt in the inhalations of voids and the exhalations of solids. In sum, as Wölfflin wrote in *Renaissance und Barock*, 'we judge every object by analogy with our own bodies'.[19] The impulse of transferred form found in architecture's body-feeling, which already allied it to sculpture, could then be extended to painting in Wölfflin's *Classic Art*.

After Wölfflin, to be an art historian in any professional sense required a cultivated disinterest as much in the social purposes of paintings as in the social function of buildings. Perhaps equally, there was a necessary detachment from the circumstances of the work's making and its physical contexts. Instead of such implicitly trivial phenomena, the art historian would focus on the characteristics of the great period styles of the High

Renaissance and the Baroque as they operated both as sets of contrasts and as developmental progressions. As they were refined in the *Principles of Art History*, the contrasts became a set of pairs: linear and painterly (*Malerisch*), planimetric and recessional, closed form and open form, multiplicity and unity, and absolute clarity and relative clarity. The twinned terms gave a supple set of concepts that could open up the analysis of architecture and painting. If this was, as Wölfflin famously claimed, 'an art history without names', then names had become like the particular species of a larger natural history; instead of introducing biographical detail or even accounts of individual artistic development, names now signified supra-individual styles, significant more of period than of person. What Wölfflin offered was a tantalizing promise of how art historians might reach over and join together multiple artistic phenomena. For Wölfflin it was the psychology of form (*Formpsychologie*) – or 'forming powers' – that allowed art and architecture to be understood as similar expressions or structurings of the world of sense around the body.[20] This was why details were crucial. Wölfflin imagined an 'art history of the smallest particles' comparing 'hand with hand, cloud with cloud, twig with twig, down to the lines in the grain of the wood'.[21] Systematic comparison of the morphological elements of objects would render their points of similarity and dissimilarity not just across time (Renaissance-Baroque) and space (Italian-German), but across medium (art-architecture). The resulting cross section would also reveal the concordance between purely formal content and deep historical paradigms of the body or of opticality.

Psychology is history, for Wölfflin. So while the formal contrasts by which Wölfflin's argument works, and their pedagogical implications, have been most commented on, the psychological language – announced in the Preface to *Renaissance und Barock* as an 'experiment' and then in the very first sentence specified as an account of degeneration – was almost as influential.[22] The balance claimed as typifying the Renaissance is also a balance between the art forms, so that the characteristics of the architectonic do not overwhelm those of the linear, and vice versa, whether these are found in a picture or a building. This is the result and the expression of a liberating calmness, a satisfaction, and a sense of freedom and completion. The coordinated forms and the balanced mass of Renaissance art and architecture are set off against the various psychological problems, including 'symptoms of decay … the return to chaos', that are said to be found in the Baroque.[23] Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori, for instance, is a building that repulses empathy: it has 'positively unpleasant proportions' and its columns seem 'under duress', in part because of 'irrational and perverse intervals' between them.[24] But if, for Wölfflin, Baroque's mental disturbances were reason enough not to extol Baroque as a model, then many of his followers were intrigued by his characterization. They found the drawing together of formal and mental characteristics highly seductive. It was not only as if one was symptomatic of the other, but that the two together were metaphors of contemporary

politics and even of a perceived crisis in modernity as a result of mass culture and class struggle.[25]

The sign under which this was taken forward was Mannerism, a phenomenon understood as located between the Renaissance and the Baroque (and left out of Wölfflin's *Renaissance und Barock*). Mannerism emerged as an object of scholarly enquiry during the interwar period, when it was first written about by Max Dvořák in 1920 (on Bruegel), and quickly became a surge of scholarship through the works of, among others, Wilhelm Pinder (on the physiognomy of Mannerism), Hans Sedlmayr (on Borromini and Michelangelo), Nikolaus Pevsner (on Italian Mannerist painting), Ernst Gombrich (in his thesis on Giulio Romano), Carl Linfert (on the Château d'Écouen), Ernst Michalski (on Italian Mannerist architecture), Friedrich Antal (on Mannerist painting in the Netherlands), and Walter Friedländer (on Italian Mannerist painting). This wave of writing about Mannerism was united by its heated language of 'disturbed form' (Gombrich), 'discordance and estrangement' (Sedlmayr), 'conflict of antagonistic forces' (Panofsky), and 'inner tensions' (Pinder). The viewer, as Pinder wrote, becomes a 'depth psychologist'.[26] Transferred onto Mannerism we find the language of mental distress carrying on in Wölfflinian art history until at least the mid-twentieth century when, as the next chapter shows, it drew criticism from Ernst Gombrich and distinctive responses from Leo Steinberg and Michael Baxandall. It also attracted Colin Rowe, as we will see in Chapter 3, for its utility in keeping a viewer or reader engaged with the intense exploration of the dynamics of seeing space, as much as it attracted an entirely different art historian like Hans Sedlmayr for its usefulness as a diagnostic method – here linking with Nazi ideology – symptomatizing modern culture as 'diseased', 'morbid', and 'inhuman'.[27]

The painterly

To call a Baroque façade *Malerisch* – not only painterly (blurred or indefinite) in its qualities but picturesque in the sense of perceived as a painting – was as much to remake it as a property of Wölfflin's own hermeneutics as it was a claim on any real property of the façade or any real homology. The carved stone blocks of a church, the volutes and curved pediments, the degree to which pilasters project from a wall surface, all these, the *Malerisch* ascription claims, have something significant in common with an idea of a painting as a surface that looks decidedly like it is made of paint and exploits the effects particular to painting. In relation to painting, the Baroque building's qualities could be characterized within the perceptual realm of tonal contrast, a play between levels of depth, the fragmentation of regular forms, and the sense that the whole is in dynamic movement. We are dealing, of course, with the fiction of these qualities, their allusive and even metaphorical status. The qualities of *Malerisch* are relative, and it seems that Wölfflin's trajectory in taking this idea forward from *Renaissance und Barock* to his *Principles of Art History*

was influenced by contemporary French impressionism which confirmed his belief that his own way of looking was conditioned by modernity. At the same time as his theory became less empathy-based and more grounded in optical arguments, it also shifted in preference to the side of *Malerisch*.[28]

How does *Malerisch* work in the analysis of architecture? In art, its application seems relatively straightforward, as this description of a Rembrandt drawing shows (Figure 1.2):

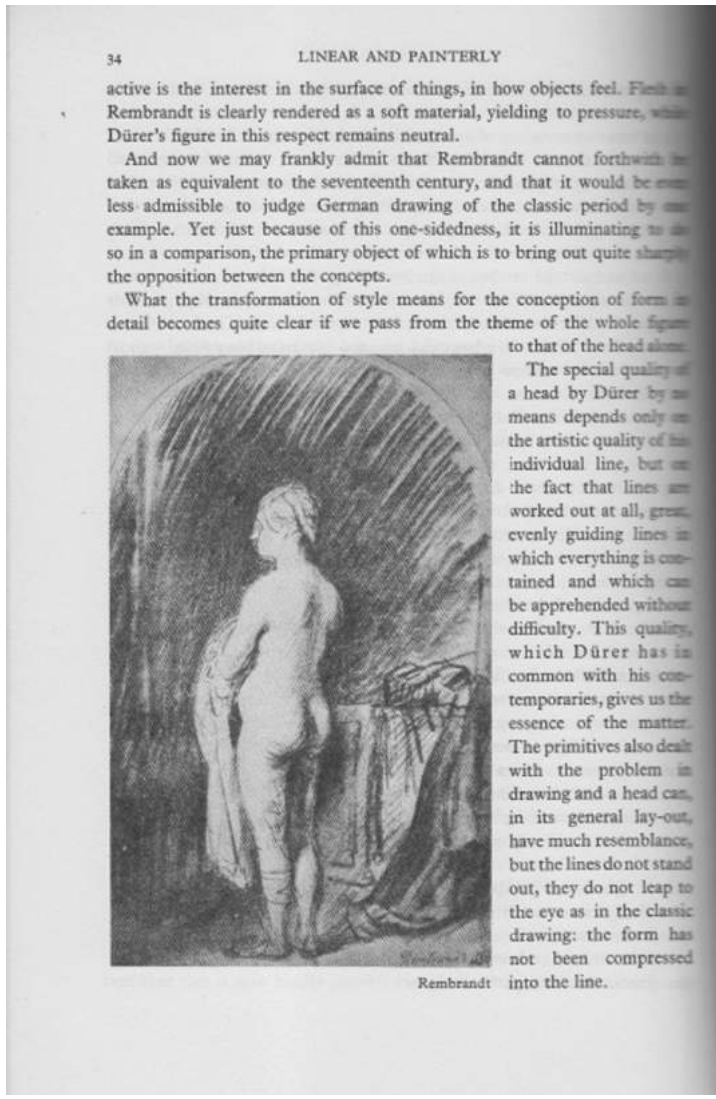
> In Rembrandt [outline] has lost its significance; it is no longer the bearer of the formal impression and there lies no special beauty in it. If we were to attempt to move along it, we should soon notice that it is now hardly possible. In place of the continuous, uniformly moving contour line of the fifteenth century, the broken line of the painterly style has appeared.[29]

There are at least two issues raised by this that we might take forward into a consideration of *Malerisch* in architecture: one is the issue of movement, the other, of limits. If taking away the clarity of outline threatens a diffuseness in painting, but surely something entirely different in architecture, then ambiguity about movement in a painting – is this the eye following a line or are we projecting ourselves into the world of the image and thus moving within it? – offers the prospect of lapsing into merely literal movements in regard to a building.[30]

If *Malerisch* is really perceivable in a building, then what does it do to our understanding of architecture? Essential to what Wölfflin has to say is the notion of the 'beholding subject' and the deliberately limited viewpoint this implies. In place of the moving viewer, the building itself seems to move: 'the wall vibrates, the space quivers in every corner'.[31] This is Wölfflin on S. Andrea della Valle in Rome (Figure 1.3):

> Here the forms, one by one, like separate waves, are so conveyed into the total undulation that they are completely swamped – a principle which is directly contrary to that of strict architecture. We can disregard the particular dynamic resources which are here applied to aid powerful movement – the projection of the middle, the accumulation of the lines of force, the breaking of cornices and gables. … Imagine how much of this façade could be caught in a sketch with mere dabs of the brush, and how, conversely, all classic architecture requires the most definite rendering of proportion and line.[32]

To all intents and purposes what is being carried forward here, including but over and beyond the description, is a another kind of movement, one within the text itself, from watery analogies, via the conjuring of abstract forces, to the invocation of painting. It is a movement that disassembles architecture as a structure of interdependent parts, casting it instead as 'the merely tangible character of the architectonic form',[33] a matter of syntactical elaboration of



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active is the interest in the surface of things, in how objects feel. Flesh in Rembrandt is clearly rendered as a soft material, yielding to pressure, while Dürer's figure in this respect remains neutral.

And now we may frankly admit that Rembrandt cannot forthwith be taken as equivalent to the seventeenth century, and that it would be even less admissible to judge German drawing of the classic period by one example. Yet just because of this one-sidedness, it is illuminating to do so in a comparison, the primary object of which is to bring out quite sharply the opposition between the concepts.

What the transformation of style means for the conception of form in detail becomes quite clear if we pass from the theme of the whole figure to that of the head alone.

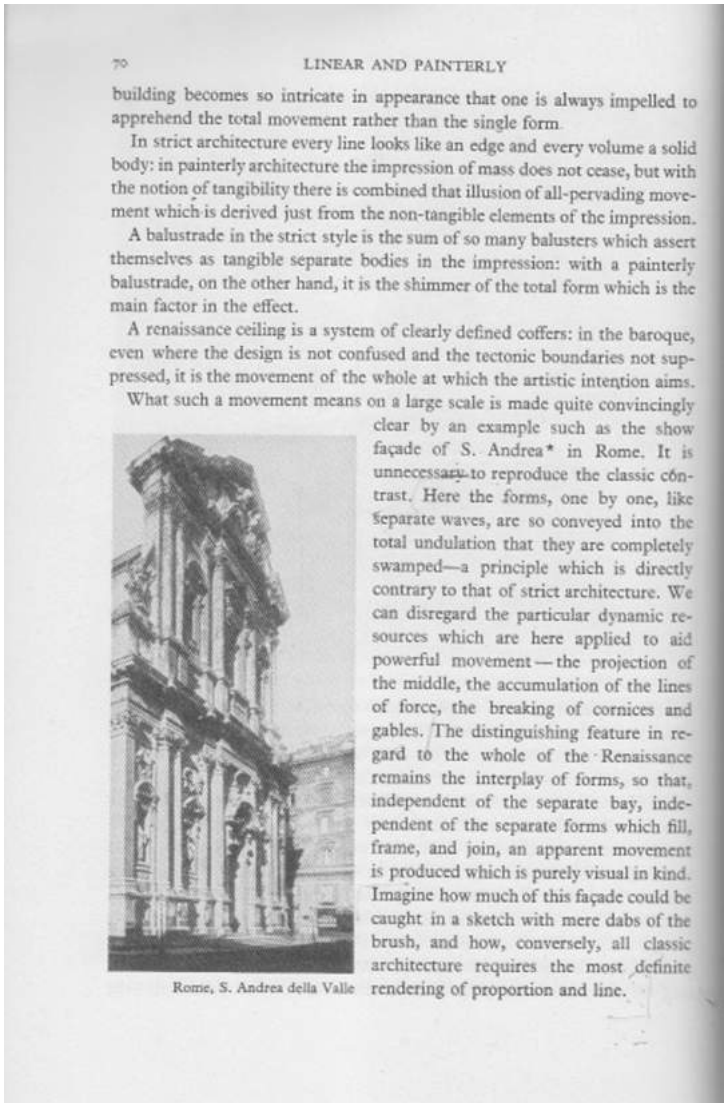
The special quality of a head by Dürer by no means depends only on the artistic quality of the individual line, but on the fact that lines are worked out at all, great, evenly guiding lines in which everything is contained and which can be apprehended without difficulty. This quality, which Dürer has in common with his contemporaries, gives us the essence of the matter. The primitives also dealt with the problem in drawing and a head can, in its general lay-out, have much resemblance, but the lines do not stand out, they do not leap to the eye as in the classic drawing: the form has not been compressed into the line.

Rembrandt

FIGURE 1.2 *Page showing Rembrandt 'Standing Nude' (c. 1637), from Heinrich Wölfflin,* Principles of Art History *(first English edition, 1932). Photograph by Mark Crinson.*

what we have seen in Renaissance architecture. But this movement is also a return, for by becoming painting-like, the façade also restarts the dialectic with the Renaissance.

Clearly, the sense of abandonment and loss of self – even the selfhood or identity of 'strict architecture' – is crucial to Wölfflin's idea of *Malerisch*, whether in art or in architecture.[34] Architecture for its part has its very



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building becomes so intricate in appearance that one is always impelled to apprehend the total movement rather than the single form.

In strict architecture every line looks like an edge and every volume a solid body: in painterly architecture the impression of mass does not cease, but with the notion of tangibility there is combined that illusion of all-pervading movement which is derived just from the non-tangible elements of the impression.

A balustrade in the strict style is the sum of so many balusters which assert themselves as tangible separate bodies in the impression: with a painterly balustrade, on the other hand, it is the shimmer of the total form which is the main factor in the effect.

A renaissance ceiling is a system of clearly defined coffers: in the baroque, even where the design is not confused and the tectonic boundaries not suppressed, it is the movement of the whole at which the artistic intention aims.

What such a movement means on a large scale is made quite convincingly clear by an example such as the show façade of S. Andrea* in Rome. It is unnecessary to reproduce the classic contrast. Here the forms, one by one, like separate waves, are so conveyed into the total undulation that they are completely swamped—a principle which is directly contrary to that of strict architecture. We can disregard the particular dynamic resources which are here applied to aid powerful movement—the projection of the middle, the accumulation of the lines of force, the breaking of cornices and gables. The distinguishing feature in regard to the whole of the Renaissance remains the interplay of forms, so that, independent of the separate bay, independent of the separate forms which fill, frame, and join, an apparent movement is produced which is purely visual in kind. Imagine how much of this façade could be caught in a sketch with mere dabs of the brush, and how, conversely, all classic architecture requires the most definite rendering of proportion and line.

Rome, S. Andrea della Valle

FIGURE 1.3 *Page showing Carlo Rainaldo's façade of S. Andrea della Valle (1655–63), Rome, from Heinrich Wölfflin,* Principles of Art History *(first English edition, 1932). Photograph by Mark Crinson.*

different materiality put at stake, sacrificed to style and form, having its non-tangible elements brought out and even, effectively, being replaced by images of architecture. This reverses the terms of what Michael Podro called the 'problem of painting', whereby German art historians were supposedly confronted with the difference between architecture's evident structure and

painting's much more 'non-literal order'.[35] If there was such a problem, then Wölfflin's solution was as much to diffuse architecture's order as to order painting's diffuseness. In other words, the function of *Malerisch* is to deem out of court all the more obvious differences between the media.

Riegl and *Kunstwollen*

The art historian's licence to work across media was also critical to Alois Riegl (1858–1905), another major figure of the critical history of art. The Pantheon, a piece of glass, a brooch, a capital – all these were linked, all were expressive of cultural unity for Riegl. Just as Wölfflin's starting medium was architecture, Riegl's was textiles, as might be expected from his position as curator of textiles at Vienna's Museum of Art and Industry. While this applied arts base led him to put particular emphasis on the analytic potential of the small-scale object, he was also always aware of Gottfried Semper's arguments about architecture's textile origins.[36] But Semperian functionalism – and Riegl separated Semper from his followers here – with its materialist and technological priorities was explicitly opposed by Riegl as an incomplete account of artistic motivation, inadequate to the deeper cultural impulses that drove its development.[37] Instead, the concept of *Kunstwollen* was Riegl's contribution to the idea of the unified period world view manifested, even driven by, its artistic productions.

Tying together the applied arts, the fine arts, and architecture, *Kunstwollen* is perhaps best translated as a shared artistic and social volition, the relationship between art and what is expected from it within any given culture. In other words, *Kunstwollen* encompasses the agencies, inner necessity, and formal expectations, shared but not fully authored, nor entirely deliberate. An irresistible collective impulse, the *Kunstwollen* is invested in a range of objects from everyday things to art and architecture, and these dispositions or drives – the psychological resonance is important – supersede issues of material, functional, and technical determination, giving the *Kunstwollen* a status and meaning that is definitional to any particular culture.[38]

Architecture was curiously positioned here. As mentioned, Riegl was firstly concerned with the applied arts and the way that ornament carried implications about how a society understood itself. If, in his first weighty book *Problems of Style* (1893) the concept of *Kunstwollen* was only tentatively used, then certainly architecture had to be considered if the concept were to have any weight. As Riegl wrote in *Late Roman Art Industry* (1901), 'The clearest case is architecture, next the crafts, particularly when they do not incorporate figurative motives: often architecture and these crafts reveal the basic laws of *Kunstwollen* with an almost mathematical clarity.'[39] Architecture (although it was only smaller, museum-sized pieces of architecture like column capitals, that Riegl actually illustrated), ornament,

and painting would all be strategically organized or disposed in ways that manifested the *Kunstwollen*. It was just that architecture – in a kind of 'you first' gesture that may have something to do with Hegel's historical prioritization of architecture – was discussed first within *Late Roman Art Industry* because it would make the formal relations at stake clearer as against the forms of historical figurative content found in the fine arts.[40] If the true centre of balance was between the two – the *Kunstindustrie* of small objects – the collective intentionality, or unitary principle, was common to all the arts and thus necessarily also common to their study.

Late Roman Art Industry was Reigl's fullest account and it implied that a sequence of *Kunstwollen* – or a history of spaces – was discoverable across the history of art. In late antiquity, the *Kunstwollen* was to be found in that area of culture and belief that was emergent and developing strongly away from two earlier *Kunstwollen* – the Egyptian and Greek. One of the overarching historical schemata that interested Riegl here was how these three periods were characterized by a movement from cultures that were oriented to the haptic to those characterized by their expression of the optic. The Egyptians developed an architecture that was monumental but not fundamentally interested in space; later, with the Romans, methods of perception based on the optical came to dominate, thus elevating the spatial experiences of architecture as primary. The Greeks, in between, shared something of both: while optical (or spatial) modes were emerging, the haptic was still a strong residual mode of perception. The culmination of all this was the Pantheon, in which materiality was transformed into a work of extraordinary optical complexity. What Christianity and its churches took from the Pantheon was a 'cubic material quality', clearly establishing a self-contained and finite volumetric character distinctively set off from its surroundings (this also made it more optical because it had less of the haptic quality of physical relation to surroundings to be found in the earlier two *Kunstwollen*).[41] In a development from the Pantheon, Riegl discerned first the projection of apses out beyond the skin of the building in the Temple of Minerva Medica, then a sequence of niches made into a concentric ambulatory in Santa Costanza. In both cases a singular vessel became spatially more articulate inside while retaining its massive outline and clear sense of separation on the exterior.[42] Riegl found this same quality in sixth-century marble capitals, both in the way their sculpted acanthus leaves were set off from the lower plane of their background foil and in the way that parts of the leaves were separated from one another and 'isolated in a purely optical manner through incisions which cast deep shadows'.[43] It was found too in what Riegl called the 'infinite rapport' implied by the use of half-motifs on the edges of compositions to suggest a design's endless continuity.[44]

Riegl was describing a cubic autonomy that was common from the Romans' domed *omphalos*, the Pantheon, down through small-scale decisions in stone carving (like the capitals), engraved glass, and perforated gold, to the details of brooches, buckles, flasks, ladles, and earrings. Across

these, Riegl discerned a shared *Kunstwollen* at one with the world historical moment. No social or political context needed to be more than indicated; even religion was barely mentioned; subject matter was irrelevant (Riegl rejected iconographic approaches); quantity of evidence mattered not; and aesthetic judgement was historically meaningless. Superordinate to all these, form embodied the volition 'to see [shape] in its three dimensional, fully spatial boundaries'.[45]

Riegl's followers in the so-called 'new Vienna School' developed his idea of the *Kunstwollen* and claimed to bypass both style and content, finding deep cultural structure (*Strukturanalyse*) in the artwork. This was a DNA keying the artwork into its time and thus revealing the culture and world view without dependence on empiricism and causal arguments. This renewed formalism was attentive to detail and exhaustive in its visual analyses. *Struktur*, Christopher Wood has suggested, replaced Riegl's *Kunstwollen*, remaking it into a 'design principle … schema or diagram' that informed the work from its details to its overall form, tying it to the world of its time.[46] And architecture was clearly as much the object of *Strukturanalyse* as art. Hans Sedlmayr, for instance, wrote about Borromini and about Roman architectural proportions at the time of Justinian, Karl Swoboda wrote on the Florence Baptistery, and Emil Kaufmann on the autonomous principle in architecture from Ledoux to Le Corbusier.[47]

Panofsky's homologies

It might be thought that the area of German art history least likely to be sympathetic to the art-architecture nexus would be iconography. This was a content-based or, in its more ambitious versions known as iconology, an idea-based approach to the subject that claimed to avoid the problems of formalist essentialism by basing interpretations on the objects and narratives depicted in the work as an 'analogue of discursive rationality' to be found in textual sources.[48] Certainly Aby Warburg (1866–1929) was interested in an interdisciplinary 'science of culture' (*Kulturwissenschaft*) that seemingly had little place for architecture, and his distinctive study of the afterlife of motifs across time would not achieve the same suggestiveness when practised with architectural material by his followers.[49] However, for Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968), his follower and colleague in Hamburg, methods might have been different but the art-architecture nexus remained as a measure of his ambition to do a systematic art history in critical engagement with Riegl, Wölfflin, and Warburg.[50] Two of Panofsky's earliest essays, for instance, were a rereading of Riegl's *Kunstwollen* in terms of the problems of artistic representation, and an interpretation of perspective as period-specific 'symbolic form', Panofsky's equivalent to *Kunstwollen*.[51] But Panofsky wanted to take away any psychological dimension to Riegl's concept and replace it with a model of self-reflexive

thought, of art and architecture as products of objective intentions, so that art and architecture could be understood as consistent with a common rationalization or world view.[52]

Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (1951) was his most substantial discussion of an architectural topic. The book interpreted Gothic architecture in the area around Paris between 1130 and 1270 in relation to ideas circulating in the contemporary religious intelligentsia. It is almost as if it answered Wölfflin's challenge 'to find the path that leads from the cell of the scholar to the mason's yard', looking neither right nor left.[53] The Hegelian framework has often been pointed out in Panofsky's work, particularly the way it sought a moment of high cultural assimilation in which humanity's self-awareness reached its pitch of refinement and wholeness. For Gombrich, this was 'Hegel's Wheel', and as exemplified in *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* it entailed the salient spokes of French medieval culture – like its technology, religion, art, and architecture – all being explained by a central hub, its 'general peculiarity', scholasticism.[54]

In this sense, however, the approach in *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* was not quite of a piece with Panofsky's work on, say, Dürer's *Melencolia I*. For Panofsky, Dürer's engraving was not only a symbolic fusion of Marsilio Ficino's ideas of melancholy with ideas of geometry as a liberal art; it was also a 'subjective confession', a 'spiritual self-portrait' of the artist himself caught between these ideas.[55] Instead of the content or an individual's 'disguised symbolism', Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* was more interested in community, arguing that the Gothic both embodied contemporary scholastic theology and was developed by a similar form of systematic thinking; there was a 'palpable and hardly accidental concurrence in the purely factual domain of time and place' between the two that offered up a sense of historical totality.[56] By assimilating Aristotelian logic, the scholastics had developed a 'technique of reconciling the seemingly irreconcilable' in theological positions, demonstrating this in public disputations and highly structured written arguments.[57] Panofsky's daring leap was to find a homology to this in Gothic architecture, whose builders he claimed also proceeded through a dialectical process to an ultimate reconciliation, even if this process took the form of an unintentional transfer of the same ways of thinking into a different medium. This led to a mental habit, or a 'principle that regulates the act'.[58] Gothic forms – like the rose window, the wall beneath a clerestory, and the relation of piers in the nave – were thus understood as 'problems', each worked through consistently from proposal to counterproposal to resolution. The dialectical process resulted in a consonant formal analogue, an architecture built up according to 'a system of homologous parts and parts of parts',[59] a range of hierarchically articulated components, enabling order, both structural and symbolic, to be made visible:

> The panoply of shafts, ribs, buttresses, tracery, pinnacles, and crockets was a self-analysis and self-explication of architecture, much as the

> customary apparatus of parts, distinctions, questions, and articles was … a self-analysis and self-explication of reason.[60]

To see a Gothic building was to read and engage with a process of thinking. Scholastic thought and Gothic architecture did not happen to share the same moment, as with Riegl's *Kunstwollen*; they were instead placed in a causal relation so that the Panofskian *Kunstwollen* was seen to be motivated, propelled by a theology of abstracted constructional members.

Panofsky's study concluded with plans of a chevet drawn by the medieval artist Villard de Honnecourt (Figure 1.4). The architectural diagram was the result of a parallel disputation whose resolution was the bringing together of all sides in a conspectus of forms. It was an image of a period sensibility, a logic that subtended cultural practice:

> It has a double ambulatory combined with a continuous hemicycle of fully developed chapels, all nearly equal in depth. The groundplan of these chapels is alternately semicircular and – Cistercian fashion – square. And while the square chapels are vaulted separately, as was the usual thing, the semicircular ones are vaulted under one keystone with the adjacent sectors of the outer ambulatory as in Soissons and its derivatives. Here Scholastic dialectics has driven architectural thinking to a point where it almost ceased to be architectural.[61]

Another chevet in an earlier essay by Panofsky was explained as a 'purely "aesthetic" experience' of transparency and as Abbot Suger's elucidation of divine radiance.[62] But the argument at the end of *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* had developed from a translation of ideas to an incorporation of the actual structure of thinking ('scholastic dialectics'). Architecture as a distinctive medium and discipline has almost disappeared; it was a diagram of thought, another wing of the 'rational, highly articulated organism' that was the Church's vision of itself.[63] The great French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who translated Panofsky's book (another, if late, sign of German art history as the 'avantgarde of thought'),[64] would call this the mental dispositions or *habitus* of this historical conjunction. Rather than Panofsky's 'intrinsic analogies', Bourdieu would seek out the 'common properties' and the way the community spoke through the schema internalized by the individual.[65]

The dissolution of architecture into thought, as described by Panofsky, serves the ethical point about a universal decorum that undergirds cultural holism. This structure of thinking is not meaningful in the same sense as interpretation of Dürer might be, which more typically, in Panofsky's method, unravelled the work's 'full complexity', decoding allegorical content through its intricate relation to a range of sources.[66] Instead it seems closer to Wölfflin's claim that 'a Roman Baroque façade has the same visual denominator as a landscape by Van Goyen',[67] except that now the denominator is the denominated; one 'articulated organism' points to a larger 'articulated organism'.

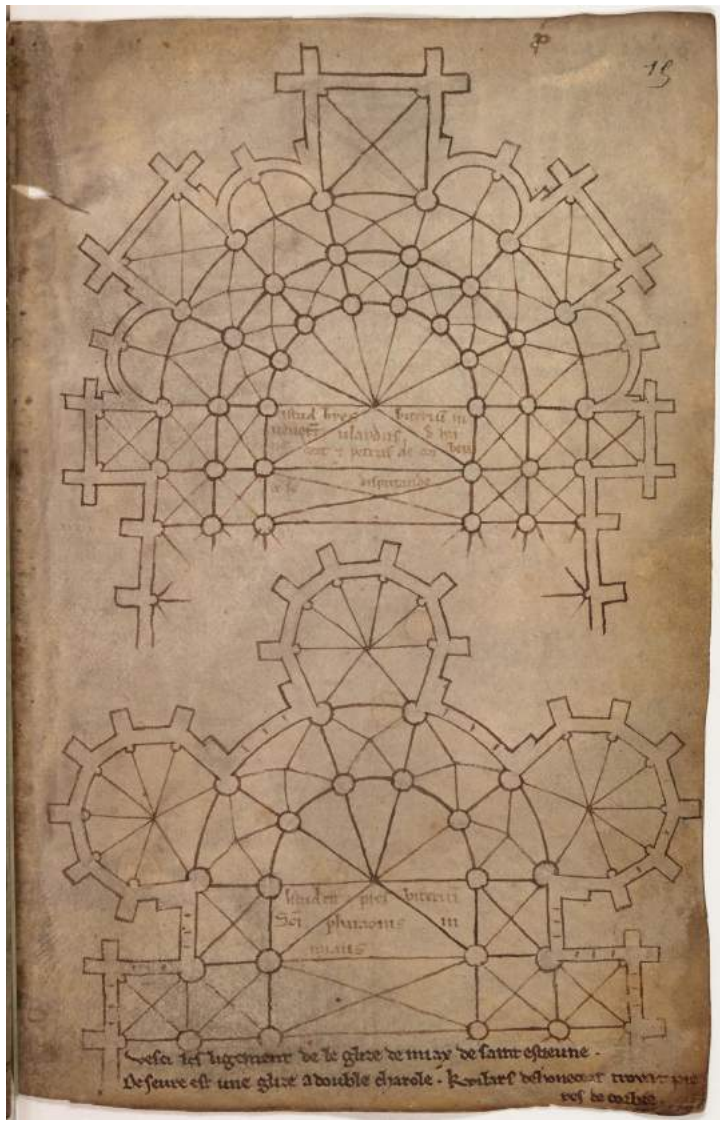


FIGURE 1.4 *Villard de Honnecourt – ideal groundplan of a chevet (c. 1235). Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

Giedion – history and the present

The tradition of the critical history of art was often as much directed at the present as the past. It held out tantalizing images of cultures and periods seemingly unified around a *Kunstwollen* or single coherently articulated style. As these were implicitly admonitory, their reconstructions of a lost

wholeness intended to contrast with the babelian confusion of the present, so they could be accused of transposing a contemporary world view onto a historical period.[68] Riegl and Wölfflin, in particular, were read by architects interested in the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the *Jugendstil*, or the possibilities of a modern Baroque.[69] If Riegl's writing was dense its lessons were easily simplified and distilled, while Wölfflin's compact and allusive books were further disseminated by his theatrical public lecturing style. It was with the work of one of Wölfflin's students, however, that a new intimacy of alliance, both personally close and publicly assertive, developed between architects and art history. Apologist and publicist, secretary general of the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), Sigfried Giedion (1888–1968) amplified his voice and those of his architect friends into the modern *Kunstwollen*.

What Giedion produced in his most influential work, *Space, Time and Architecture* (1941), was a history geared to the reading and viewing habits of architects. His debt to Wölfflin was acknowledged early on, so too and more fulsomely his debt to Jacob Burckhardt. The latter seems on the face of it a strange link, but one very un-Wölfflinian aspect of Giedion's work – most apparent in *Mechanization Takes Command* (1948) – was his immersion in the archive. It was also in terms of Burckhardt's 'wide view' that Giedion wanted his own account of the civilization of the modern to be understood. And this certainly had Rieglian ingredients too: architecture develops across broad historical phases, from the volumetric concerns characteristic of Egypt and Greece to the interior space emphasis of Rome and through to the eighteenth century, and finally to the modern fusion of the volumetric and the spatial. Giedion's third acknowledgement tied his method and his subject together: this was to those 'contemporary artists' – he meant such as Le Corbusier, Fernand Léger, and Lázló Moholy-Nagy – who 'have shown that mere fragments lifted from the life of a period can reveal its habits and feelings … the furniture of daily life, the unnoticed articles that result from mass production – spoons, bottles, glasses, all the things we look at hourly without seeing – have become parts of our natures'.[70] There was to be no detachment from the cause here, but objectivity was hardly relevant when what was being observed, it seemed, was the unconscious of modernity itself, its habits and fragments, the things taken for granted because of their very ubiquity. Only if the historian was in close contact with the age could she or he 'detect those traces of the past which previous generations have overlooked'.[71]

Space, Time and Architecture brought contemporary architectural discourse into direct contact with the terms of Wölfflinian historiography. Giedion's PhD, published in 1922, had mobilized his supervisor's comparative schema into use for the more recent period of architecture of the late Baroque and what he called 'romantic classicism', divided into his eminently formalist chapter headings 'Wall', 'Space', and 'Sequence of Rooms'.[72] But Giedion's importance as a historian, and his usefulness as

a theorist to his Modernist friends, was based on his pushing further at Wölfflin's conclusions by understanding Baroque modernity in explicitly positive terms, rather than as the 'loss of vitality … [and] confusing jumble' that his mentor had condemned in it.[73]

The modern was now infused with what Wölfflin had called *Formgefühl*, the common feeling for form that was focused in the period's world view. Placing Tatlin's Monument to the Third International in juxtaposition with Borromini's Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza, or a work of Picasso's analytical cubism across the page from a photograph of Walter Gropius's Bauhaus building, was to take Wölfflin's twin-slide pedagogy in new directions. Now it was the present and the near future that were being characterized. The coarse act of faith of the argument, its stark manipulation of the reader, was offset by the familiarity of the ploy and the seductiveness of the page design (borrowing directly from the visual rhetorics of modernist designers). These two pairings say much about Giedion's intellectual formation, about his desire to extend his teacher's historical schema to take in a positive account of the modern, and at the same time to maintain the confluence of art and architecture, even in a book that was largely directed at architects. Picasso's *L'Arlésienne* faces a glazed corner of the Bauhaus building (Figure 1.5). One's triumph over perspective has influenced the other, according to Giedion, but now together they have fused into a

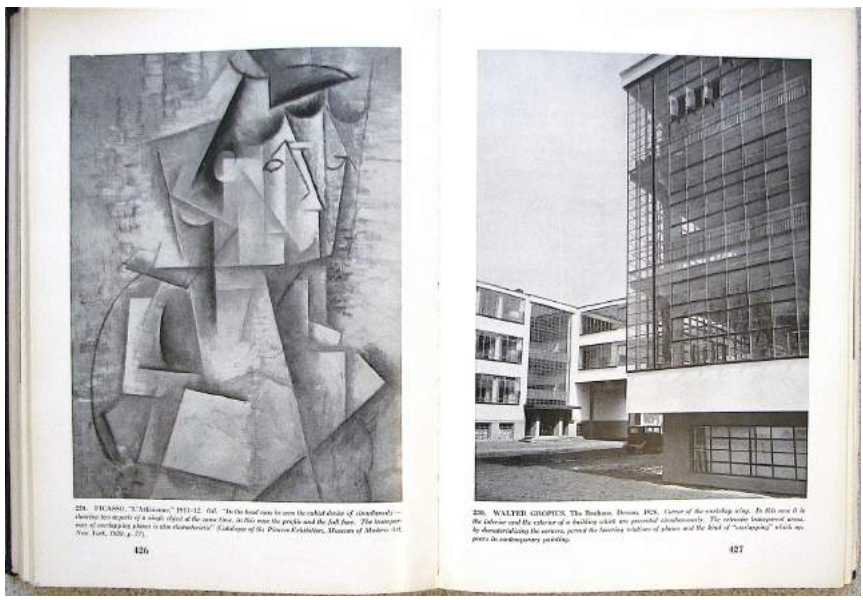


FIGURE 1.5 *Double page from Siegfried Giedion,* Space, Time and Architecture *(1941), with Picasso's* 'L'Arlésienne' *(1911–12) and Gropius's Bauhaus building (1925–6). Photograph by Mark Crinson.*

modern form-world. We look through one as we look through the other; each has its spindly scaffolding, its grid. We seem to see inside and outside, as well as near side and far side. Neither object is firmly lodged in its pictorial space or on its ground. They hover and dematerialize. One even looks across the page to the other, and the other (or are we deceived?) seems to reciprocate.

Space-time is the new 'space conception' that marks out the modern period, in contrast with the linear perspective of the Renaissance and the restless movement of the Baroque. Picasso and the Bauhaus building embody the concept of interpenetration (*Durchdringung*) already observed by Giedion twenty years before in the Eiffel Tower and the *Pont Transbordeur* in Marseilles, where the inside and outside of these structures are perceivable together and where movement is constantly evoked – they 'intermingle simultaneously'.[74] But if interpenetration has anything in common with one side of Wölfflin's pairs, it is much more the Baroque than the Renaissance; it conjures up an environment that is not just animated by *Malerisch* in the surfaces and spaces of individual buildings but through interpenetration across spaces and buildings. Modern paintings and modernist buildings are the harbingers of this permeable new environment where light, air, and openness combine. As Giedion makes clear in *Space, Time and Architecture*, the acceptance of space-time is presented as a solution to the modern crisis that his mentor had identified; and the solution involves, through the treatment of materials as elastic and the concomitant spatial complexity, a kind of acceptance of the chaos as itself the unifying principle.

Among scions of the German tradition there was a revulsion against Giedion's use of history to underpin the aims of the modern movement and to create historical legitimacy for it. In a sense, the authority of Wölfflin's *Principles* had been inadvertently exposed as precarious, once the agenda of a contemporary world view in forming the 'history of world views' had been so blatantly revealed. Now also exposed were the shifting sands of subjective choice and personal judgement, however well underpinned by the persuasions of formalism: what, then, were the 'expressive shapes of their time', if that time was as much the present as the past? *Space, Time and Architecture*, wrote Pevsner (not entirely innocent of the charge himself), 'is the history of one tendency made to appear as if it is the whole. … This changeover from telling historical truth – the whole truth – to blasting a trumpet, be it ever so rousing a trumpet, is a sin in a historian.' [75] More widely, there was also a reaction against Hegelian schema like the *Zeitgeist* and the idea that periods follow each other like thesis and antithesis, as well as against the once-acclaimed leaders of the modern movement and the role of Giedion's books as their echo chamber. The reaction relates to Manfredo Tafuri's well-known later characterization of Giedion's type of history as 'operative criticism', with its inherent critique of *Kunstwissenschaft* more widely.[76] More specifically, there was also a focused examination of the concept of transparency as a defining aspect of the modern that – as the next

chapter will show – explicitly critiqued Giedion and moved far beyond him.[77] We might speculate that it was not just its dependence on the now overly thumbed *Zeitgeist*, but also those same speculative and visually appealing elements in the book that had made it so appealing to architects. *Space, Time and Architecture* used art, but it was hardly addressed to art historians (they would have learnt little new about art from it anyway). There is a dilution here or an instrumentalization of art – much in the manner of two other and equally trans-medial versions of 'operative criticism' in the German tradition, Nikolaus Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* (1936) and his *Englishness of English Art* (1956) – so that it does not so much deliver its own insights but is made either to uphold an essentially architectural story or to serve an overriding argument, another reason that the book's appeal was limited to the architecture side of the German tradition. The balance essential to the art-architecture nexus was thus skewed.

2

The architectural unconscious – Steinberg and Baxandall

What happened when art history's disciplinary formation threw out the art-architecture nexus? Did it simply disappear? Or did it, as we suggest in this chapter, persist as a sort of unconscious, working below the surface to influence and inform art historians' choice of objects and what they said about them?

Among the plates at the end of Michael Baxandall's *Patterns of Intention* (1985) there occurs a juxtaposition which may be just a fortuitous result of the alchemy of book design (Figure 2.1). Knowing of the author's delight in such effects, however, it is almost certainly intentional. In one image, a photograph, we see the Forth Bridge from the height of one of its piers; its tubular steel columns and latticework seem both to recede sharply and to be flattened by the symmetry of the image, only the cotton wool smoke of a train alerts us to the vertiginous plunge below. On the facing page, the painted women of Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* stare fixedly back at us, not symmetrical, quite, but spread across the image and mingled with a coruscating surface of drapes and jagged planes. Are we to understand the upthrust arms and sharp elbows of these women as in some way like the triangles and rhomboids, regular and irregular, from tiny apertures to immense spans, that everywhere pattern the photograph? Do the women bridge the distance? Does the bridge stare back at us? Is a rivet like a stroke of paint? Perhaps we might understand what is happening across the double page as both dialogue and denunciation, as a comparison and a face-off, an assertion of similarity and a negation of it. On the first terms of these polarities, the pages inevitably evoke Giedion's famous zeitgeisty pairings (Picasso's *L'Arlésienne* with a corner of the Bauhaus building, for instance). As regards the second terms, there could hardly be anything more absurdly different as a stretch of daubed canvas and a cyclopean assemblage of purposeful metal. The possibilities and absurdities of such comparisons and proximities will haunt, this chapter suggests, some key art historians after *Kunstwissenschaft*.

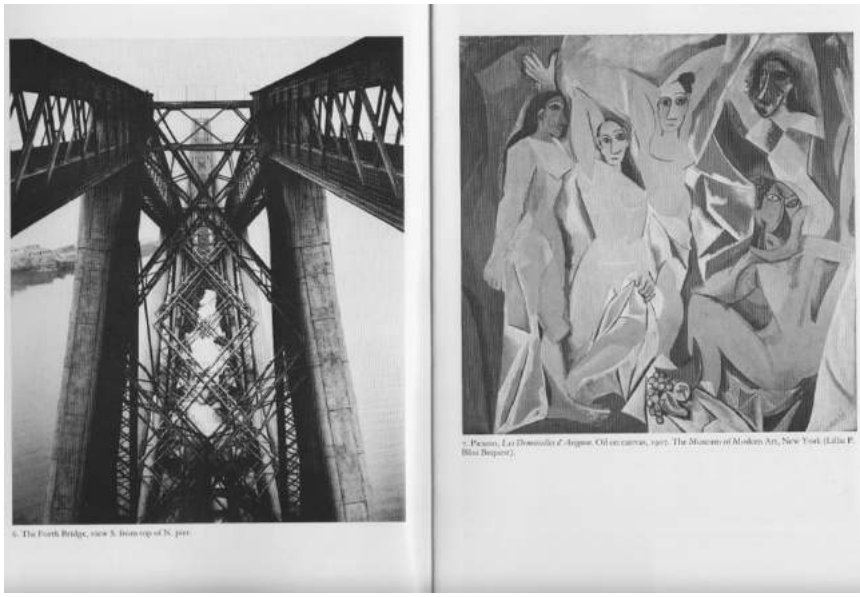


FIGURE 2.1 *Double page from Michael Baxandall,* Patterns of Intention *(1985), with Benjamin Baker's Forth Bridge (1882–90) and Picasso's* 'Les Demoiselles d'Avignon' *(1907). Photograph by Mark Crinson.*

The academic German tradition of art history, with its associated cohorts of critics and curators, was only one among many academic disciplines disrupted and scattered by the apocalypse that was Nazism. The tradition's influence took flight westwards towards Britain and the United States, to a different language and different practices of art and architectural history.[1] It has been estimated that around one quarter (some 250 scholars) of German art historians emigrated, and while their transmission of German methods is often remarked, the possibility that their dispersal into numerous American and British academic environments – often not immediately sympathetic to their methods, and in the United States often more closely aligned to fine art departments rather than architecture schools – may have fragmented certain conventions and assumptions, has been little commented on.[2]

Despite examples of strong continuity and other examples of adjustment to local conditions, there is a sense that the idea of art and architecture's imbrication in art history, of their innate intellectual compatibility and interdependence, broke down over these post-war decades even as their institutional connection within art history departments continued. This is particularly demonstrated by the influence of Panofskian and Warburgian approaches, which tended to be taken on only by those followers studying the fine arts (Richard Krautheimer's iconographic approach to architectural history notwithstanding). The influence of Riegl and his followers in the

new Vienna School travelled much less well. Riegl's direct influence was seriously affected by having most of his important work left untranslated; English-reading art historians were often dependent on Ernst Gombrich (1909–2001) and his largely tendentious accounts of *Kunstwollen* rather than Riegl's own writing.[3] Indeed Gombrich remained critical of any form of structural analysis, unitary principle, or claim that style was an expression of a collectivity (especially, of course, those like race or *Volk*, but also class), preferring instead the psychology of perception and the idea of representation as an enculturated process. Perception was the key concept for Gombrich, not vision; the rationalizing mind making sense of sight was his form of psychology, not the relation between mechanisms of seeing and the unconscious. It took until the 1990s for the first significant Anglophone interest in Riegl.[4] Furthermore, the potential influence of several of his followers was seriously affected by their compromises with Nazism or their active appropriation of his ideas for ends synonymous with the Nazi regime. Wölfflin's case was utterly different, but whereas his work was translated and stayed in print, it had migrated from the seminar room to the public library.[5]

After the diaspora the cutting edge of art history became dominated by studies in iconography, led by Panofsky, and in the psychology of artistic perception, led by Gombrich. The latter had few adherents with architectural interests, while the former as practised by second-generation *Kunstwissenschaft* art historians like Rudolf Wittkower (1901–71) and Richard Krautheimer (1897–1994) tended increasingly to be used in ways that separated art and architecture or at least that made little methodological sense of the old coupling. The critique of formalism, indeed, was carried through by these art historians from their German experience to post-war Anglophone academia. In 1931 Wittkower had written and lectured about the key Baroque artist and architect Bernini, on whom he eventually published a monograph in 1955. He identified three possible approaches: the formalist, the psychological (linked with Riegl), and the sociological, favouring the last of these.[6] As if to confirm Wittkower's direction, in the early 1930s Hans Sedlmayr criticized his work on Bernini's drawings as belonging to neither of the disciplinary approaches that he recognized as valid: the empirical, or the search for abstract principles (*Strukturanalyse*).[7] Wittkower would go on after the war, in England and the United States, to develop an architectural history that he understood as sociological in the sense of being both iconographic and bound to public histories of Church and State. His *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (1949) provided a new model of an architectural history, rich in its documentary references to the intellectual history of mathematics and geometry, and concerned with relations between architecture, science, and cosmogony, as well as genealogies and comparisons of architectural syntax and schema. Wittkower was particularly interested in relating Renaissance architecture to the same neo-Platonic discourses that were of concern to Panofsky and Gombrich at this time.[8] Form mattered to him, but not in what he regarded

as the authoritarian way that tried to use it to make sense of deep historical structures (*Kunstwollen* or *Strukturanalyse*). Accordingly he was little interested in the deeper ramifications of the art-architecture nexus. For the newly influential iconographers like Wittkower, Krautheimer, and Panofsky, the old formalisms were as politically tainted as the newer social histories of art of Frederick Antal and Arnold Hauser.[9] The art-architecture nexus was one casualty of this shifting in the disciplinary formation.

This chapter is focused, however, on a rather different phenomenon, one that may at first seem perverse in relation to this book's larger argument. We are concerned with the creative possibilities of the baulked or redirected art-architecture nexus in the work of two outstanding art historians of another generation. For both of these writers, we argue, the apparent rejection of architecture and its history was actually a submersion of it, giving an undertow to almost all of their art historical work. Such are the intellectual acuities of Leo Steinberg (1920–2011) and Michael Baxandall (1933–2008), as well as their idiosyncrasies, that their work could never in itself be demonstrative of the wider phenomenon. More interesting is to understand their intellectual trajectories as shaped by a split within their own experience of art history, so that while the art-architecture nexus comes to a halt as an active art historical thinking across media, it continues in either a transposed form or a way that productively denies its intermedial consequences.

Steinberg's spatial turn

Leo Steinberg's doctoral thesis at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York, established the pattern for his later studies in its focus on one work, as well as its daring propulsive arguments and its precise descriptive writing. But it is also untypical; never again would Steinberg write on architecture. Borromini's *San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane: A Study in Multiple Forms and Architectural Symbolism* was submitted in 1959 and then published eighteen years later still in its thesis form, despite many typically fastidious changes to the text and the addition of significant new research (Figure 2.2). In the interim years, and while Borromini's creation still preoccupied him, Steinberg became known for his art criticism and for his extraordinary essays on Picasso, Michelangelo, and Leonardo, then later for his provocative books on Leonardo's *The Last Supper*, and on images of the sexuality of Christ. But the thesis attracted the attention of architects, whether in scarce copies of the original or in its eventual published form. Richard Meier, Paolo Portoghesi, and Peter Carl all read and praised it, the work becoming public in a postmodern moment more sympathetic to its concern with complex symbolic meanings than would have been the case in 1959.[10] More important for our concerns, its architectural subject ramified into Steinberg's

FIGURE 2.2 *Francesco Borromini – San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (1638–41), Rome. Engraving showing section through the church, by Sebastiano Giannini (c. 1730). Wikimedia Commons.*

other work, motivating a spatializing strategy that remained characteristic of his art history.

By the time Steinberg wrote his doctoral thesis, Borromini had already achieved canonic status within German art history. Steinberg had actually started out on a thesis about the afterlife of Romanesque architecture under the supervision of Richard Krautheimer, who expressed dismay when his student switched to Borromini and wanted to 'interpret' his buildings. The method 'was not historical but analytical', Krautheimer complained.[11] Steinberg had to be disowned, and so he was forced to change his supervisor to Wolfgang Lotz.[12] The withdrawal of support by Krautheimer (also in the form of distinctly lukewarm job references later on) meant that the only way to establish a career was to give up architectural history.[13] That, at least, was Steinberg's version of events. But Krautheimer's position was surely more complicated than this.

The Institute at this time was dominated by diasporic German scholars. As well as Krautheimer and Lotz, there was also Walter Friedländer, who had established his reputation in Germany for his work on Mannerism. Krautheimer had studied with Paul Frankl, and Wölfflin's work was most likely the inspiration for Lotz's doctorate on Vignola.[14] In shifting his subject,

Steinberg made these German art historical connections even stronger. Not only was Borromini a prominent part of the fascination with the Baroque that, as we saw in the previous chapter, had energized much of the best work by German art historians, he was also of continuing interest to both Krautheimer and Lotz.[15] Krautheimer's objection to Steinberg's approach was almost certainly based on distaste for the direction that the new Vienna School had taken: He might have tempered his own approach but he must have been aware that Reigl's most prominent follower, Hans Sedlmayr (1896–1984), had himself written about Borromini's San Carlo in two articles of 1925 and 1926, as well as in a book-length study of Borromini in 1930. Krautheimer's need for distance from what he saw as the expressionistic and often intuitive interpretations and psychological inflections of Viennese art history, was almost certainly affected by his own understanding, as part of the Jewish diaspora from Nazi Germany, of the ways this approach had become ideologically poisoned. Krautheimer's own iconographic approach to architecture, more indebted to Frankl than Wölfflin, studiously avoided political as much as interpretational excess. The latter was characterized as 'German'.[16]

Steinberg's choice of subject positioned him, therefore, in direct relation to many of the most significant German art historians, including Cornelius Gurlitt, Jacob Burckhardt, A. E. Brinckmann, Nikolaus Pevsner, and Rudolf Wittkower. But it was Sedlmayr's work that preoccupied him most. In his studies of Borromini and of Fischer von Erlach, Sedlmayr had set out to trace 'specific (intentionally determined) human activity'.[17] These studies were primarily based on attention to the buildings but also inspired by gestalt psychology in terms of how the architecture elicited ways of seeing it, as well as by Ernst Kretschmer's updating of physiognomic theory.[18] This was all quite different from the Wölfflinian approach, in which the individual object was representative of the style of a larger set of objects. Steinberg certainly shared much with Sedlmayr although, in the Krautheimer mode, he also emphasized the supporting documentary record. He devoted several pages to challenging Sedlmayr's attributions and errors, and especially his psychophysical theories, which he called a 'circular argument'.[19] Interestingly, and contra Krautheimer, Steinberg did not deny the possibilities of psychohistory, of a grounding of the word plays and puns that speak of a Freudian unconscious, but located them within the tastes of a historical period rather than as personal aberrations.[20] Although he was to write nothing further on architecture, the thesis manifested many of Steinberg's trademark concerns: the idea of a work creating a plurality of readings; the more iconographic idea of artistic form as embodied theology of a peculiarly densely inflected, polymorphous, and contrapuntal kind; and a method that depended primarily on a rigorous, internally consistent visual analysis.[21] These meant in turn that the kind of psychologizing language that had become overwrought and even sinister in recent manifestations of the German tradition (like Sedlmayr) was abjured in favour of a distinctively new

precision of description and analysis. The thesis moved away from ideas of instability and compression typically claimed in Baroque architecture, and instead to an attempt to understand the various ways Borromini's church made its symbolic programme 'structurally contrapuntal' as a 'vast emblem of the Trinity'.[22] If the tradition itself was one of Steinberg's antinomies, there is a sense from later interviews with him that even more so was the narrowing and anti-speculative character represented by Krautheimer and his work at the Institute of Fine Arts. Nevertheless, the Borromini thesis belongs in the German tradition almost despite its mentors, while its account of the relation between form and theology takes it a step further.

What is most interesting to our argument about the art-architecture nexus and its dissolution is how Steinberg's truncated engagement with architectural history gave a particular twist and impetus to his writing about art. In other words, this was less an abandonment of the tradition's ambitions (though few art historians have devoted their work to such painstaking attention to detail and to precision of exposition) than a highly charged submersion of one discipline within another. This was announced in the theme that accompanied the thesis's concern with theological embodiments – how the meaning of architecture, in detail or whole, depended upon the way it placed and addressed viewers in actual, created architectural space, and how this itself could be the pivot on which to attach intricate formal and iconographic analyses.[23] This is part of what we take to be the thesis's 'disguised manifesto', one that Steinberg said he was still testing in 1977 long after he had stopped writing about architecture.[24] The idea of the spatially situated viewer, we are suggesting, thus motivates and undergirds a spatial turn in much of Steinberg's subsequent art historical and art critical work.

In the same year he finished his thesis, Steinberg published an article on Caravaggio's altarpieces in the Cerasi Chapel (Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome).[25] Again, the topic seems calculated to engage with the transplanted German tradition – Walter Friedländer, also at the Institute, had discussed the Cerasi Chapel in his recent *Caravaggio Studies* (1955). But Steinberg placed the Caravaggio paintings back within their spatial setting and the cues of sculpture and decoration, explaining their pictorial organization as calculated to engage celebrants as they entered the chapel and saw the works from a transverse direction: 'Thus the simple space of the chapel grows restive. Even as the "transept" walls come into view, they lose their mural inertia, since it is from them, and by the means of their sculptures, that converging directives are propelled into the "choir".'[26] From this flowed a series of observations that placed the paintings within their space and in relation to their equally situated viewers: from the fictive divine light above them to the angling of the saints' bodies within them so they prolong the sightlines of views which were never head on to the paintings but obliquely placed under the triumphal arch of the choir. It is this insight into the 'continuity of real space with painted illusion' (and what a commentary on *Malerisch* that is!) which was then conveyed into a series of other studies.

This tilting against the German tradition continued in Steinberg's work on two of Michelangelo's frescoes. The book, *Michelangelo's Last Paintings* (1975), started with a discussion of a modest shopping list in which the artist's scrawl expanded until it spilt down the sheet 'like a discharged cornucopia' so that the whole page was invested with the sense of limits being reached and tested, of a field being possessed.[27] The subsequent account showed how Michelangelo's 'Conversion of St Paul' and 'Crucifixion of St Peter' escape or baffle the idea of period style and elude the difference between media that even Wölfflin had clung to.[28] These are difficult paintings to see in the Capella Paolina in the Vatican, and Michelangelo's aim is explained as less concerned with painted space as the 'transfigurement' of the chapel as a whole:

> The two frescoes were to have the effect of obliterating their respective walls. To the longitudinal thrust of the nave they were to oppose a cross-axis. The whole chapel was designed for three poles of attention: the chancel and tabernacle at the focal point of the main north-south axis, and the two frescoed spaces opening out like the arms of a transept.[29]

Painting takes over the function of architecture here. The Conversion is seen to advance into the chapel – it 'unframes itself' – disrupting notions of the pictorial threshold.[30] By the time of the later 'Crucifixion of St Peter', on the opposite wall, Michelangelo's 'pictorial imagination had yielded to the principles of the builder' and the work is even more architectural in its effects (Figure 2.3). Not only do the figures now 'build the space in to a solid front', it is as if the crucifixion were within a human triumphal arch: 'the entire scene petrifies in the shape of a monument'.[31] Of course, Michelangelo's architectural practice is relevant here; the composition reminds Steinberg of his staircase designs for the Laurentian Library. But more than this, 'if one follows the processional movements within the structure, they read, like Michelangelo's visions of stairs, as ascents and descents enclosing a rotary motion'.[32] Architecture tells us how to see painting.

Worked on for several decades before publication (much of his work was long gestated), Steinberg's later book *Leonardo's Incessant Last Supper* (2001) was based on the same acute attention to how the painting relates to its actual space. Of course, understanding the conjunction between the perspective of the depicted room and the dimensions of the refectory in Santa Maria delle Grazie where it is located has long been essential to interpreting Leonardo's ruined mural. Steinberg argues partly against this tradition, recognizing how the picture frustrates any straightforward reading of spatial relatedness, while also arguing a 'double function' in terms of the painted chamber's relation to the actual refectory, where it works 'as homely setting and as mysterium'.[33] The argument is far too complex to be adequately summarized here, but tellingly, the theme of displaced architectural awareness acts as the climax to the book. The last chapter, 'The Sanctification of Space',

FIGURE 2.3 *Michelangelo – 'The Crucifixion of St Peter' (1546–50), Capella Paolina, Vatican. Wikimedia Commons.*

makes a great deal out of the skew between real and depicted space created by the swerve inward of the painted walls. Steinberg understands this and the mural's 'aberrant margins' as quite deliberate ways of dealing with the moving spectator faced by the still perspective box.[34] The goal here was not, however, a mere optical adjustment, but a ruse that would be meaningful for the story being depicted. Two incompatible readings of this perspective space are suggested, which Steinberg claims must be understood as co-existing, as holding a double function in 'conjoint presence': 'in one viewing, a neat geometric contrivance, in another – received simultaneously – a theophany unfolding in a complicit space whose articulations proceed from the center like rays from a luminous body.'[35] This is art history as spatial iconology.

The approach was also applied to the work of a modernist masterpiece. Why, Steinberg asked, in essays originally published in 1972, is the pictorial space of Picasso's '*Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*' 'still revealed like a spectacle and enveloped in curtains – so much Baroque staging in a picture whose modernist orientation ought to be to the flat picture plane?'[36] It is

a fascinating observation in relation to the German tradition and its later attempts to relate the Baroque and the modern. Unlike Gideon, though, Steinberg does not collapse them into one highly abstracted continuity, but takes their confounding coalescence as key to Picasso's meaning. It was the 'brutal immediacy' of engagement with the viewer that intrigued Steinberg, the sense of psychological confrontation underscored by certain spatial devices. Steinberg found an explicit epiphany of sexual revelation given in an early drawing that had been rotated through 90 degrees in the final painting. He enjoyed the relation between the work and Alois Riegl's 1902 book on Dutch group portraits, in which Riegl had posited a complicity of views in the depicted and the beholder's space so that pictorial unity 'was externalized in the beholder's subjective experience'.[37] The relation to Riegl as art historical forefather is less significant, however, than what the insight enabled Steinberg to do with Picasso's work, via a similar absorption observed in Velazquez's 'Las Meninas' that also set up the beholder's space as 'a complementary hemisphere … one half of its own system'.[38] Picasso's link between the two spaces, real and depicted, is through the entrant wedge of the table top and its still life, which 'couples' the two sides by acting as their fulcrum.[39] And if, seemingly, beyond the depicted curtain was 'the state of women alone', then the brutality came about through the jarring confrontation between the depicted 'depth under stress' ('like the inside of a pleated bellows, like the feel of an inhabited pocket') and the male world this side of the picture.[40]

The whole tenor and approach of Steinberg's work can thus be seen as a working through of a frustrated or at least redirected interest in architectural history so that his art history becomes characterized by interpretations of the way certain paintings act to entangle real and imagined space.[41] And the approach was just as important in Steinberg's writing on contemporary art. In his most famous essay of this kind, 'Other Criteria' (originally given as a lecture in 1968 and published in 1972), Steinberg discerned a new direction in contemporary art that abjured the physical relation to the world represented or implied by paintings made in correspondence with the vertical viewing body. The new pictures insisted on a changed spatial orientation, tilting the picture plane to a horizontal orientation – they 'let the world in again'.[42] The argument is simple but, like much in Steinberg's work, astonishing in its implications. Yet it derives again from the displaced situational dynamics perceived in Borromini's San Carlo.

Steinberg's art history was propelled by a kind of spatial turn, an inclination to situate paintings in spatial scenarios that are both of their own making and formed out of their relation to actual space and beholders external to them. They are seen to exist in this combinatorial world of the real and the imagined, a new twist in the art-architecture nexus. Left as a residue or a denied potential, we find architectural concerns spectrally affecting the qualities and interests of Steinberg's interpretations.

Baxandall – architecture refused

Rejecting architectural history played out in a different way for another major post-war art historian. Again, the concentration on the fine arts was also symptomatic of the divide in the now diasporic tradition, one that in this case produced an extraordinary dance of avoidance.

Michael Baxandall is remembered as the author of an ambitious, wide-ranging, and erudite body of work. His books include studies of humanist writing on art in the early Renaissance (*Giotto and the Orators*, 1971), of painting and its embodiment of the 'period eye' of the Italian Renaissance (*Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, 1972), of German Renaissance sculpture (*The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, 1980), of shadows in art of the Enlightenment period (*Shadows and Enlightenment*, 1995), and (with Svetlana Alpers) of the eighteenth-century Venetian painter Tiepolo (*Tiepolo and the Pictorial Intelligence*, 1994), as well as a more theoretical study (*Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, 1985). This body of work also engages with many of the major concerns of art history in the second half of the twentieth century: with visual perception, the social history of art, with relations between art and intellectual history and between art and cognitive science, and with what art history could learn from structural linguistics and anthropology. It is difficult to make direct comparisons, but Baxandall is about as significant a figure for late-twentieth-century art history as almost any of the great German-speaking art historians were earlier in the century. And yet, there is on the face of it no synthetic work that draws art and architecture together, let alone independent work on architectural history.

In some ways, Baxandall's case is similar to Steinberg's. Baxandall enrolled in 1958 for a PhD with a strong architectural history component, although this was never to be finished.[43] His subject was 'Restraint in Renaissance Behaviour' and most of his surviving notes concern Alberti's architectural treatise *De re aedificatoria*. Before this he had encountered Wölfflin's work through the newly translated *Classic Art*, and had studied with the literary critic F. R. Leavis at Cambridge, a combination that seems to have inspired his continuing fascination with how art might be related to the social and intellectual contexts of its time. It needs to be said that architecture was probably less the focus of Baxandall's PhD work than discourses used in architecture that were also common to other cultural forms, like rhetoric, perspective, and stoicism.[44] Baxandall was not setting out to be an architectural historian, but a cultural historian using architectural material, in the Warburg tradition. Nevertheless, it is this architectural material that became marginal in his scholarship.[45]

Baxandall's thesis was supervised at the Warburg Institute by Ernst Gombrich and Gertrude Bing. Although both supervisors were formed by German art history, in Gombrich's case, as we have argued, there was a

strong reaction against the tradition's Wölfflinian and Rieglian tendencies. It was at this point, for Baxandall as with Steinberg, that the possibility of continuing the art-architecture nexus broke down. The thesis was not even completed. Paid work at the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A) was more urgent and quickly became more compelling (it was how he got involved with German Renaissance sculpture) and Baxandall would never publish an article on an architectural history subject throughout his career.

Why the break happened is a little unclear. Gombrich and Bing were not architecturally orientated, though Bing was a stringent and committed supervisor.[46] Rudolf Wittkower, who would seem a better fit for Baxandall's topic, if less sympathetic to his approach, had left the Institute in 1956. One wonders if the lack of an encompassing art-architecture historian at the Warburg following Wittkower's departure was both symptomatic and instrumental in the ending of the nexus. The Warburg was certainly not indifferent to architecture. Gombrich, the Institute's dominant presence after the war (he worked there from 1946 and was its director from 1959 to 1972), had written his PhD on the Palazzo del Te and his later book *The Sense of Order* (1979), which he believed to be his best work, has much discussion of the role of ornament in architecture. In a manner typical of his work, and not dissimilar to the *Kunstwissenschaft* tradition he otherwise criticized, Gombrich raided his examples in *The Sense of Order* from a huge range of media across history, but he also studiously avoided art-architectural theories. Instead, the decorative is understood as an expression of a universal human propensity, but this is a psychological, not a formal, need. The human organism is a gestalt sensor, 'reaching out towards the environment, not blindly and at random, but guided by its inbuilt sense of order'.[47] This idea of the turn to decoration as mirroring the mind's need for order can be understood in the context of Gombrich's alienation from the German tradition; its *Strukturanalyse* and its broader psychologizing tendencies, as well as its formalism, were all made intellectually suspect by his personal experience of anti-Semitism from some of its leading representatives.[48]

The Warburg Institute was thus a refuge from the course that *Kunstwissenschaft* had taken. Warburg himself had been largely indifferent to the art-architecture nexus, probably because its binding logic was the shared production of form and style. Warburg's own term for what he promoted was *Kulturwissenschaft*, in which no priority was given to any one medium or combination of media; his interest was not in what was essential to artistic expression but what was significant in cultural expression (the transmission of symbols, memory, and so on). Wittkower's position here, just as we saw in the 1930s, was interestingly poised. Although the typical Warburgian study of the migration of symbols was not really his forte, he did produce books with similarities to it like (with Fritz Saxl) *British Art and the Mediterranean* (1948), concerning the transfer of forms to a different time and place, and (with Margot Wittkower) *Born Under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of*

Artists (1963). But Wittkower was more of a Panofskian than a Warburgian. He was happier comparing architectural plans and relating them to intellectual discourses rather than other cultural practices, and these books were really diluted or unconceptualized versions of *Kulturwissenschaft*. He could also be Wölfflinian. Here are his words in 1953:

> If one is keyed up to the metrical discipline of buildings like S. Lorenzo or S. Spirito and tries to see as if through a screen the lines retreating towards the vanishing point and the quickening rhythm of the transversals, it is possible to evoke visual reactions similar to those which Renaissance people must have experienced … the difference between architecture and painting becomes one of artistic medium rather than of kind.[49]

Here, captured in one sentence, are the old theories of empathy and the art-architecture nexus remade so that they can point both to a history of seeing (to adapt Wölfflin) and to a relation with social circumstances. But like Wölfflin, Wittkower barely attempted the latter; that was the task that Baxandall set himself.

Reading Baxandall's published work, it becomes evident that we should not look for a trace or drag of his early architectural study on the later art historical work, as with Steinberg, but instead for a kind of teasing dance in which architecture always seems to be what we are about to see but whose full presence is always denied.[50] One might perhaps expect some of the unfinished PhD to turn up in Baxandall's first book, but *Giotto and the Orators* is disappointing on that score, with only passing discussion of architecture and none at all of Alberti's treatise (it is Alberti's other treatise, *De Pictura*, that features instead).[51] The work that eventually resulted in *The Limewood Sculptors* was started when Baxandall was working at the V&A, and again no special significance was given to architecture. The main locations for these sculptures are the often freestanding altars, whose sculptured retables are hinged complexes with predellas below and crowning superstructures above decorated with shrinework.[52] Baxandall is persuasively insightful on these altars and on how their subdivisions led to different characteristics in the sculpture located in their register; they are in effect microarchitectures. Tilman Riemenschneider's Altar of the Holy Blood (1499–1505, St James's, Rothenburg) is the most astonishing example of this kind of ensemble, named a 'gigantic monstrance' by Baxandall (Figure 2.4).[53] It is placed high and dry, its lithe upper frame gesturing into the air. Its light and elegant outer part is very different from the gravity-bound sculpture within the altar's retable, but the writhing shrinework between the two acts as some form of a link. Baxandall concedes that the qualities of the central area are best observed at 'middle distance', but apart from comments on changing light he makes nothing of distance and placement – so important in Steinberg's art history – and relations between the ensemble of the altar and the architecture of the church.[54] And so, while microarchitectures like

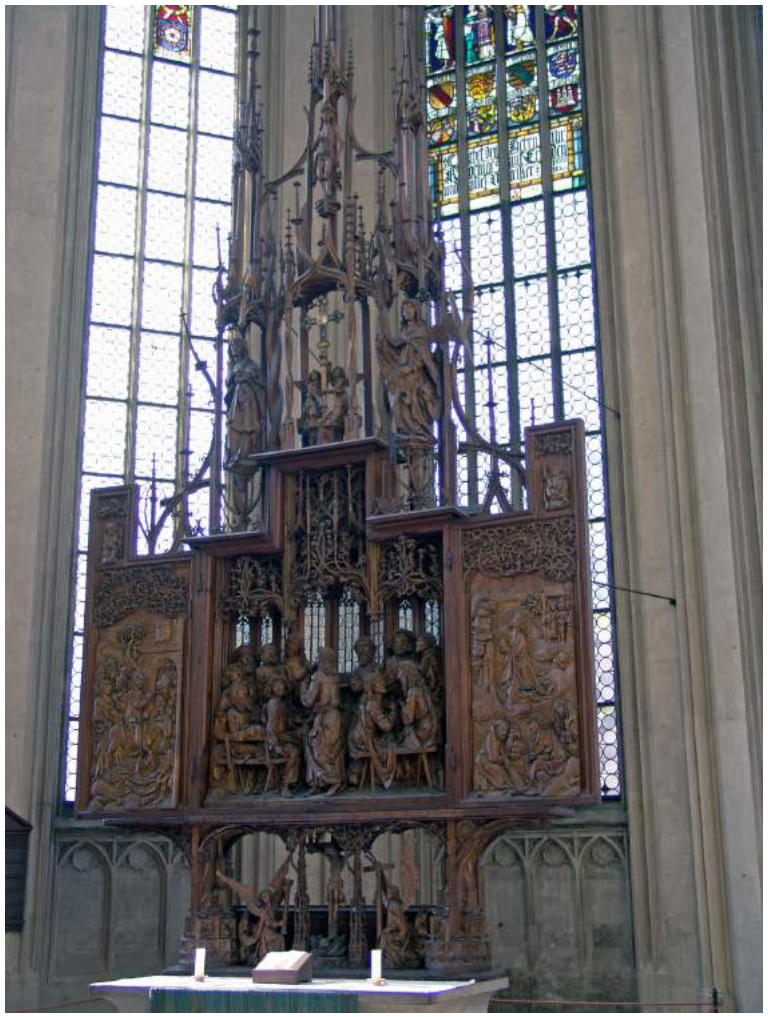


FIGURE 2.4 *Tilman Riemenschneider – Altar of the Holy Blood (1499–1505), St James's, Rothenburg. Wikimedia Commons.*

these are internally explored, their relations to larger architectural ensembles are ignored.[55] The reason, perhaps, is because Baxandall is not so much interested in environmental context and in what it might promise for an art-architecture analysis; instead, it is only there as part of the complex web of concerns that would have given form and sense to the sculpture.

Tiepolo was an artist who delighted in the challenges of painting on and within elaborate architectural settings. 'He worked', Baxandall and Alpers tell us, 'particularly well in places of passage. In a dead-end gallery in the Archbishop's Palace at Udine, in a grand kind of waiting-room in the palace

of the Clerici family in Milan, and over the great staircase in the Residenz at Würzburg he produced showplaces for his art.'[56] Such sites have the inbuilt demands of changing light, distance, and angle, but Tiepolo, so the argument goes, exploited these not as excuses for mere *trompe l'oeil* but in compositions that address viewers as physically mobile bodies within their spaces, demanding an equal intelligence from them. The ways in which architecture channels light, and how Tiepolo responded to these, are explored through Tiepolo's *The Institution of the Rosary* (1738–9) on the ceiling of Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice, and through his ceiling of the Treppenhaus (1751–2) in the Residenz at Würzburg.

These are surely two of the most brilliant discussions of painting and architecture – or perhaps it should be 'architecture' – as a reciprocal complex of real and represented light and shade in the writing of art history (Figure 2.5).[57] In the Treppenhaus the conditions of the site and commission were such, however, as to allow Tiepolo to produce something 'absolutely pictorial' within Balthasar Neumann's 'light theatre'.[58] Here, where tectonic and even spatial considerations are made irrelevant, we find Baxandall and Alpers drawn to the painter's 'sustained engagement with the relation of the two-dimensional to the three-dimensional' but, so they claim, only in the ideal conditions for that 'engagement' or 'argument' to be atectonic, to be remade so that it is only about 'painted plane and posited solid'.[59] In this reading, Tiepolo is the painter who dissolves architecture into paint. Where Wölfflin had once epitomized the balance between the two in his

FIGURE 2.5 *Giovanni Tiepolo – Ceiling of the Treppenhaus (1751–2) in the Residenz at Würzburg. Wikimedia Commons.*

frontispiece of the *Principles*, we now, by pointed contrast, find the same painting criticized by Baxandall and Alpers for the overdominant nature of its fictive painted architecture.[60] Through Tiepolo the authors entirely reset the terms of the German tradition, so that now it is only the balance *within* painting that matters.

Similarly, in *Shadows and Enlightenment* the study of shadows for architectural and engineering purposes (known as skiagraphy, or sciography) is firmly pushed to one side. Baxandall is determined to explore the subtleties of the visual experience and representation of shadows, and makes it clear that this is about the qualities of perception, not the more geometric affair of utilizing shadow projection for architectural purposes. A considerable institutional effort was invested into developing the skills of skiagraphy in the eighteenth century, but it was an effort directed, as Baxandall argues, to pedagogic and reproductive ends and the effects are perceptually crude in their subservience to linear perspective and their disinterest in the inner form of shadows.[61] Skiagraphy was essentially conventional, as opposed to the exploratory and observational work done by artists and the speculative thinking of philosophers that Baxandall prefers. This is why only a handful of pages are given to architectural shadows. But if, despite its prestige, 'the shadow world of sciography was narrow',[62] the exclusion of other ways of showing shadows in the representations of landscapes, cities and architecture, is also notable; this is essentially a study of shadows in bodies, draperies and objects. Again, as in *Tiepolo*, the implicit argument is that the subtleties of painting, its instinctive and empirical energies, are the obverse of the world of architecture, supposedly theory-led, rationalizing, and technical.[63]

It might be said of *The Limewood Sculptors*, *Shadows and Enlightenment*, and *Tiepolo* that sculpture and painting are expressive loci for the sensibilities and intelligence of their respective societies. The texts could never be accused of narrow overspecialization, yet architecture is conspicuously avoided. It would be churlish to criticize these books, surely among the stellar productions of the discipline, with their remarkable openness to lines of enquiry and speculation, for not doing what they clearly don't set out to do. But there is a pattern here. In all these instances there are more than passing opportunities to engage with architecture; it is inherent in the subject being written about. Yet none of these possibilities are developed into something more synoptically ambitious in terms of the old art-architecture nexus. Baxandall had a wider reluctance to engage directly with questions of the state of the discipline, preferring to hold by a 'conviction that one can seek clarity only by remaining in the shadows'.[64] Yet perhaps it is as if the tradition is being teased. The horse carries its rider to the fence but refuses to jump, if for very good reasons of its own.

The most blatant example of the refusal of architecture occurs in the chapter 'The Period Eye' in *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (1972). Effectively the manifesto chapter of the book, this is Baxandall's most influential piece of writing. Its first pages tell us how the ocular data in

paintings is given meaning through a historically specific 'stock of patterns, categories, habits of inference and analogy'. And the first example is an architectural plan of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, as drawn for a fifteenth-century description of the Holy Land (Figure 2.6). Understanding this as a plan at all, Baxandall argues, depends on 'habits of inference and analogy' such as knowing about Euclidean geometry, knowing about conventions of architectural representation, and having experience of related architectural forms. We grasp the argument quickly, despite the fact that to modern eyes – or 'cognitive styles' – the drawing at first sight lacks the conventions that make modern plans seem logical. But if architecture heads Baxandall's manifesto statement, it is also now left off stage, in the margins; it stays a possibility unexplored, perhaps precisely because the German tradition was simply too loaded, too freighted with infra-disciplinary disputes to be useful at this point. Piero della Francesca's *Annunciation* fresco is next up, a painting divided into lucid quarters by its represented architectural setting. But, apart from a brief point about understanding recession by understanding perspective, that is the last architecturally related point of this influential chapter. The rest is about the interpretative skills brought to painting from Renaissance understanding of sermons, its language of gestures, ways of grouping figures through conventions of dance, the significance accorded to colours, and ways of measuring or 'gauging' commodities. 'Renaissance people were … on their mettle before a picture,' Baxandall writes.[65] And surely they were equally on their mettle before a building, which was just as continuous with other aspects of their sociocultural life.

But perhaps not. Looking through Baxandall's most sustained theoretical book, *Patterns of Intention* (1985), another enticement catches the architectural eye. This is the double page of plates with which we started this chapter. The images actually serve two different chapters in the book. One of these, on the Forth Bridge and its engineer, Benjamin Baker, seems on the face of it to offer Baxandall's most substantial writing about architecture. In his introduction Baxandall declared his interest in the relation between

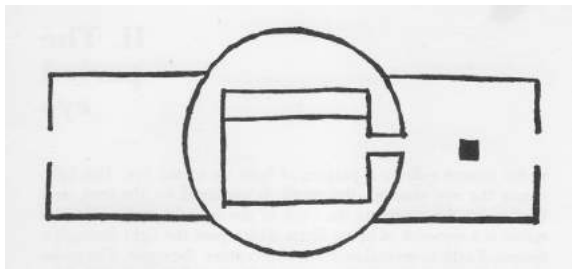


FIGURE 2.6 *Plan of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, from Santo Brasca,* Itinerario … di Gerusalemme *(1481). As reproduced in Michael Baxandall,* Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy, *1972. Photograph by Mark Crinson.*

historical explanation and description, a relation understood as problematic because description is already an act of interpretation. The bridge chapter is a particular aspect of this, a particular testing out of the relation between explanations based on general laws (nomological) and those based on the reconstruction of particular human purposes or agency (teleological). The bridge is a negative example, meant to demonstrate how such an object involves a different 'pattern of explanation' from pictures which have 'special difficulties and peculiarities'.[66] To do this Baxandall itemizes twenty-four 'causes of or in the Forth Bridge'.[67] Only some of these are deemed similar to the 'causes' of an art object, and these are found to belong principally to the form of the bridge and the agency of its maker, but also to its physical medium, the history of the art of bridge-building, and what Baxandall only reluctantly calls the 'aesthetic' (principally because it can be related to a Victorian discourse on expressive functionalism).[68]

As others have pointed out, Baxandall's writing about the Forth Bridge is infused by concepts with multiple relevant meanings: of 'alloying', of 'design', of 'pattern', and of 'charge' (as in brief or programme). These seem chosen so that they have the allusive effect of metaphors or puns.[69] To these concepts we should add 'medium' and perhaps most critically, the concept of 'form', as in 'why the bridge has the form it does'.[70] Accordingly, also, Baker begins to be called the 'designer' (who came up with 'forms'), as if this has more compatibility with the artist than our usual associations with engineer would.[71] The result is to infer that Baker's engineering decisions may be closer to Picasso's painterly decisions, and to infer this while evoking those old German *Kunstwissenschaft* notions. The whole thing, down to the very choice of a bridge, is a 'bridging' perhaps even a 'cantilevering' out from one form of culture to another, and given that one of Baxandall's main points in the book concerns the problems of critical language, these punning concepts are surely intended. And yet the connection, the bridging, is ultimately a false one, Baxandall contends, because Baker's bridge remains always a 'solution' to a 'problem'; form is here a 'rational way of attaining an inferred end', not the result of some shared will or spirit.[72] By contrast, Picasso's work cannot be broken down into a sequence of phased processes, nor was there any 'charge' or 'brief' generating his work. Cantilevering out from the art bank and the architecture bank, we find a gap over the middle of the river, the abyss only superficially bridged by naming both sides 'purposeful objects', a term that could include almost any human work.[73]

To take a different perspective on Baxandall's work, we could ask what impact his key concept of the 'period eye' has had on architectural history. It is in some senses a refinement on Wölfflin's dicta that 'seeing itself has its history,'[74] but it rejects any reduction to *Zeitgeist* claims and is sharply focused on the specific relation between historically located forms of understanding – dancing, preaching, measuring, for instance – and how these vernacular cognitive skills may relate to shared understanding of what is represented in paintings. The idea depends on a distinction between the

physiological constants of human vision and those aspects of vision which are culturally specific. So, for instance, many Florentine middle-class boys learnt a form of commercial mathematics that enabled them later as merchants to gauge the volume contained in a sack or barrel. A related 'mercantile geometry' also ordered Piero della Francesca's paintings, in which certain stock objects would trigger the same gauging skills: a painted pavilion, for instance, would invite the viewer to estimate its contained volume.[75] The architectural implications are surely far-reaching, and yet they have barely affected architectural history. Marvin Trachtenberg is one who has used the 'period eye', if in a limited way, in arguing that the complexity of a Florentine trecento public space like the Piazza della Signoria would have been understood by some contemporaries through such gauging, converting irregular bodies into geometric forms for the purpose of pricing. Thus, trecento planners would know that their public, sharing the same education as them, would see geometry within the forms of an irregular planned square or a proportional scheme governing the space.[76] Similarly, some articles by John Onians, a student of Baxandall's, have taken the period eye into the idea of particular urban characterology – a Florentine eye or one specific to Rimini or Mantua.[77]

A more problematic engagement with the period eye has been its transformation into so-called 'neuroarthistory', in which the culturally specific forms of cognition that Baxandall insisted upon (the 'experience', the 'different knowledge and skills of interpretation' evolved in the 'daily life of society') have now been marginalized in favour of their 'neurological transformation'.[78] The neural apparatus is understood to trump the social experience, to be ultimately determining of it, in a move that strips away those visual and linguistic and historically specific aspects of Baxandall's work that make it so significant.[79]

It may be, as Adrian Rifkin has suggested, that the period eye is not a canonical method at all and that Baxandall's work eludes such generalizable usages.[80] Or perhaps, as T. J. Clark argued, that the period eye was insufficiently concerned with the real power, the real conflicts between different groups in society; 'experience', its reigning term, was a way of blurring social differences rather than investigating their effects on the artwork.[81] But even if Clark and Rifkin were right, we would still expect the very suggestiveness of the concept to have drawn architectural historians towards it.

There is some irony, of course, in placing Baxandall and Steinberg's work under the rubric of the unconscious. Although their work was highly considered, and deliberately attempted to eliminate the expressive or Mannerist aspects of the German tradition's later forms, it also aspired, as Krautheimer saw, to those deep analytical claims that were typical of the German tradition. The action of turning away from the art-architecture nexus, of leaving architecture behind, was bound up as much with the dispersal of the tradition's practitioners as with the late forms that it had

taken. Perhaps it was too abrupt a disavowal, too much of a split within their own intellectual careers as well as in the tradition they inherited; architecture was bound to re-emerge. The issue was rather the question of whether both the latency and the re-emergence might be productive. We need not take the metaphor too far. Freud, it might be remembered, preferred to use 'unconscious' to terms like 'concealed' or 'inaccessible' because it gave him 'more freedom of movement' to identify the effects of submersion (or 'repression'), to acknowledge the dynamic at work in the mind where the conscious and unconscious sometimes operate separately and sometimes together.[82] We have argued that architecture's submersion produced a certain twist or impetus or undertow that contributes to Baxandall and Steinberg's distinctive historiographical position. But while their achievements were quite distinct, they were also exemplary. Whether you were an art historian who gained new leverage on your artistic subject from an architectural turn, or one who seemed to tease the reader with the thwarted possibilities of architectural readings, you knew with these pivotal writers that you had moved into a new phase of the discipline. The German tradition, and its art-architecture nexus, was now behind you, part of the disciplinary history. The diaspora of art historians had occurred. Prominent voices now argued against the tradition's formative figures, linking their ideas with discredited ideologies. Disciplinary ambition was now to be reshaped and redirected.

3

Modernism – Institutional and phenomenal

A large empty panel dominates the street façade of the Villa Schwob, an early building by Le Corbusier in his home town of La Chaux-de-Fonds in Switzerland (Figure 3.1). The panel stares out like an open-air cinema screen or a never-used advertising hoarding. It fascinated the architectural critic Colin Rowe, who felt both 'ravished and immensely irritated' by it.[1] It was an 'unrelieved, blank, white surface', an 'immaculate rectangle', framed by 'mouldings … of an extreme finesse … lucid and complex'. Rowe felt compelled to explain the incongruous and disturbing flatness of the motif, a visual statement that seemed both conclusive and empty. Drawing on Rowe's later essays, one can say that it was especially the panel's 'systematically opposite values', the way that the architectural device takes on the qualities of a two-dimensional plane, perhaps even a painting, denying space at the same time it exists as a statement set between the everyday street and the spaces of the house within, like a barrier, that fascinated Rowe and continued as an obsession in his writing. The panel was a premonition, unacknowledged by Le Corbusier but embraced by Rowe, of the priority of the flat before the spatial.[2]

If this is formalism, it is of a curiously perverse kind, and it literalizes the components of the art-architecture nexus rather than reverting to the old formulas of fusion. Like all that plural range of approaches we call formalism, Rowe's version is little concerned with explanatory contexts beyond the object. But where we might expect a fixation on the supposed medium-specificity of the object and its relation to other similar objects and their autonomous history, or a discipline-specificity in our way of addressing it and finding language appropriate to it, instead our attention is drawn to an imminent disturbance, even sabotage, of such notions; although it is a building, we are looking at something of almost unmitigated flatness – effectively, an empty picture. In Rowe's moment of panel fixity we can observe the coincidence of Mannerism's arrival as an art historical subject

FIGURE 3.1 *Le Corbusier – Villa Schwob (1912–16), La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland. Photograph by Richard J. Williams.*

with Modernism's arrival in architecture.[3] Here it also helps to introduce the issue of Modernism and disciplinary autonomy, and for this we need to take some account of Modernism's institutional history as well as the nuances of theory and analysis.

Modernism's appearance in the early twentieth century, and its subsequent development, both had a dramatic impact on relationships between architectural history and art history, and it is perhaps this process as much as any that marks the separation between these two disciplines. It is through Modernism that the various arts – painting, architecture, sculpture, photography, the graphic arts, film-making – begin fully to define their sense of autonomy, along with the concomitant industrialization of that separation in the form of institutions, publishing programmes, and education. Yet many of Modernism's early forms were hostile to any such separation. Modernism implied a synthesis or at least an interaction of the arts, and by implication a synthesis of academic disciplines along with the institutions to promote that synthesis. But as we will see, a certain type of Modernism did more in the end to separate the disciplines. Key to understanding that is the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), founded in New York in 1929. More than any other institution in the world, MoMA established the rules for how Modernism was to be understood, and how its values were to be disseminated.[4] This chapter explores the tension between these things found in Modernism, in

events around the founding of MoMA, then in its iconic 1932 exhibition Modern Architecture, and then in the elaboration of medium-specificity by the Modernist critic Clement Greenberg. The final and longest part of the chapter, however, belongs to Colin Rowe. In some ways Rowe might seem a typical Modernist writer, devoted to one discipline, little interested in anything other than formal analysis even if he did call on historical parallels. And yet, we argue, through pushing the perception of form to its limits, his writing destabilizes the notion of autonomy and the separation of the arts.

Modernism's syntheses

Modernism, however it is defined, was markedly intermedial in its early period and this continued as a strong feature in the work of key Modernists like Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier throughout their careers. The interlinking of media is strongly present as an idea in Futurism as well, and (as we see elsewhere in this book) it was precisely this that made it such an appealing topic for the architectural historian and critic Reyner Banham. Futurism was, he argued, a tendency that ranged liberally across the arts, and therefore discussion of it ought not to be confined to any of those arts.[5] Thinking more directly about architecture, Le Corbusier's *Vers Une Architecture* (1922) is a work that is as much about a trans-medial attitude, or state of mind, as it is specifically about architecture. Its illustrations include examples of industrial design expressive of a modern attitude – cars and aircraft, bottles and pipes, ships and grain elevators – proclaiming that both ordinary objects and advanced engineering could be more advanced in sensibility and form than works of art and architecture. At an institutional level, the original Bauhaus imagined its students coming to architecture only after an absorption in materials, forms and colours, problem-solving, and workshop crafts. And both the Dutch De Stijl group and the Russian Constructivists derived much of their radical momentum from their avid intermediality. Of course, Modernism's intermediality is not the same thing as the academic interdisciplinarity that haunts this book, but it is closely related, and the art historians like Banham who ranged most freely across the boundary between art, design, and architecture were also often the ones drawn to Modernism.

Of all the institutions that were created to promote Modernism, MoMA is certainly the most enduring and successful. Its place in developing and then disseminating useable histories and concepts of Modernism through exhibitions, public events, and catalogues is beyond question. Established in 1929, by a trio of exceptionally wealthy arts patrons with a taste for the modern, it set out to build a collection for the nation, something with the supposed onward flow of a 'river' or even the targeted motion of a 'torpedo'.[6] The first director was Alfred H. Barr (1902–81), who had arrived after Princeton and Harvard, followed by a spell at Wellesley College where he

taught a remarkable and unprecedented course on modern art. The lack of teaching materials in the field meant that students were asked to pay special attention to the news media for items on any of the visual arts, and to observe industrial architecture on the way to class.[7] Students were encouraged to think in a synthetic way, relating abstraction in art to 'architecture, theater, films, decorative arts, typography and commercial art'.[8]

Barr visited Europe in late 1927–8, seeing all of the key sites of architectural Modernism, including, in early December that year, four days at the Bauhaus where he consolidated his interest in a synthetic approach to the visual arts. At the Bauhaus he met Walter Gropius, then director, as well as Josef Albers, Herbert Bayer, Marcel Breuer, Lionel Feininger, Wassily Kandinsky, Lázló Moholy-Nagy, and Oskar Schlemmer.[9] He left, according to his biographer, 'bedazzled' by it all.[10] Barr continued the journey to the USSR, where he spent three months. He was unimpressed by the quality of contemporary architecture there, complaining of the plumbing, workmanship, and design flaws – but the USSR, he wrote, was nevertheless at that time the 'most important place to be in the world'.[11] Whatever it was, it was a place where art had a defined place in the service of society at large, and everything Barr would do over the next few years in his teaching career and then at MoMA would reinforce this idea. In terms of the present argument, Barr's early experiences demonstrate the potential of a synthetic Modernism in which both design and dissemination would be untroubled by disciplinary boundaries.

Equally important as an observer of this synthetic Modernism was the future architect Philip Johnson, whom Barr met in 1929 through the architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock.[12] By the time Barr met him, Johnson had completed studies in Classics at Harvard and had spent much of 1929 and 1930 touring Europe, where he had made a point of visiting as many of the sites of modern architecture as possible, including a visit to the Bauhaus. In the exceptionally detailed letters he wrote back to his family, he imagined a highly synthetic Modernism with architecture integral to the whole. He described, breathlessly, his experiences in southern Germany:

> Frankfort was wonderful as an art center and with great Modern suburbs, what the Germans call seedlings [*sic*]. Wonderful modern French painting was found in all the galleries. Koln I did not like except for the German primitives. The cathedral is of course bad. Dusseldorf was most attractive on the Rhein and with great American streets and American looking buildings and people. But Essen we loved. Like Pittsburgh but with no dirt and plenty of trees and wonderful modern buildings. The best modern museum and advanced ideas of regional planning of the Ruhr. The whole attitude of the city architects was most hospitable and charming.[13]

Here, Johnson's understanding of Modernism moves seamlessly through the disciplines and the centuries from Frankfurt's Siedlungen suburbs,

to Impressionist painting, to German medieval painting, to industrial architecture, to city planning: It is all of a piece, the city as a work of art (tellingly, he also saw Dziga Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera*).[14]

Back in New York, Barr was appointed director of the new MoMA. His first significant decision was to bring all the visual arts together within his 'Multi-Departmental Plan'. The plan, a radical one, abolished the idea of national schools and periods.[15] Initiated in June 1930, with the new Department of Architecture under Johnson formed in 1932, this two-year period was crucial in creating a version of Modernism in which the arts were made equal yet separate. By 1940, the museum also had departments of film (originally founded in 1935 as the film library) and photography. Again, although these media were thus represented in the museum, by having separate curators there were not only job descriptions that required allegiance to one medium, but also a structural administrative tension built into the Modernist idea of synthesis.

During Johnson's first period at the Museum, 1930–4, he staged eight exhibitions, starting with Modern Architecture: International Exhibition (curated with Hitchcock). In total, these exhibitions made up around a quarter of the exhibitions as a whole.[16] The group exhibitions, in particular, are landmarks of architectural history. Of them, certainly the most significant is Modern Architecture, which ran from 10 February to 23 March 1932, before embarking on a tour of the United States that would last into 1939.[17] It was accompanied by a catalogue, *Modern Architecture*, and a book, *The International Style*, written by Johnson and Hitchcock and published shortly following the exhibition. Modern Architecture was not the most successful of MoMA's early exhibitions, nor was it universally well received, but it had sustained impact on both the architectural profession and the public understanding of Modernism. In relation to the present argument, with MoMA's Multi-Departmental Plan, it also went a long way towards establishing new disciplinary boundaries. Here was, on the one hand, a museum treating architecture seriously as an object of study, giving it over to a department set up specifically to care for it. On the other hand, the very separation of architecture from the other arts took it into another professional and critical realm. The creation of a separate department of architecture for MoMA, while elevating it, entrenched it in its own area of special competence, from which it need not speak to the other arts. What *Modern Architecture* prefigures, therefore, is the entrenched, 'high' modernism later associated with Clement Greenberg – Modernism as a tradition, even a defensive enclave.

Take, for example, the catalogue to Modern Architecture which is, like MoMA's *Cubism and Abstract Art* (1936), an exercise in classification. The catalogue follows the pattern of the exhibition, dividing the material into the main Modernists, the influence of Modernism globally, and a section on housing. Each of the main Modernists was represented by a single model; in the case of Le Corbusier, for example, the model represents the Villa Savoye of 1929–30, its inclusion helping to form the canon of Modernism.

What is notable is how emphatically the catalogue operates as an exercise in separating and distinguishing architecture from the other arts: How formal architecture appears here, how restrained it is, and how little it speaks to the excited chaos of the tendencies in the other arts, even at the level of classification. Barr's famous diagram explaining the evolution of modern art for *Cubism and Abstract Art* has a numinous quality, its shimmering lines describing a world in which everything was connected to everything else. Crucially, the diagram locates 'modern architecture' as a separate category by placing it within a box and late in the sequence of artistic events and movements. Modern Architecture, even more so, is committed to a model in which architecture is bounded, separated, and professionalized, a mode with little if anything to do with what was happening in the other parts of the museum. The main part of the catalogue judges architecture on purely formal grounds, each building analysed as a composition by Hitchcock. His treatment of the Villa Savoye analyses it using language that oscillates between abstract descriptive terms and terms with recognizable architectural or constructional referents. He writes,

> The composition in plan and elevation of the Savoye House is more elastic than at Garches and yet brought entirely within a single rectangle […] the general form has a crystalline clarity but the rooms are arranged in relation to the open terrace of the living floor as freely and as easily as if on the ground. The ribbon windows first used in the Ozenfant House are here carried all around the block a device made possible by cantilever construction. Yet they are stopped at the actual corners in order that the bounding line of the general volume may not be broken. The isolated pier construction which became prominent at Garches is here used throughout. The round concrete piers and the beams they support are handled with an elegance which recalls at once the stone supports of the early Gothic and Mies's chrome sheathed steel piers at Barcelona and Brno. In such details Le Corbusier from the first has shown a finesse beyond the realm of mere taste. But here such things are perfectly co-ordinated and restrained where on earlier houses they were often unduly prominent. Le Corbusier does not at Poissy depend on the interest of surfaces of natural materials […] the painted color at Poissy is at once restrained and full of interest. Most important is the strong contrast of dark and light not of black and white but of dark green below and cream above with dark chocolate window trim. Then on the roof shelter whose functional and structural requirements are so slight as to justify an absolutely free treatment the pale rose and pale blue emphasize the adjustment of the curved and straight planes.[18]

Here, Hitchcock searches for a formal language specific to architecture alone; the building is a composition of a set of volumes and solid elements, as well as materials (steel, stone, glass) that are specifically architectural;

and the whole project is discussed in relation to an existing lineage of architecture that extends back into history ('early Gothic') as well as the present ('Mies'). It is a serious, systematic enterprise. All buildings are given equal treatment with a formal analysis, accompanied by two plans and a black-and-white photograph.

With little exception, MoMA had established a place in which architecture was displayed purely to emphasize its aesthetic dimensions, with the objects reduced to pictures on walls and objects on pedestals.[19] Something was lost, Mary-Anne Staniszewski writes: 'The "other" aspects of modern architecture and design which created a more subtle, imbricated understanding of art and life were banished somewhere within the unconscious of the Museum.'[20]

Greenberg – the limits of Modernism

MoMA's practices in the early 1930s are important for our argument, because they made public a set of debates about the place of architecture in the wider visual arts. Architecture's formal incorporation as a department in the Museum in 1932 was part of a desire for inclusivity, but at the very moment of its inclusion, of its valuation as an object in its own right, institutional circumstances meant that it was also separated out, with consequences for the historical understanding of the disciplines of architectural history and history of art. MoMA on the one hand saved architecture for art, but in saving it, it also defined it as 'other'. That was, we suggest, an inadvertent consequence of its actions, but it was bolstered by critical activity of the time which sought both to refine the meaning of Modernism and to push it to its limits. Before we get to Colin Rowe, some mention must be made of Clement Greenberg (1909–94) whose work also marks this turn inward.

In the Anglosphere, there are few critics more closely associated with the concept and definition of Modernism than Greenberg who began writing art criticism in the late 1930s, was closely involved in the definition and promotion of American abstract painting in the 1950s and 1960s, and was a significant influence on later critics including Michael Fried and Rosalind Krauss. It should be said that Greenberg wrote nothing about architecture. There are a few words here and there, but no extended treatment of it, not even as a stage for art, as in, say, the museum. Its absence helps explain the decision of such Greenberg-oriented art historians later on to focus their anthologies and studies on art.[21] What Greenberg wrote about Modernism epitomized the 'bureaucratisation of the senses', as Caroline Jones has named it; his critical practice, and the world view that emerges from it, maps closely onto MoMA's institutional framework.[22]

Greenberg's first significant attempt to theorize Modernism was the essay 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch', published in 1939 in the left-leaning cultural journal *Partisan Review*, and which aimed to define the avant-garde's place in the world of the late 1930s.[23] Avant-garde culture was fundamentally

about '[keeping] culture *moving* in the midst of ideological confusion and violence'.[24] It would do this via a relentless and open-ended project of self-criticism, in which avant-garde artists would, in effect, 'retire from public' in order to maintain the high level of their art by both narrowing it and raising it to the expression of an absolute in which all relativities would either be resolved or ruled as beside the point. This withdrawal from the world in order to focus on art itself would produce an art that, in effect, lacked subject matter other than itself. Avant-garde culture, in other words, wrote Greenberg, was a culture that depended on imitation – but it was fundamentally alive because it was a culture of self-criticism. 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch' is strikingly pessimistic, however: There's no ecstatic embrace of technology, no sense of Modernism as open or inclusive. Instead, Modernism is grimly resistant, a narrowing, inward-looking, ever more specialized tendency set in opposition to the surrounding culture.

Twenty-one years later, in very different circumstances, Greenberg was arguing along some of the same lines in the essay 'Modernist Painting', which set out again to establish the value of Modernism as a whole, and painting in particular. Threatened with assimilation, 'like religion, to therapy', the arts needed to dig in, discovering whatever was most characteristic of those arts in order to resist absorption. They needed to show what they alone could do, what they alone could provide, and not some other activity. In the essay's most famous passage, Greenberg wrote of Modernism's tendency towards 'purity', a state achieved via relentless self-definition and the elimination 'from the specific effects of each art any and every effect that might conceivably be borrowed from or by the medium of any other art'. 'Purity', he continued, 'meant self-definition and the enterprise of self-criticism in the arts became one of self-definition with a vengeance'.[25]

Here is a definition of Modernism entirely dependent on disciplinary boundaries and their policing, based on the capacities unique to each art form. But for Greenberg the Modernist project in painting was not only about an increasing attention by artists to the limit terms of their art, but also a training and focusing of the viewer's perception on the strictly optical, cutting out imaginative projection in favour of what the eye alone can do. This idea had its roots in Kant's first *Critique* (1781) and in Gotthold Lessing's *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry* (1766), and it can be found in August Schmarsow's theory about how the arts each relate in a different way to the human body (the vertical axis of the body was sculpture's sphere of concern, the horizontal axis that of painting, and the body's movement across space was the realm of architecture).[26] Directly relevant here too, was Alfred Barr's advice to the public who, when encountering modern architecture, must make 'parallel adjustments to what seems new and strange' in order to appreciate Modernism's transparency and lightness, its industrial repetition, open plans, and abstract unornamented surfaces.[27]

'Self-criticism', as Greenberg called it, is the opposite of the synthesis that fed many of the initial 1920s projects of Modernism in Europe. In

addition, Greenberg cast the other arts, particularly architecture, in a newly negative light. In 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch' architecture is there at the beginning – 'republican architecture' as a negative example of rearguard culture. And there again at the end, doing the same job – Mussolini, he notes, built no shortage of Modernist apartment buildings, a subterfuge, he suggested, to disguise the regime's regressive politics.[28] Architecture at both moments plays the role of foil for art, a regression on the one hand, and a dissimulating cloak or disguise on the other. (This will become very familiar in our chapter on *October*).

Greenbergian Modernism sought to entrench not only disciplinarity, but also a selective and teleological idea of history, in which tradition was essential. Greenberg famously concluded the 1939 essay: 'Today we look to socialism *simply* for the preservation of whatever living culture we have right now.'[29] That use of the word 'preservation' will later lose any socialist link, telling of the complete transformation of the Modernist project from an outward-looking, synthetic one, to an inward-looking one, focused if anything on a project of disaggregation. The art historian T. J. Clark described Greenberg's project in 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch' as one of 'Eliotic Trotskyism', a Marxist project conditioned by despair at the state of the contemporary world under capitalism and a consequent desire to protect art's creativity from that world. A 'serious and grim picture', wrote Clark, it was essentially defensive.[30] His 'Eliotic stronghold' (as Clark described it) had no place for architecture (at least not until Manfredo Tafuri).[31]

Greenberg-oriented histories of Modernism continued the disciplinarity of their subject. So where Greenberg showed no interest in architecture, apart from as the occasional foil, so do they – it is more or less entirely absent from Harrison and Wood's now-ubiquitous compilation *Art in Theory*, and as we will see in a later chapter, it occupies a marginal and largely negative space in the work of the journal *October* and its circle.

Rowe – seeing depth

Greenberg's Modernism had its architectural equivalents, and one of the most prominent might seem to be the British-born, American-domiciled architectural writer and teacher Colin Rowe (1920–99). Both Mary McLeod and Anthony Vidler have written of this correspondence, which exists as a comparison in the world of criticism rather than any actual intellectual engagement between the two.[32] Unlike Greenberg, Rowe had no popular audience for his criticism, no broad public. But he did, like Greenberg with artists, have the ear of many contemporary architects. Neither critic made any claim to be both an architectural and art historian, though both exerted enormous influence on each of these now largely separated disciplines. For both, Modernism provided the grounds for their formalism; even if their writing was not restricted to Modernist objects, it could be said that they

made those objects over into Modernist experiences. Both critics regarded Modernism as a unified set of phenomena; both understood that a break had occurred between the contemporary moment and Modernism earlier in the century (though they attributed it to different causes: Greenberg to mass culture, Rowe to generational change); and both understood Modernism as having deep roots in formal traditions long before twentieth-century art and architecture (in other words, it neither was revolutionary nor limited by zeitgeist theory). If history was of concern to both critics it was as the history of a formal tradition which, in a fundamental difference, Greenberg saw as unfolding with immanent logic while Rowe understood it more in terms of parallels across time or continuing modes of refined architectural conception. Modernism, of a very particular kind, was thus both the context and the justification for formalism, whether applied to objects of Modernist designation or projected back to non-Modernist objects.[33] Finally, both would agree in understanding the optical, the act of seeing, as the realm of critical knowledge. While Rowe was concerned with the relation between optical experience and mental concept,[34] Greenberg's opticality was a radically purifying exercise, so that all that was extraneous to optical experience was excluded. Unlike Greenberg, though, Rowe's criticism drew deeply upon the German art historical tradition and, in similar ways to Steinberg and Baxandall, it invested what it had to say about one medium with an extraordinary sense of the other's spectral presence. At its best its self-critique is so exacting in its analytical procedure that the very notion that self-critique upholds disciplinary autonomy ends up becoming questionable.

From 1945 to 1947 Rowe was supervised by Rudolf Wittkower for an MA at the Warburg Institute, writing on 'The Theoretical Drawings of Inigo Jones'. Close to his supervisor's Palladian interests – Palladio's English uptake, the writing of treatises, the architect as intellectual (translated into 'intellectualism' in Jones's case) – the thesis is an attempt to understand a group of Jones's drawings as the 'suggestion of preconceived system', specifically as 'preliminary studies for … a theoretical work on architecture' which never eventuated.[35] The brilliant formal analyses of Rowe's first published essays is evident in embryo here in the introductory parts of the thesis (its main body is given over to catalogue-type notes on the drawings). The façade of the Banqueting House, for instance, was described as a matter of delicate advances and recessions, and an equivalent engraving by Palladio of the Palazzo Thiene as a series of precise planar contrasts creating a rhythm across the façade and '[interrupting] the logic of the rusticated wall'.[36] The critical lexicon of interruption, 'provocation', the 'disruptive', the 'tamed', and the 'ambiguous' (all on page 32), or of 'discrepancy', 'disturbance', 'distraction', 'malaise', and 'overpowering' (all on page 44) would become typical of Rowe. This seems to derive from that loosely psychologized idea of 'Mannerist conflicts',[37] that, with little historical explanation, had fascinated many German art historians. Wittkower had studied with Wölfflin and was one of that group of art historians who brought German methods to Britain

in the 1930s and 1940s (he was also one of the very few early modern architectural historians read by young architects at this time).[38] Rowe certainly read Wölfflin during his MA, as evidenced in the comparative method and close visual analyses of his essay 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa' (1947).[39] The essay was centred on the diagrammatic similarities, in the proportions and dispositions of plans and elevations, between Palladio's and Le Corbusier's villas. Rowe later admitted these Wölfflinian dynamics in a 1973 addendum to the essay. Typically, he accepted the problems of the Wölfflinian formal procedure (its neglect of iconography and content; its requirement to be 'symmetrical' in its comparisons; the demands it made of the reader) while extolling its paradoxical virtues (of appealing to the visible and, thereby, its accessibility).[40] Wölfflin's influence would prove to be longer sustained than Wittkower's. Rowe, we will suggest, retained the cross-disciplinary mode as a means of questioning the claims of autonomy while concentrating almost exclusively on architecture.

In Rowe's writing the institutional version of formalism that MoMA and its curators had separated off from the 'content' of European modernism, now attained an entirely different level of imagination and rigour. Partly this was because it absorbed the influence of English formalist critics like Roger Fry, Adrian Stokes, and Geoffrey Scott; partly it was because of Rowe's art historical training in the German tradition; and partly too it was because these were related to the priorities of architects, or as Rowe called it 'studio language'.[41] All these were brought together in an almost fraught intensity of analysis poised around the difference and interdependence between pairs of opposed concepts: the planar and the spatial, the material and the virtual, surface and depth, phenomenal and literal. 'Fraught intensity' is a term chosen to remind us of Rowe's early Mannerist interests, and one might say his neo-Mannerist language. It is not a characteristic normally associated with Rowe's mature prose, usually marked by its suaveness, its irony and allusiveness, not to mention the breadth of its cultural reference that set him so far apart from most other mid-twentieth-century Modernist architectural writers. And certainly, in essays of the 1950s and 1960s, there was something knowing about the way he played with Kantian ideas of self-critique as they had been transferred into Modernist art theory to mean painting that interrogated its own essential conditions. Will he, we readers anticipate, lead us the same way into a theory of architecture's essence; and won't that inevitably mean something about space? The tantalizing qualities of Rowe's essays often suggest this question; their continuing lesson, paradoxically, is that formalism cannot be made discipline specific.

The question of how to describe modernism's formal qualities was addressed from the beginning of Rowe's seminal essay, 'Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal' (written 1955–6, published 1963). Importantly, this was written in collaboration with the artist Robert Slutzky and concerned art almost as much as architecture. The Gideon-Hitchcock-Pevsner jargon of 'simultaneity', 'space-time', 'ambivalence', and other such terms was evasive

and approximate, Rowe and Slutzky declared, setting themselves to expose the ways one of those key terms, 'transparency', had been used. The point was about the means, the words, that make formal analysis efficacious; it was not so much to cleanse those words of their messy multiple references, as to understand better how these operated. Transparency was thus not just multivalent in its meanings, it was also contradictory; what was open and straightforward was also ambiguous, even deceptive. A provisional distinction was made: transparency as a literal quality of objects, and transparency as a quality of organization, 'a phenomenal or seeming transparency'.[42] Without rehearsing this well-known essay again, we can nevertheless pick out its central relevance for the art-architecture nexus.

Modern artists were the focus early in the essay. Moholy-Nagy was mentioned for his interest in a literal transparency that has metaphorical qualities. More crucially, Cézanne was discussed as an artist who (in one of his paintings of Mont Sainte Victoire) '[contracted] foreground, middleground and background into a distinctly compressed pictorial matrix', who tipped objects forward, who used colour for opaque and contrastive effects, and whose work intimated oblique and rectilinear grids.[43] Analytical Cubism of 1911–12 was shown to have taken over many of these characteristics, emphasizing the grid, pulling objects further apart and then reassembling them, and, most crucially, suggesting diagonal spatial recession but also denying it through devices implying frontality so that objects may simultaneously be placed in extended space and on the picture plane.[44] So far, so Greenbergian. But now the discussion began to break beyond autonomy. Transparency in Cubism was not just a property of those aspects of a painting that were translucent but also those that were opaque. It was a quality of space as much as of optics; in other words, transparency was not just evident when one could see through objects but also when one could simultaneously apprehend different depths of space: literal and phenomenal transparency. Examples of the former tended to be views or worlds perceived as if through another medium; they may be distorted but there was an inferred spatial consistency. The latter's examples, including work by Braque, Gris, and Léger, implied shallower space rather than space of any depth seen through another medium: Their space was 'equivocal' and often complex and ambiguous; they might be characterized as 'corrugated' or 'laterally extended' spaces often with different light sources but not requiring any actually perspicuous objects or materials within them. They have the qualities of transparency, then, without the literal means of transparency being present or necessary.[45]

These insights on modern art went beyond the formulations of interpenetration in Sigfried Giedion's work, which had largely until this point held sway as an explanation of links between Cubism and architecture.[46] With eloquence and analytical insight, Rowe and Slutzky demonstrated their deeper understanding as well as their knowledge of more recent scholarship on Cubism.[47] As a painter trained by Josef Albers and steeped

in Greenberg's formalism, Slutzky certainly brought acute perceptions of modern art into the collaboration, and it may appear that with Rowe as the architectural critic, trained in a mixture of Modernism and the Beaux-Arts at the Liverpool School of Architecture, the division of intellectual labour for the essay was straightforward.[48] But, as we have seen, Rowe was also invested in art history, particularly the German art historical tradition of Wittkower and Wölfflin.

By taking their observations about Cubism and extending them to architecture, Rowe and Slutzky's argument was a classic piece of *Kunstwissenschaft*; it was formalist without being medium specific, or rather, it treated both painting and architecture as related media. The characterization of Moholy-Nagy's work as concerned with 'materials and light' (literal transparency) and Léger's work as concerned with 'the structure of form' (phenomenal transparency) apparently made this extension plain, but unlike painting architecture was located in real space and was made up of actual three-dimensional objects. If its literal transparency was a physical fact, then phenomenal transparency was more fugitive and more challenging to describe. For the authors, it was barely worth noting the literal transparency, proclaimed by Giedion, of the Bauhaus workshop wing ('an ambiguous surface giving onto an unambiguous space')[49] but it was worth dwelling on Le Corbusier's Villa Stein at Garches and his League of Nations project (both of 1927). Rowe and Slutzky suggested that, in his design of the villa, Le Corbusier was as much concerned with the planar qualities of glass as with its transparency, and so glass was in dialogue with the wall rather than a replacement for it. When the elevation juxtaposed vertical and horizontal surfaces, the glass was as much part of that optical play as the wall. In short, although we can obviously see through this glass, that was not where its visual effects lay. Furthermore, in one of several subtle and suggestive observations, the authors found a transparent plane where none, literally, existed.[50] This was set up by a series of indicators in the rear and side walls at Garches – walls that stopped short of the edge of the rooftop garden, the recessed plane of the ground floor, glazed side doors – which all pointed to a 'slot of space' terminated by an imaginary plane.[51] Similarly, in the League of Nations, Rowe and Slutszky were concerned with what happened between the assembly building and the secretariat (Figure 3.2). Here certain lines were, by various landscaping devices, projected as continuing beyond the buildings; they suggested 'rifts' and 'slidings' around certain specific locations between the buildings, articulating a 'monumental debate'.[52] In short, 'space is crystalline' at the League of Nations, as against the 'crystalline translucence' of a more literally transparent building like the Bauhaus.[53]

What 'phenomenal' meant in all this, therefore, was something like 'suggestive' or 'implied', and certainly 'non-material'. No element of the building was passive; none could be taken as the expression only of what it literally was. There was a give and take, a proposing, and a taking away,

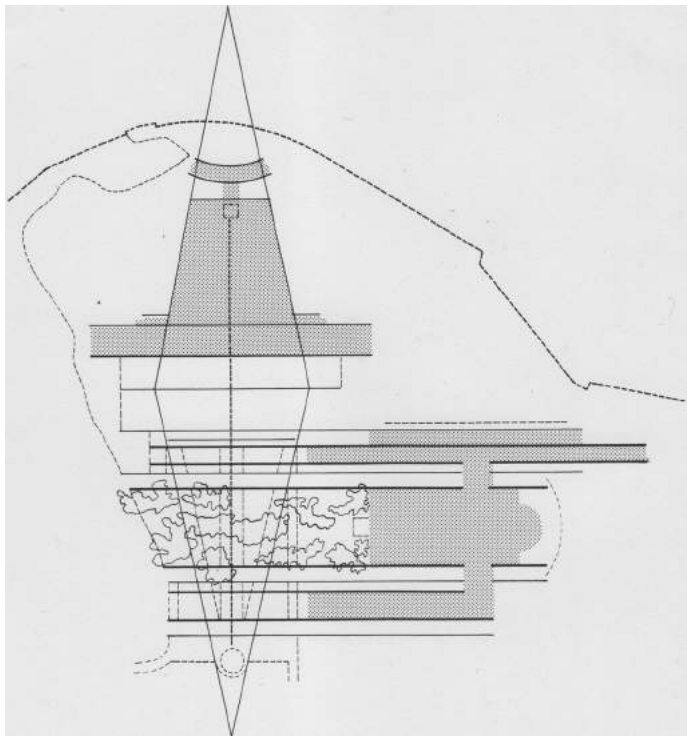


FIGURE 3.2 *Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky – Analytical diagram of Le Corbusier's Palace of the League of Nations (1927). Reproduced from Colin Rowe,* The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays*, 1976. Photograph by Mark Crinson.*

or what Rowe called a 'dialectic between fact and implication'.[54] One of the extraordinary effects of the theory of phenomenal transparency, therefore, was to open architectural analysis out onto the invisible, onto the occluded, and onto what was apprehended but not seen.[55] And just as the lessons seemed to come to Le Corbusier from Picasso, Braque, and Léger, so by implication the insights were transmitted from art history into architectural history.

The 'Transparency' essay may be better known but in a near contemporary essay Rowe captured a more fraught relation between art and architectural history and criticism, now without the discussion of any actual art, and in ways that were more speculative and more attentive to the ambiguities of the viewing subject. The 1962 essay 'Dominican Monastery of La Tourette, Eveux-Sur-Abresle' was about a complex of buildings by Le Corbusier consecrated in 1959 and located on sloping ground near the Lyonnais mountains. It was the tension between the two- and the three-dimensional that made this later essay, in particular its analysis of the monastery's north elevation, so compelling. Hanging over the essay was an epigraph

by Ortega y Gasset, from his *Meditations on Quixote* (originally published in 1914 and recently translated in 1961) on how depth always appeared through surface and how, accordingly, surface possessed two values, one material, the other virtual. To see depth, in other words, was to follow a surface through foreshortening (understood as affecting both vision and object). Even more relevant to Rowe here, if unacknowledged by him, was the contemporary philosophy of Maurice Merleau-Ponty that was committed to understanding depth in its fully existential presence, doing away with Cartesian preconceptions about it as a dimensioned aspect of space available to an all-knowing subject. Painting, if not architecture, was critical to Merleau-Ponty's idea of taking the body with us, lending the body to the world, as we experience it. If without the philosopher's emphasis on enfleshed space, it was as if Rowe was using La Tourette to develop these propositions in terms of the intensity of encounter with an actual building.

At first, Rowe presented what seemed to be a reprise of the Schwob blank panel (mentioned at the start of this chapter), now reiterated by Le Corbusier forty years later in the largely blank north wall of the monastery at La Tourette (Figure 3.3). And this north wall preoccupied Rowe for most of the essay's length. This was extraordinary for three reasons. First, Rowe dispensed with almost all the usual expectations of architectural criticism: Notably, he showed no interest in how the design developed, he barely paid

FIGURE 3.3 *Double page from Colin Rowe. 'Dominican Monastery of La Tourette, Eveux-sur-Arbresle, Lyons'*, Architectural Review, *129, June 1961. Photograph by Mark Crinson.*

lip service to describing the building in its entirety, and he had no interest in what Le Corbusier called the 'human program: the tough life of the preaching friars'.[56] Second, his fixation on the north wall at the lowest point of the site completely reversed Le Corbusier's well-known statement about designing the monastery from the inside out and from the top down: 'The composition begins with the roof line' the architect wrote, and 'touches the ground as best it can'.[57] Finally, and almost throughout the essay, Rowe asserted the 'un-manned' weakness of his own eye, caught in the fabric of Le Corbusier's world, reversing many of the Archimedean claims of the usually all-seeing critic, and again mirroring Merleau-Ponty's radical empirical doubt.[58]

The wall in question faced the visitor who approached from the nearby chateau, but this was not the building's entrance façade (by which we might normally be fixed or paused in space). The blank façade was not framed in any way to give it picture-like status, and we seem indeterminately placed in relation to it by the two photographs that show it in the article, one an aerial view, the other close to but without a sense of the ground (certainly not the road that leads past the east side of the façade). Somewhat peremptorily, Rowe supplied a location and an orientation: We have climbed a hill, arrived in a courtyard, and found the wall straight ahead. There was, too, something like the Acropolis here, he claimed sketchily, in 'a compounding of frontal and three-quarter views, an impacting of axial directions, a tension between longitudinal and transverse movements, above all the intersection of an architectonic by a topographical experience'.[59] We have arrived at that dismaying, cold-shouldering wall (Rowe's terms) and realized that if it is not an entrance façade we surely have to face it and move around it if we are to enter. Rowe has thus far, if a little half-heartedly, played the architectural guide, taking our hand, telling us how to feel, giving us a little architectural context, even if it is unclear whether we are really in front of the building or looking at photographs of it (Rowe had actually spent several days staying in the building in 1960).[60] Now, faced with the wall, it is as if we have been released into an art gallery, into a world of feelings in front of expressive marks. The wall is 'a vertical slash gashed by horizontal slots and relieved by a bastion supporting gesticulating entrails; an enigmatic plane which bears, like the injuries of time, the multiple scars which its maker has chosen to inflict upon it.' This evoked a Dubuffet or a Fautrier, or perhaps there was something sculptural, the Giacometti of the 1930s perhaps or contemporary Paolozzi, in those 'gesticulating entrails'. But Rowe avoided the obvious *Malerisch* link through the impasto surface qualities of the rough concrete. A different literalness was in play. There was 'blankness' again here, and an odd feeling of incomprehension perhaps as the entrails 'quiver like the relics of a highly excruciating martyrdom'. Yet what relevance did the seemingly 'random disclosure' have when we cannot grasp its significance for the rest of the building? Is it like a painting by Francis Bacon, where the walls of a room are indifferent to an excruciatingly distorted face? Such artistic interpolations seem justified by

Rowe's extraordinary description. If this was the formalist at work, there was nothing coolly detached about it.

But it was also perhaps an exemplification of the Ortega y Gasset epigraph, and even of that key Wölfflin term 'recessional',[61] an exercise that Rowe carried out initially in exemplary manner, passing from the planar to the spatial, following the surface back into depth via foreshortening.[62] And again, like Merleau-Ponty's understanding of Cézanne, this was treated as a thematization of perspective, an uncovering of it.[63] This was an 'opaque' wall, an 'inscrutable visual barrier' but it was also an end wall and perhaps once past it all would be explained by the 'expressive countenance' of the building's proper front façade. Past the profile to the front face, then. Not so simple, however, for this was also a phenomenological passage, '[crossing] an imaginary picture plane in order to grasp the object in its true frontality'.[64] This was perhaps even more shocking than the lurid entrails and slashes that preceded it, because now we were faced with an impossible demand – to pass through the pictorial surface that expressed so much and on into a different kind of truth entirely, a 'frontality' that no mere picture could deliver. Was it also a passing from the realms of art critic to architectural critic? Was it even a demonstration of the impossibility of being an architectural critic? Inevitably, then, the expectation was deflated. Having been led on, 'the gesture of invitation' vanished, and the building seemed increasingly unsympathetic and unimportant. We have left the 'womb' of the courtyard for something deserted and unpeopled, and with this departure we seem also to have become an 'eye', not Greenberg's still eye of pure opticality but one pulled first to the left of the north façade and then 'violently dragged' to its right. Again, this was an allusion to a passing from one visual modality to another, but now adding a Freudian slant to the Mannerist slant already noted in Rowe's work. The wall was now a foil or 'side-screen', directing attention to 'the emptiness of the far horizon' while its foreground 'entrails' were sufficiently distracting to establish a tension between the near and the far: 'The site which had initially seemed so innocent in its behaviour becomes a space rifted and ploughed up into almost unbridgeable chasms.'[65] As Rowe admitted, we have returned to that lurid language of the opening encounter, only now the pain was felt by the viewer and it was of an existential kind, combining the frustration of not being able to grasp depth with the sense of exclusion generated by the more conventional programmatic demand for a closed institution (the monastery). If the viewer's 'own experience' was made irrelevant in the face of both conditions, now we have been taken far further than Barr's modelling of his viewers' experience. We are back with 'fraught intensity' and 'Mannerist conflicts' and now they provide the impetus for analysis: '[The viewer] is made the subject of diametric excitations; his consciousness is divided; and being both deprived of and also offered an architectural support, in order to resolve his predicament, he is anxious, indeed obliged – and without choice – to enter the building.'[66]

Given the build-up, this might seem a rapid and surprisingly conventional denouement. We have, one might well assume, been made into catechumens or penitents ignorant of the church's full mystery but allowed entry only after being humbled by its majesty. As such, of course, it would also be – if we could only suspend the extraordinary language of what has preceded it – a conventional piece of architectural analysis arriving via attention to forms, reading of symbols, and movements of the body, at an understanding of how the architecture consummated the programme. But unless all that extraordinary language was there merely for effect, that was not possible. What was more profound, but necessarily also more slippery, was that Rowe appeared to be trying to relate those religious manifestations that could not merely be translated into the prosaic programme for the monastery with the conjectures on surface and depth, on the very practice of thinking what one saw as plane and hoped to understand as space.[67]

We have not entered the building at this point, then, because we have not been taken in by contrivances, such as that of the conventional programme and its *promenade architecturale*. When we finally pass the north wall – the violence of whose obstacle-like presence was further seen in how it sliced the approach roads 'like a knife'[68] – we find that what we expected to be a front, an entrance façade with the sense of arrival, of threshold, even perhaps of honorific ingress, turned out not to render any of these things. We have arrived only to realize, Rowe suggested, that it was the north wall, now behind us, that better encouraged a 'frontal inspection'. These sides, east and west and also, we find soon, the south elevation, were better understood in terms of 'rapid foreshortening'. We find something similar also in the building's vertical dimension, where a 'high centre of gravity' worked the same effect of 'optical closure' (a term that seems to come from gestalt psychology).[69] This returns us to pictorial experience; we are at another moment in the essay where we are located as fixed viewers, now not of the orthographic elevation but of the perspective view down and up façades. And foreshortening, of course, reminds us both of Ortega y Gasset's epigraph – in his terms the surface does not cease being flat but in foreshortening that flatness is expanded in depth – and again of the essay's curious clinging to terms with more of an art historical than architectural resonance. This was generated by the building, Rowe claimed, and even perhaps contrived by its architect, but one can't help feeling that 'the elaborate divorce of physical reality and optical impression' is an argument in favour of the art history of architectural experience.

As if we have not quite grasped this, the essay now returns us to the north wall (Figure 3.4). Here the push-pull dialectics of the earlier description, its movement between investing the wall with the 'figurative content' of the gesticulating entrails and the deprivation of such figuration in the way the wall insists on its own blankness, is seen to have another art historical significance. It 'call[s] attention to itself and simultaneously [shifts] attention outward onto the visual field'.[70] We are now in the territory of Greenberg's

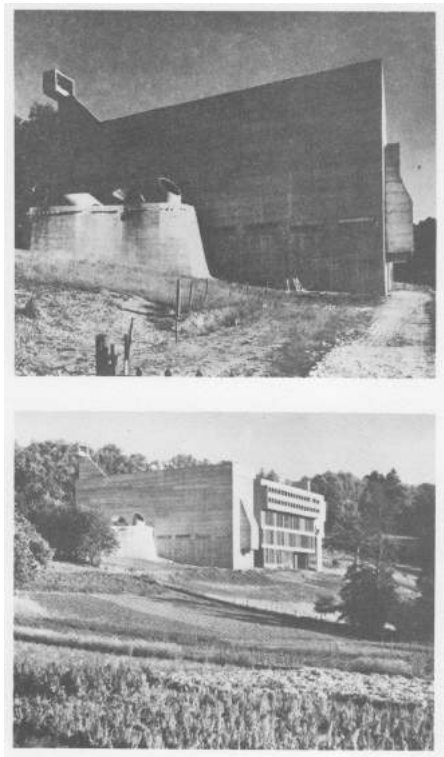


FIGURE 3.4 *Two views of the north wall of Le Corbusier's church of the Monastery of La Tourette. Reproduced from Colin Rowe,* The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays, *1976. Photograph by Mark Crinson.*

Modernism and its notion of painterly Kantian self-critique, if still with an echo of Merleau-Ponty's insistence that 'depth is a *third dimension* derived from the other two'.[71] The difference with the Villa Schwob's panel, we might infer, is like the difference between a Malevich and a Rothko: The 'ambiguity is simple' in one, while in the other we are confronted with a 'far more evasive condition' and this evasiveness is all about how we might read depth.[72] And now also our attention is drawn to the fact that the parapet is not cut squarely but obliquely, and so slightly out of the horizontal that we would usually not notice it, like the entasis of a Greek temple's stylobate. The eye corrects it by reading it as perspective recession when it is in fact a diagonal termination of a flat plane: again a 'divorce of physical reality and optical impression' that causes in addition the effect of the building revolving before us, the 'small but sudden tremor of mobility'.[73]

We come up next against a passage that manages to be both the most obscure and the most overripe in the essay. Rowe imagined two spirals: one on seeing the west elevation from the north, and the other in those

'entrails' again. One of these was pictorial, the other sculptural. Importantly, the three dimensional was seen here in either artistic terms or optical terms – 'a restlessly deflective plane'.[74] But it is difficult to conceive of the 'coiled columnar vortex … [with] cyclonic power' that Rowe imagined above the chapel as anything other than a hallucination, and perplexing simply to know how to see the 'pseudoorthogonals' that by complementing 'the genuine recession of the monastery's west façade … stimulate an illusion of rotation and spinning'.[75] We are in the midst of what might either be a furious testing of formalism's limits, stretching and tearing them, or the analytical cast of a critical libertinage in which anything sensed or even slightly intimated must be named, must be allowed its time. Rowe knew this of course and worked it into the essay's meditations on the optical. Optical illusions of their very nature, he wrote, must be insidious. And if they have a place in criticism they must 'probably' be treated as 'something over and above "mere" exercises in virtuosity'.[76] If we are truly to face up to the relation between surface and depth – and by implication between what our senses tell us and the mental concepts we hold – then we must adopt it as a critical problem, one in which 'dissimulation' must be accepted as a part of any perceptual structure. Hence the cyclone power, the spinning, the spirals.

If this is still describable as formalism, and if it has anything in common with other writing described as formalism, then perhaps it is this very recursiveness of the essay that is formalist; but at the same time it goes further than this into a dialectical formalism. 'Dialectical' was a term used by Rowe in the essay to describe the relation between the building and its site: The first was the thesis, while the counter-proposition was made by the site; one stated universals, the other particulars; 'the idealist gesture, the empiricist veto'.[77] But there was a little more to his dialectical formalism than this might indicate. It was not only about diachronic contradiction, or even holding contradictions simultaneously together, but about contradictions found in and contesting over the same material. Moreover, with shades of Panofsky's Gothic scholasticism, even this has programmatic relevance, if of an 'equivalent rigor' rather than a deliberate mimicry – the Dominicans were the 'archsophisticates of dialectic'. The essay worked similarly. Meaning seems to be expounded primarily within an ambit between on the one hand disciplinary expectations and frames, and on the other what the eye can see and what words can describe; but then both of these are stretched, even subverted. Commentary oscillates between materials that are conceptual and those that are optical. History is nowhere, unless we count tradition or genealogical allusion. Politics is left out, but not the sensual; religion hovers around, of course, as does violence.[78] More surprisingly, if we are looking for a formalism of medium-specificity, the spatial only exists as it is mediated by the visual, and both furthermore through a further mediation by language itself.

Earlier it was suggested that beyond its suave surfaces, and breaking out into the open in the La Tourette essay, Rowe's analysis had a fraught intensity

that related it directly to the German tradition. This might be understood in two ways. The first is about what happens in the text. The typical Rowe-ian opposition between terms like literal and phenomenal, surface and depth, and so on was obviously a mode of thought derived from Wölfflin and well suited to his twin-slide projector pedagogy: They might be extensions of painterly and linear, and so on. Concepts were left oppositional, linked but never reconcilable; in their interdependent yet separated state, they reached out to each other but could never be joined in some resolution that might move on to other issues. The social or the sexual or the political, for instance, remained only allusions, suspended beyond the immediate all-engrossing problem of formal knowledge. And Le Corbusier was the only conceivable means for this thinking. In the hands of this Rowe-Corbusier, 'floors are horizontal walls … walls are vertical floors … while elevations become plans and the building a form of dice.'[79] The fraughtness here came from the never-to-be-fulfilled accommodation not just between the oppositional concepts but also between the eye and the work, the 'conceiving subject' and the 'perceived object'.[80] The predicament may be a perennially optical one, but Le Corbusier's architecture heightened it, '[volatilizing] the reading of depth'.[81] Even a lover of Modernism, it seemed, could carry over Wölffin's dismay at modernity, its chaos, and psychic anxieties. If the contemplation of its forms must be fraught, the point for Rowe was to make fraughtness itself a value, a heightened means of testing both the limits of the medium and the limits of the perceiving eye.

The second form of fraughtness and intensity was an expression, perhaps less controlled, of what was happening to the relation between art and architecture, their analyses, and their histories. Rowe's writing was controversial within the Modernist architectural culture because it used history to understand Modernism, crossing the Iron Curtain of a kind of 'architectural cold war' (the words are Rowe's); but it was also controversial (and disliked by Wittkower himself) because it transgressed from the other side, mixing history up with the modern.[82] Rowe's writing was not really poised between the studio and the seminar room, but addressed the former while it wanted to retain some of the attributes of the latter. The essays discussed here appeared in *Architectural Review* and *Perspecta*, certainly the occasional sites of architectural and art history writing but mostly places of criticism, review, reportage, and debate. Rowe posed the relation as one between contending voices: one 'of immediacy and enthusiasm' the other of 'caution and … erudition'; one 'vivacious' but tending to be uncritical, the other '[operating] to separate and divide'.[83] But a dialogue nevertheless continued in his work and it is, arguably, not at all clear that it led only to the studio in its implications. To follow surface into depth was the key move across the La Tourette and Transparency essays. And in both it ended up reaffirming the nexus of art and architecture.

That is perhaps a more surprising conclusion that it should be. And it is not a conclusion that might be reached about the work of Greenberg

who also raised the beholder's eye to the point of absolute judgement. The self-criticism claimed as essential to Greenberg's favoured art, whose consequence was a criticism that established limits or medium-specificities and then defended them, was in many ways pitched at odds with the criticism that pushed at limits so hard that it made the spatial and planar arts come back into dialogue. And in bringing back the dialogue Rowe also allowed figurative content to re-emerge in the language of criticism (the entrails, the injuries of time, the excruciating martyrdom). In this sense, just as it implicitly reaffirmed the vision of modernism as synthesis of the arts, so too it looked more to the future than Greenberg's criticism, already in its Alexandrian phase by the 1960s.

4

From image to environment – Reyner Banham's architecture

Any account of modern architectural history needs at some point to address the work of Peter 'Reyner' Banham.[1] And so too, we would claim, any work of modern art history. He was an unlikely art historian. Born in 1922, and raised in a working-class area of Norwich, he trained first as an aircraft fitter, working wartime shifts for the Bristol Aeroplane Company, but a stress-induced breakdown led to his being invalided out of the company, and a reinvention. 'I decided to recycle myself as an intellectual', he wrote later.[2] He applied to the Courtauld Institute of Art, entering in 1949 at the second attempt, where he studied for an undergraduate degree in art history, graduating in 1952. He immediately started a PhD under the supervision of Nikolaus Pevsner, and shortly after that, he joined the editorial team at the *Architectural Review*, the most prestigious of the Anglophone architectural periodicals.[3] By 1960, and the publication of his first book, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, the pattern of Banham's career was set: an academic life as an art historian specializing in modern architecture, and an increasingly public life as a critic commenting on a wide range of cultural phenomena.[4] Banham's output was prodigious, and his enthusiasm for mass media prescient. For many readers, the introduction to Banham will have been not a book, but a television programme he made for the BBC in 1972, *Reyner Banham Loves Los Angele*s, which was not only an off-beat tour of the city's architecture and popular culture, but also an introduction to Banham himself and his enthusiasms.[5] A gangling, bearded eccentric, with an eye for theatre, he was the opposite of Britain's first television art historian, Lord Clark – although every bit as assured a media performer.

However, Banham's media presence can – paradoxically – obscure his importance. A much more serious scholar than he appeared in the Los Angeles film, his work is significant here for several reasons. He was more influentially formed by the German *Kunstwissenschaft* tradition than his Courtauld studies might suggest, and whatever direction his work would

take it maintained that tradition's respect for history and empirical data, and, especially, for the confidence to handle multiple media.[6] Although he was less impressed by the tradition's interest in the deeper structuring of history as it had been carried forward by Giedion, Banham was still in some ways a late, and misplaced, German art historian and his work tells us something about what happened to that tradition. This was not just because of Pevsner's influence, though the sense of an almost Oedipal struggle with his supervisor is often apparent in Banham's earlier work.[7] He is important, from our viewpoint, because his work made a new, and moral, case for the presence of architecture within art history. This was in some respects a return to that omnivorous aspect of the *Kunstwissenschaft* tradition found in the work of Alois Riegl and others: Banham's was an argument for an expanded canon in which a Cadillac was as at home as a Caravaggio, and just as much a thing requiring critiques of 'Berensonian sensibility'.[8] There are certain aspects of this, as we shall see, that also anticipate the so-called 'new art history' of the late 1970s; Banham's alertness to social class is one of them, albeit in an untheorized and somewhat apolitical form. (His awareness of new trends in the discipline actually led him to coin the term 'new art-history' in 1955, but what he meant was the generation of Wittkower, Panofsky, and Gombrich.)[9] Finally, and like Pevsner, Banham was almost unbelievably prolific. He wrote eight books, and around 800 articles, as well as providing direction to the *Architectural Review* as a contributing editor. From the early 1950s, to the early 1970s, Banham was seemingly everywhere, and his work is one of the great meditations on the place of architecture within art history. And although Banham instinctively rejected what we now call 'theory', his approach to art history was a genuinely critical one, as his 1971 book *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* made clear: its very subject was beyond the bounds of (received) good taste. For Banham, the art historical canon was there to be challenged, not least when it came to architecture.

Approaching this enormous body of work itself is not easy. Existing scholarship on Banham has typically divided it into phases, as the architectural and design historian and one-time student of Banham's Adrian Forty has done. Forty describes a first phase as an art critic, in which Banham wrote for a range of London-based art journals, a second, in which he established himself as the pre-eminent Anglophone defender of architectural modernism, a third characterized by contact with the United States, and a final one in which a somewhat isolated Banham inadvertently became a rearguard figure.[10] Nigel Whiteley does something similar in his *Reyner Banham: Historian of the Immediate Future* – what exercises him, like many other commentators, is Banham's position vis-à-vis the architectural mainstream, and his trajectory from vanguard to marginalization, and then to partial, posthumous, rehabilitation.[11]

We are less concerned with Banham's architectural status here. What Banham represents for us is an unusually close engagement by an art historian with the problems of contemporary architecture, if one not

unprecedented within the German tradition, in which attention to particular kinds of architectural objects and particular kinds of historical explanation is employed as the means for provoking, or sometimes destabilizing, the discipline. We explore this episodically, in relation to three main texts and their accompanying themes: 'The New Brutalism', an essay for the *Architectural Review* from 1955; the 1969 book *The Architecture of the Well-Tempered Environment*; and the 1971 book *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies*. Banham's output was so big that this cannot be representative of the whole. But what it does is to identify three important places in which Banham put the discipline of art history under some pressure, via architecture – and it provokes the question of Banham's legacy for the discipline. He did this first in 1955 by the questioning of history in the New Brutalism, and again in 1969 through the interest in technology and the environment, and again in 1971 when Banham's focus moved outwards to encompass an entire city. In each case, the choice of object seems to stretch what can be done with art history in terms of the canon, value, and the nature of aesthetic experience, and in each case, it is the attention to architecture that raises such questions. For the German tradition in art history, the presence of architecture served to underline the discipline's cultural importance; for Banham, it served to question its assumptions.

The New Brutalism

The first of our Banham case studies is the essay, 'The New Brutalism', which appeared in the December 1955 issue of *The Architectural Review*, for which Banham had been working, part-time, since 1952. In other parts of his life, Banham was halfway through the PhD thesis that would eventually appear, with little revision, as *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*.[12] Banham was part of the inner circle of the Independent Group, a loose network of artists, writers, and architects, given formal status to some extent by the Institute of Contemporary Arts in 1952. Mostly friends and sympathizers, the key figures apart from Banham were the art critic Lawrence Alloway, the artists Richard Hamilton and Eduardo Paolozzi, the photographer Nigel Henderson, and the architects Alison and Peter Smithson.[13]

He had also just published a short, provocative article on the Cadillac Eldorado car, a 4.7-metre-long leviathan designed by the General Motors styling supremo Harley Earl, and an almost unimaginable sight in austerity London.[14] In line with the work of the Independent Group, Banham understood the Eldorado as 'a thick ripe stream of loaded symbols', 'symbolic iconographies' connotative of the important stuff of modern life, namely 'speed, power, brutalism, luxury, snob appeal and plain common-or-garden sex'.[15] An art historical tease, the article argued that a mass-produced design might be as symbolically loaded as high art (it is worth saying that at this stage, Banham could only consider the Eldorado in aesthetic terms – he

did not acquire a driving licence until 1966).[16] One context for 'The New Brutalism' was therefore a larger meditation on the place of industrial design and other non-art-like objects in art history, in which Banham was probing the limits of the canon. We have chosen 'The New Brutalism' for discussion because rather than merely hint at art history as an area of contestation, it deals with it head on, even relating its argument to what Banham termed 'new art-history'.

What is the essay like? It is short – 3000 words or so – and a visually arresting *object* as much as it is anything else, occupying three sides of the *Architectural Review*'s distinctive coarse brown sugar paper, interspersed with three pages of monochrome photographs, each of which is like a tackboard of assembled images. The opening page, opposite the paper's capitalized title, is a photographic montage depicting Le Corbusier's Ronchamp chapel, now claimed for New Brutalism. The other two pages of images elaborate the range of New Brutalism, depicting the architecture of the Smithsons in the form of the Hunstanton secondary school, completed in 1954, and the unbuilt but well-known projects for Coventry cathedral, the Golden Lane estate in the City of London, the Sheffield University campus, and (reproduced just above Hunstanton) the design for a house in Soho (Figure 4.1).

The article also indicated a range of objects *outside* of architecture that might be considered New Brutalist: a bronze head by Eduardo Paolozzi, a small painting on hessian by Alberto Burri, a photograph of a graffitied window by Nigel Henderson, a sculpted figure by Magda Cordell, and a small drip painting by Jackson Pollock – unnamed, but easily identifiable as *No. 17A* of 1948.[17] These images, together with the architecture, made it immediately clear that New Brutalism was not a style, at least not in the sense so crucial to Wölfflin and others in the German tradition, and therefore that what these works had in common was more important than disciplinary differences between them. Perhaps most germane to the argument was a tiny, dark image on the second page of the article – in reality, an installation shot of *Parallel of Life and Art*, a multidisciplinary exhibition of photographic images shown at the ICA, London, in 1953 (Figure 4.2). Designed by Henderson and Paolozzi, with the Smithsons involved early on, it would have been familiar to readers of the *Architectural Review*. Comprising an extraordinary range of images from science, engineering, and art, as well as things that were simply found, it occupied the walls and ceilings of the ICA in a heterogeneous and site-specific installation. It is perhaps this image that most clearly identified what Banham meant by New Brutalism, and why (in the present context) it is so interesting for the discussion of architecture.

What of the text? It is a manifesto – if not one that had group consensus behind it – written by a student of manifestos, and like a manifesto it first cleared the ground for action. The New Brutalism was another label, but it set itself, Banham argued, against historicism in favour of aesthetic and ethical imperatives grounded in the realities of the post-war world. It had two

FIGURE 4.1 *Reyner Banham – 'The New Brutalism',* The Architectural Review, *December 1955.*

architects, Peter and Alison Smithson, prepared to defend it, and together with affiliated artists it also had some whom Banham had appropriated for the purpose, notably Pollock and Burri. It had some public manifestations, such as the exhibition *Parallel of Life and Art* ('the *locus classicus* of the movement', he wrote) and the Hunstanton school, now widely known and discussed.[18] And like all good manifestos, it had a set of principles, listed as '1. Formal legibility of plan; 2. Clear exhibition of structure; and 3. Valuation of materials for their inherent qualities "as found".' 'One can see what

FIGURE 4.2 *Installation view,* Parallel of Life and Art *(1953). © Nigel Henderson Estate Photo Credit: ©Tate, London 2018.*

Hunstanton is made of and how it works.'[19] Banham elaborated: New Brutalism meant the resolution of a building into 'an image', something that was legible, even memorable for its legibility. Banham elaborated at some length on 'image', for it was here that he understood New Brutalism to be more than a style label, and to have some agency in not only crossing between media, but denying media-specificity entirely. An image might be anything ('a painting by Jackson Pollock, the Lever Building, the 1954 Cadillac convertible') but whatever it was, it had – like the images suspended in *Parallel of Art and Life* – a power to affect the emotions beyond aesthetic categories of the beautiful.[20] Moreover, this affect in New Brutalism was caused by attention to the whole object, to the 'thing in itself, in its totality, with all its overtones of human association' – the object then as node in a communication system across society.[21] As regards the apprehension of architecture, this meant going beyond function; all great architecture, he argued, was the business of making images. After some further discussion, he revised the first of the three principles of New Brutalism from 'formal legibility of plan' to the bolder, 'memorability as an image'.[22] That concern for image spoke of a desire for immediacy, for apprehensibility, and for something whose emotional power was not invested in notions of subjective expression, all of which seem to engage with gestalt theory.[23] Banham didn't cite gestalt theory, but as Anthony Vidler has written, Banham's circle was knowledgeable about it.[24] But gestalt theory is less about memory than about

how the brain is hardwired to find the familiar, the recognizable, in order to continue projecting sense onto the world. The Independent Group took different and sometimes opposing positions on gestalt theory and Banham seems here to be feeling for a position to resolve them, one that was not pro- or anti-gestalt so much as shifting from that theory's dependence on the presumed physiology of the brain and onto the finding of images in the saturated contemporary image-world, a saturation which was equally at stake in art and architecture.[25]

'The New Brutalism' grappled architecture away from function, instead placing it in a multidisciplinary context in which aesthetic experience mattered most. So what sometimes seemed predominantly an architectural manifesto could also be read as a claim for an image-based practice between the arts, exemplified by the multidisciplinary installation *Parallel of Life and Art*. The objects at stake could be whatever the reader wanted them to be, but if the text was a little unresolved around its central points, it was also rich and suggestive, and anticipated later developments in the history of art towards semiotics and an expanded canon.[26]

Banham repeatedly made a distinction between his journalism (which would include his contributions to *The Architectural Review*) and his academic work, but one regularly informed the other.[27] So the sense of commonality across the arts that conditioned 'The New Brutalism' also strongly informed the book that resulted from Banham's PhD, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (1960). *Theory and Design* provided a synthetic view of modernism in five parts, ranging freely between painting, architecture, industrial design, and written polemic, according none of these categories privileged status. Unlike Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture* and Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement*, however, painting was not a weak accompaniment to the architectural argument, nor was it separated out as had happened under MoMA's curatorship, but instead it was bound up with architecture by the very nature of the movements being described. This strongly integrative position suited the topic, and it happened to be consistent with the German tradition of art history. It was also consistent with the position set out in 'The New Brutalism': this was architecture and art largely treated as conjoined ethics and aesthetics. So the account of Futurism between pages 112 and 121 described a movement that was simultaneously sculpture (Medardo Rosso), Cubist painting (Braque, Picasso), drawing (Duchamp), Futurist painting (Umberto Boccioni), and fantasy architectural drawing. The last of these – done by Sant'Elia between 1912 and 1914 and including the proposals for the 'suicidal' urban airport, the *Stazione Aeroplani* – was a good example of the book's emphasis on fantastic or improbable schemes.[28] Here and elsewhere, architecture – when it *was* real architecture – was heavily mediated through existing forms of visual representation, whether plans or photographs. This was an account, in other words, of architecture as ideas represented in images, rather than architecture as lived experience, and thus, perhaps unexpectedly, an account

not unfamiliar to Wölfflin on the Baroque, Riegl on the Pantheon, or Panofsky on the Gothic cathedral.

The architecture of the well-tempered environment

We can infer a rough theory of architecture (and, more by implication, about art too) from Banham's early work: Architecture is about *images*, the building as an imageable entity; architectural images are in turn productive of experiences that are both ethical and aesthetic; and the art historian ought to be interested in imageability as a quality found across objects.[29] The concern for image can be seen in the books Banham published in short order after *Theory and Design*: his *Guide to Modern Architecture* (1962) and *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic* (1966), the latter an expanded, reflective version of the 1955 argument.[30] Those concerns continued to be borne out in his journalism too – see his 1962 essay for the *Architect's Journal* on aircraft design, in which he praised the work of the Douglas Corporation (later McDonnell Douglas) for its strongly integrative approach to design, praising the pattern of rivets on the wing of a DC-8, each one, he thought, speaking of a steady professionalism and a commitment to a single vision.[31] (Boeing aircraft, by contrast, he thought of as a collection of neuroses, in a passage that recalls his critique of Louis Kahn in 'The New Brutalism').[32]

That short, but highly suggestive, essay does something new, however: It shows Banham had started to travel, and travelling had opened him to a range of experiences that could not be had from images alone. Banham visited the United States for the first time in 1960, at the invitation of Philip Johnson, and his appointment in 1964 as a lecturer in architectural history to the Bartlett School of Architecture at University College London (UCL) led to a lot more travel there. His changing position on architecture was no doubt a function of this, as well as the shifting place of architecture at UCL: The Bartlett became a multidisciplinary School of Environmental Studies, in whose formulation he was involved, but which took him away from more familiar architectural-historical territory to deal with the new agenda of a problem-based history.[33] His changing approach was no doubt also informed by his involvement from 1963 with the International Design Conference at Aspen (IDCA), first as an invitee ('under slightly false pretences'), as an advisor to its Board until 1978, and in between, in 1968, as conference chair himself.[34] IDCA was set up, as Banham explained in a subsequent memoir, as a vehicle for an industrialist, Walter J. Paepke, boss of Container Corporation who had already supported the Institute of Design in Chicago.[35] In summary, Banham's focus of attention shifted from

the image as it had been for 'The New Brutalism', to the environment, and the experience of the environment. This is still, in retrospect, a way of doing architecture, and doing architecture in broadly art historical terms – but it is one that acknowledges the changing situation of architecture and the fact that many of its more interesting practitioners (like Archigram) did not want to produce buildings per se. That was a challenge for an art historian, but not an impossible one, especially one as inventive as Banham.

The first large-scale attempt on that challenge was *The Architecture of the Well-Tempered Environment*, first published in 1969. In its subject matter, building services, it was unglamorous; Banham's friend and Aspen colleague, the architect Peter Blake, referred to it offhandedly as 'your plumbing manual'.[36] The critical reception to *Well-Tempered Environment* was not all favourable, some misrepresenting it as 'a tract in favour of *wasting* energy', as Banham put it, summarizing his critics.[37] The book might seem initially to be a turn away from aesthetics, towards function. *Well-Tempered Environment* covered the environmental management of buildings in general, ventilation, heat and light, Victorian techniques of climate control, the environmental control of domestic buildings, architectural modernism and environmental control, the development of air conditioning, and the invention of the suspended (dropped) ceiling.

It is tempting to see the book as a straightforward negation of the ethico-aesthetic arguments made in 'The New Brutalism', a turn away from the image towards technology, responding to a changed professional environment. The green baize and leather world of both the Courtauld and the *Architectural Review* could scarcely have been more different from UCL, after all. Banham wrote that histories of architecture had been primarily aesthetic histories in which technology played no part (a charge that cannot be laid at the door of *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, which considers technology through writings about it.) Against the idea of a 'narrow-eyed aesthetic vision' of architecture, Banham identified methodological precursors in Isaac Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture*, an eighteenth-century treatise that made technology a central part of its focus, and Sigfried Giedion's extraordinary and eclectic history of modern technology *Mechanisation Takes Command*, first published in 1948.[38] Banham drew on Giedion, certainly, adding a sharpness of focus, and a politics, too, criticizing the architectural profession for its ignorance of technology, a culture 'so alien that most architects held it beneath contempt and still do'.[39] Hinting at his developing love affair with America he complained of Europe's centuries-old treatment of architecture as 'a purely visual art'. He continued: 'All too rarely do any of us correlate the evidence of our privileged eyes with that of our ears, nose, skin, or downtrodden feet'.[40]

Banham's moves had to do with increasing knowledge about building services, and the growing understanding of how much of the process of designing and making buildings was falling out of the hands of architects

themselves and into the hands of specialists, citing reflective glass, acoustic surfaces, and mechanical services as areas in which architects no longer had authority.[41] There is an evident frustration with the architectural profession here for its failure to engage with building services, a failure by implication that threatened the continued existence of the profession – if buildings, as Banham argued in the introduction, increasingly *were* their services, then it made little sense to focus so much attention on the building envelope. He identified a further ethical dimension for orienting a history around building services, quoting a past president of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) as criticizing contemporary buildings for their appearance, saying that 'you could build buildings simpler, better cheaper … with fewer drains'. The RIBA appeared, Banham wrote, to prefer 'the niceties of bricklaying' to 'the necessities of hygiene'.[42]

That anti-aesthetic conclusion would be confirmed in large part by some of the detailed parts of the argument, in which good aesthetics, Banham argued, make for bad ethics. Referring to European Modernists' highly rhetorical use of exposed electric lighting, though his erstwhile New Brutalist colleagues might equally have been mentioned, he argued that this usually also meant pain for the building user. An image of the Villa Cook, a 1926 house at Boulogne-sur-Seine by Le Corbusier, showed the problem – the ceiling in its living room was lit by a single bulb in the photograph, but as Banham observed, its intensity was such that it had burned a hole in the photographer's emulsion; in the final photograph, the fixture had to be drawn in by hand and the retouching is indeed clearly visible. It is a neat argument – the lighting is so painfully intense that it is impossible to photograph. The European preference for exposed lighting was dogma, revealed by the photograph (the need for retouching was a function of the inflexibility of photographic plates of the period, but it also stands for the absurdities of the aesthetic approach). Later Banham contrasted this dogmatic European Modernism with the work of Richard Neutra and other architects based in the United States. Neutra's Health House, built for a popular Los Angeles quack, Phillip Lovell, was, he thought, 'humane and intelligent'.[43]

Perhaps this 'humane and intelligent' approach of Neutra was less evidence of anti-aesthetics, than an aesthetic that encompassed corporeal as much as visual pleasure. Corporeality might even be a civilizing force if, as Banham argued, an overemphasis on the visual had produced physical discomfort. He imagined the white light favoured by European Modernists as a means of inflicting pain: 'the weapon of the Secret Police interrogator, the brain-washer and the terrorist'.[44] The Bauhaus was 'a luminous environment close to the threshold of pain, probably made tolerable only by the notorious willingness of intellectuals to suffer in the cause of art'.[45]

This and other parts of the chapter therefore provided a startling inversion of the expectation of visual pleasure, as well as typical Modernist invocations of hygiene and the benefits of light: here visuality was torture. In the chapter on air

conditioning, Banham pointed up the impossibility of inhabiting many spaces without it, the 'body heat load' in the American South being an 'embarrassment, or even a hazard' before air conditioning.[46] The chapter is a collage of fainting and failing bodies, bodies wept upon by air conditioners on hot New York sidewalks, bodies luxuriating in miraculously provided cool air, bodies magically free to inhabit previously uninhabitable inner reaches of buildings, and bodies free to enjoy the glass-skinned skyscraper, uninhabitable without climate control. The chapter imagined new kinds of labouring bodies too. The mass-produced air conditioner instils confidence in the individual to adopt the most sophisticated form of environmental control: 'any normally intelligent householder can install one with normal tools and many have done so'.[47]

Here then are bodies in the full sense, breathing and perspiring and suffering as much as experiencing pleasure. This is not a history of technology in the mode of Giedion's *Mechanization Takes Command* where technology is seen to service the body in every particularity, save for its life of subjectivity and memory, and to produce man-types subject to the machine. Nor is it, from outside the German tradition, a study of the encounter between technological change and pre-existing symbolic systems, as in Pierre Francastel's *Art and Technology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1956) where the idea of technological determinism is rejected in favour of the primacy of the anthropological ramifications of technology.[48] Instead, Banham's encounters between body and technology are sensate ones, and in this *The Architecture of the Well-Tempered Environment* prefigures the bodily turn in art history. But Banham, typically, stopped short of the implications of that turn. For art history, recognizing the body would mean recognizing the difference of those bodies, especially the way they might be sexed and empowered or disempowered as a result. For Banham, the body was, one suspects, *his* body and the imaginative reconstructions of the spaces of Modernism in terms of their environmental performance are the projections of Banham's own body with all its peculiar sensitivities. *Well-Tempered Environment* was full of odd contradictions, not fully resolved, but it shows how an art historian might expand the understanding of architectural aesthetics to include the perception of environment. 'Well-tempered' was in any case an allusion to music, not plumbing: the two series of preludes and fugues composed by J. S. Bach between 1722 and 1742. 'Well-tempered' meant balanced and stable, and therefore moderated in harmony with bodily needs.

Among the more interesting of *Well-Tempered Environment*'s case studies was that of the Royal Victoria Hospital (RVH), Belfast completed in 1904 to a design by the Birmingham firm Henman and Cooper, with the likely involvement of the marine ventilation engineer Samuel Cleland Davidson (Figure 4.3). The RVH boasted an early form of climate control on a monumental scale, a mechanical system of ventilation that supplied warmed and conditioned air to a densely organized clinical block. The engineering, Banham argued, was impressive; the duct (supplying the conditioned air)

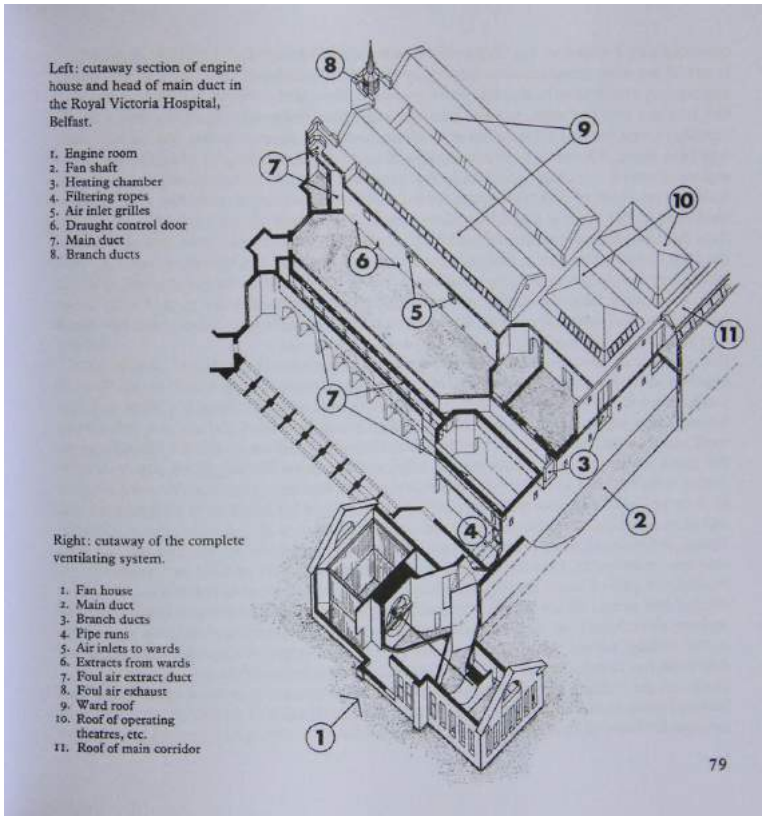


FIGURE 4.3 *Cutaway section of ventilation system, Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast from Reyner Banham,* The Architecture of the Well-Tempered Environment, *1969. Courtesy: Mary Banham.*

> is one of the most monumental in the history of environmental engineering; a brick tunnel with a concrete floor over five hundred feet long and nine feet wide, twenty feet deep at the input end … from the giant duct, the air was fed into distributor channels … thus the whole medical work space of the hospital was packed into a densely occupied single-story block, divided into rooms all top lit that received tempered air from registers above head level and disposed of foul air through slots in the skirting around the perimeter of the rooms.[49]

This account invoked what could be described as an engineering sublime, focused on the scale of the ducting, and the great volumes of air transported through the building; the aesthetic object in other words is transferred from what can be seen, to what can be sensed with the body. That is certainly the view communicated by the chapter's conclusions. Banham was disappointed with the outward form of the building, which

he thought 'already thoroughly discounted and out of fashion' by 1900.[50] The magnificence of the engineering, in other words, was nowhere communicated by the exterior form of the building, which in its brick and neo-gothic detailing resembled a form of school building popularized in London in the 1860s. The RVH fails, therefore, in familiar Modernist ways because its outward form did not communicate its essence. *Well-Tempered Environment* ended with a contradiction, an architecture of bodily ease that fails to translate that into a representative outer envelope. (A contradiction of a similar order would be faced in Banham's complex response to the Leicester and Cambridge university buildings of James Stirling, buildings wracked by problems with their environmental control.)[51] But it is not really a contradiction; Banham's disappointment is only partial, and one senses that his fascination for the RVH's ducting overrides any doubts about the building envelope.

Los Angeles: The architecture of four ecologies

Well-Tempered Environment prefigured a more complete move into environmental and ecological studies, now shifting the focus from the servicing of individual buildings to the servicing of an entire city. Banham's career might have been riven with contradictions, but the trend in relation to the environment can be seen as towards larger and larger objects – from buildings, to building services, to cities, and latterly, to deserts, in all of which the subjectivity of the (art historian) observer is at issue as much as questions of aesthetic judgment and taste.[52] Those questions were all explored in much greater depth in *Los Angeles*: *the Architecture of Four Ecologies*, published in 1971.[53] *Los Angeles* is the book in which the peculiarities of Banham's position are most apparent. In taking on a whole city, from its engineering, to its provision of water and power, to the anthropology of its beaches and highways, it stretched to breaking point both the definition of architecture, and what an art historian might be able to do with it. Yet this is indubitably a work of art history, concerned above all with the way the city looks and feels, the relation between its population and its environment, and the possibility of its perception as an aesthetic whole.

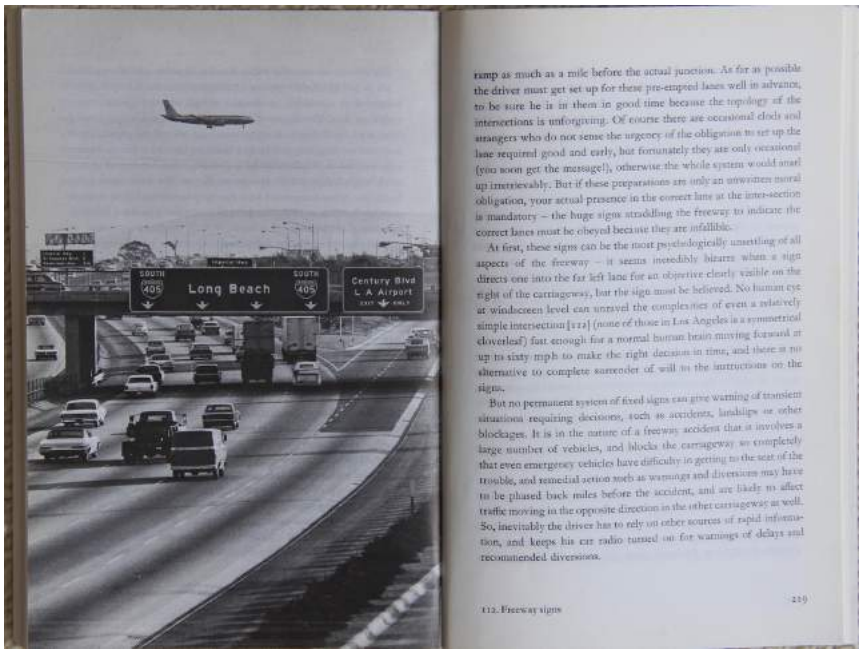
Banham first visited Los Angeles in 1965, invited by the Urban Design department at UCLA; he visited frequently thereafter, and identified powerfully with it.[54] The 1972 BBC film based on the book, *Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles*, was well titled and in the opening scenes Banham confessed to a passion for the city extending 'beyond all sense or reason', going as far to say that the culture of his Norwich upbringing had been dominated by it. Forget the cathedral, he said and the 'manly sports' he played in its shadow: His authentic childhood culture was Hollywood's.[55]

The book is eccentrically organized. The title's promised 'four ecologies' were identified as the city's beach frontage ('Surfurbia'), the flat hinterland

('The Plains of Id'), the Hollywood Hills ('Foothills'), and the freeways ('Autopia'), but the book included a further eight chapters on topics including roadside buildings, the architecture of the European exiles Neutra and Schindler, and the Case Study houses. Downtown was described in terms of a 'note', rather than a chapter, referring to its purported inconsequentiality – although it should be said that it is a note some twelve pages in length. A chapter on 'fantastic' architecture opened with a lengthy exegesis on hamburger design. The organization of the book didn't matter, in any case: Banham was content for it to be read in any order.[56]

It is in the account of driving that Banham most extended the meaning of architecture, and yet most securely located himself as an art historian. This is not a contradiction, despite his earlier observation for the *Architects' Journal* on passing his driving test in 1966 that motoring was typically frowned upon by people of taste.[57] No – acquiring the ability to drive might be a way of acquiring a modern form of cultural literacy, as if Banham the man were finally catching up with the implications of his rediscovery of Futurism in *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*. So in the introduction Banham could write that 'like earlier generations of English intellectuals who taught themselves Italian in order to read Dante in the original, I learned to drive in order to read Los Angeles in the original'.[58] This remains a striking remark for the way it casually equates the contemporary motorist with the humanist scholar, with all of the learned knowledge of classical antiquity that implies. Banham was not the first, or only writer to make such claims: The artist Robert Smithson had earlier written of the construction sites of suburban Passaic, New Jersey, as if they were the ruins of ancient Rome, while shortly after Banham the architects Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown, and Steven Izenour made similar claims for Las Vegas.[59] But where Smithson and the Venturis invoked the Grand Tour for brief and largely ironic, effect, Banham was altogether more serious, even if, as ever, the seriousness was masked by jocularity. His learning to drive the LA freeways (as quickly becomes clear to the reader) involved the systematic, and thorough acquisition of knowledge to produce a picture of a motorized civilization (Figure 4.4). Like the Grand Tourist in eighteenth-century Rome, Banham's initial response to his object of study was negative.[60] But he needed to like it given what it represented, and as much as his account of the city is the product of a love affair with it, it is also the result of a sustained and systemic encounter.

'In the Rear View Mirror', the introductory chapter, located *Los Angeles* firmly in the realm of the picturesque, the eighteenth-century aesthetic mode associated with the Grand Tour.[61] As if the conventional trope of art as mirror of nature was not enough, the eighteenth-century tourist had at his disposal the Claude Glass, a pocket-sized smoked mirror designed to enable an artist to transcribe a landscape, no matter how big, into a picture. The Los Angeles tourist had instead the car rear-view mirror, by chance of a similar shape and size. Both the Claude Glass and the rear-view mirror make



ramp as much as a mile before the actual junction. As far as possible the driver must get set up for these pre-empted lanes well in advance, to be sure he is in them in good time because the topology of the intersections is unforgiving. Of course there are occasional clods and strangers who do not sense the urgency of the obligation to set up the lane required good and early, but fortunately they are only occasional (you soon get the message!), otherwise the whole system would snarl up irretrievably. But if these preparations are only an unwritten moral obligation, your actual presence in the correct lane at the inter-section is mandatory – the huge signs straddling the freeway to indicate the correct lanes must be obeyed because they are infallible.

At first, these signs can be the most psychologically unsettling of all aspects of the freeway – it seems incredibly bizarre when a sign directs one into the far left lane for an objective clearly visible on the right of the carriageway, but the sign must be believed. No human eye at windscreen level can unravel the complexities of even a relatively simple intersection [122] (none of those in Los Angeles is a symmetrical cloverleaf) fast enough for a normal human brain moving forward at up to sixty mph to make the right decision in time, and there is no alternative to complete surrender of will to the instructions on the signs.

But no permanent system of fixed signs can give warning of transient situations requiring decisions, such as accidents, landslips or other blockages. It is in the nature of a freeway accident that it involves a large number of vehicles, and blocks the carriageway so completely that even emergency vehicles have difficulty in getting to the seat of the trouble, and remedial action such as warnings and diversions may have to be phased back miles before the accident, and are likely to affect traffic moving in the opposite direction in the other carriageway as well. So, inevitably the driver has to rely on other sources of rapid information, and keeps his car radio tuned on for warnings of delays and recommended diversions.

112. Freeway signs 219

FIGURE 4.4 *Reyner Banham – freeway signs from* Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies, *1971. Photograph by Richard J. Williams.*

sense of the impossible, turning unbounded landscapes into discrete pictures that can then be safely consumed.[62] Their action, one might say invoking Wölfflin, is to make landscape *Malerisch*.

Like the Grand Tourist, Banham's position was essentially that of studied ambivalence. Neither fully engaged in the spectacle as a resident nor dismissive of it, he was as free as the English aristocrat was in Rome to enjoy, he wrote, the 'splendours and miseries … the graces and grotesqueries'.[63] That position, generalized much later as the 'tourist gaze' by the sociologist John Urry, characterizes much of the remainder of Banham's output, when he was based in the United States.[64] Banham moved from UCL to SUNY Buffalo in 1976, and from there to the University of California, Santa Cruz, finally to New York University's Institute of Fine Arts, terminating his career at that pivotal institution for the *Kunstwissenschaft* tradition (his death in 1988 prevented him taking up this final appointment).

In America, Banham took the travelogue of *Los Angeles* to its logical conclusion. First, *Scenes in America Deserta* largely displaced architectural objects in favour of the all-encompassing environment of the desert, as well as a good deal of personal reflection.[65] Then in *A Concrete Atlantis*, his final book, Banham again invoked the travelogue genre; as much as it was about Buffalo's early twentieth-century industrial architecture, it was also about the author's personal encounter with it. That encounter had moments of

self-dramatization, such as a near-disaster in Buffalo's long derelict Concrete Central grain elevator: 'My foot crashed through a rotted plywood cover that had been laid over an open culvert. As I extricated myself I reflected on my folly … I remembered the fate of the Chicago architectural photographer Richard Nickel lying dead in the ruins of the Schiller theater for weeks before his body was discovered'.[66]

Banham's subjectivity here, his latter-day Grand Tourist/Englishman abroad persona is extensively performed in the book and, as in *Los Angeles*, it can occlude some of its sophistication (the architectural historian Barbara Penner wrote later of Banham as 'the man who wrote too well').[67] But *A Concrete Atlantis* is also an important statement of an approach, of how an art historian might select an object of architecture, what they might value about it, and how they might set about writing about it. The book is firstly – and reprising the theme of 'The New Brutalism' – about images. The book narrates the making, transmission, and mediation of images of industrial buildings across continents and cultures and time, along with stories of their loss and rediscovery. Banham's principal objects are not, in the first instance, actual buildings, but the fourteen enigmatic photographs that appeared 'unexplained' in the 1913 *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes*, the publication of the German association of designers.[68] They included grain silos and elevators in Fort William (Ontario), Buffalo, and Buenos Aires and factories in Cincinnati and Detroit; they had influence as images, informing work by the Italian Futurists, Erich Mendelsohn in a series of sketches and imaginary architectural projects, and most of all Le Corbusier, who used them in *L'Esprit Nouveau* and *Vers Une Architecture* (Figure 4.5). From then on, Banham explained, 'they were established icons of modernity and architectural probity,' and 'their last appearance without satire or historicizing commentary' was in Vincent Scully's 1969 book *American Architecture and Urbanism*.[69]

This is a straightforward iconographical art history in its attention to images and their histories – its architecture is art history's architecture in that it is as much about the circulation of these images as it is about actually existing buildings. (It is recognizably the same kind of enterprise as, for instance, Richard Krautheimer's was in tracking the iconography of medieval churches.) Perhaps conscious of his approach *as* an approach Banham declared architecture once more 'a predominantly visual art'.[70] It was certainly in the realm of art history, when the terms of reference were the image and histories of the image. And when Banham put his foot through the floor of the ruined Concrete Central and wrote about it, he was consciously invoking the aristocratic origins of a non-German tradition of art history in the Grand Tour and the cult of the picturesque. So Banham showed a way for art history to accommodate architecture, of whatever kind. Unlike the new wave of emerging 'new art historians', Banham left a number of things unquestioned. Invoking the Grand Tourist in his picturesque meanders through Buffalo's ruins, he was content to play the tourist rather than put

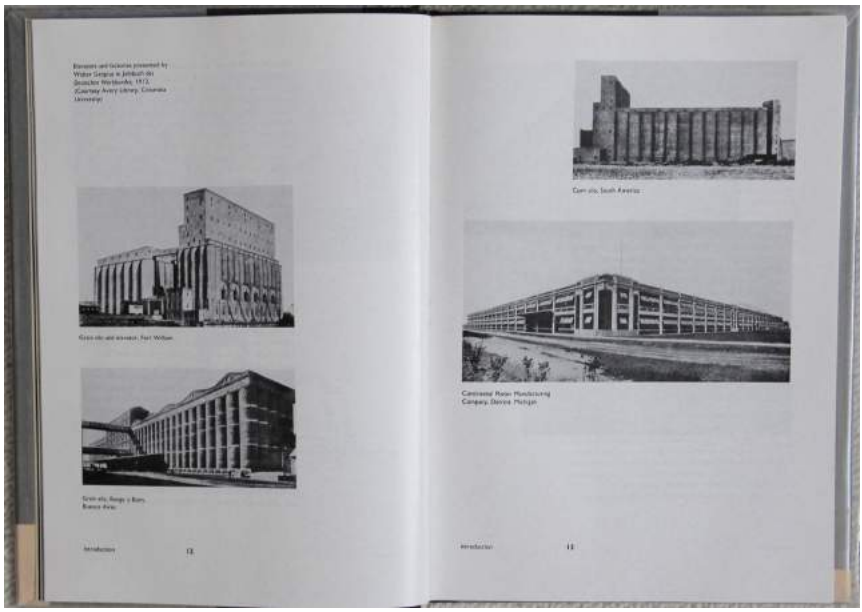


FIGURE 4.5 *Reyner Banham – grain elevators and factories from* A Concrete Atlantis, *1986. Photograph by Richard J. Williams.*

his subjectivity up for critical inquiry.[71] And he similarly left the politics of Buffalo's industrial decline uninterrogated, happy for its ruins to remain picturesque abstractions.[72] Here Banham's choice of object was – as so often – prescient, but his approach to that object, and its politics looked backwards as much as forwards.

'The trouble with Reyner Banham is that the fashionable sonofabitch doesn't have to live here'

Banham used an expanded definition of architecture to probe the bases of art history, with enough conviction that by 1963 it was reasonable for as eminent an art historian as Erwin Panofsky to write about the iconography of the Rolls-Royce radiator grille (his conclusion 'May it never be changed' was admittedly most un-Banham-like).[73] In its choice of objects, Banham's work can be seen as critical of art history as a discipline, as well as architecture's place within it. But as we have shown here, Banham did not subject his own position to quite the same critical scrutiny that he did architecture; his work came under attack as a result from the late 1960s onwards, and once he had left London for the United States in 1976, he became a somewhat marginal

figure, although a still productive one, his later environmental approach of little interest to architectural historians.[74]

Dispute with Banham took two main forms. The first can be dated to 1970, and took place, rather brutally, at IDCA, the Aspen design conference. The 1968 iteration of that conference, which he chaired in a spirit of technophile pragmatism, already seemed out of time – even the architectural journals had dimly begun to understand the political turmoil outside. However, it is the 1970 iteration of the Aspen conference where the limits of Banham's thinking really started to show; it was the last Aspen event he would attend, although he maintained enough involvement to edit twenty years of conference papers, published in 1974.[75] In 1970, he was due to chair a summing up on the event's last day. The slot was hijacked by the French delegation led by the philosopher Jean Baudrillard, who read out a lengthy prepared statement, accusing Banham and the conference organizers of ignoring the politics of design, and of their complicity with capitalism. Environmentalism, that year's conference theme, they dismissed as a capitalist diversionary tactic, a means of drawing public attention from a (for them) deeper political crisis.[76] Banham generously included Baudrillard's contribution in the 1974 collected papers, but he introduced this section of the anthology, 'Polarization', writing with regret that the conference had produced a gulf 'across which only shouting and not dialogue' were possible. Against the revolutionaries, who included not only the French but the student activists who forced conference to endorse a twelve-point manifesto, Banham cited those 'who believed something could be done – *only* could be done – through the system'.[77] But he was bruised by the encounter, and his reputation probably suffered; his lack of interest in cultural politics in favour of technocratic solutions was – however radical his agenda had once been – out of sync with emerging agendas elsewhere in architecture and the humanities in general, including of course the emergence of the 'new art history' of the 1970s.[78] The episode describes clearly how far the intellectual terrain had shifted since 1968, and how Banham now found himself – in academic terms – on the side of reaction for the first time.

The second form of dispute with Banham brings us back to the tourist gaze, a phrase he would certainly have understood, but disliked. In perhaps most of the scenarios he wrote about, Banham was a tourist, a condition he negotiated by invoking the picturesque, so much of the later work, as we have seen, takes the form of the travelogue, either complete as in *Scenes in America Deserta*, or partial as is the case with *A Concrete Atlantis*. The travelogue form suited his writing style with its tendency to amused detachment, and a comprehensive history of the form ought to include him as a (very) late exponent. Banham's picturesqueness nevertheless makes him a difficult academic because of its tendency to elide the difference between content and form; Banham, more than any of the other authors we cover in this book, is his own subject. That tendency and its limits were brutally attacked at the end of 1972 in a review of Banham's *Los Angeles* by a

young Angeleno art critic, Peter Plagens.[79] Plagens had been asked by the contemporary art journal *Artforum* to review the book, and what started as an average review turned into an 11,000-word diatribe. Plagens's complaints, which were numerous, centred on Banham's benign view of the city's traffic. For Banham, driving was a pleasure, perhaps because it was still a novelty in the late 1960s when he started researching the book. For Plagens it was anything but; worse, Plagens regarded the infrastructure of driving as the brutish expression of capital, pandering to humanity's baser instincts. Neither Banham, nor Plagens, however, offered much in the way of evidence beyond anecdote. A more serious charge, and one with more bearing on the writing of architectural history, concerned Banham's touristic subjectivity. Banham replicated LA clichés, wrote Plagens, because as a visitor he only saw the surface; his attempts at reproducing the local idiolect were laughable mishmashes; finally, 'the fashionable sonofabitch doesn't have to live here', and could therefore enjoy it as spectacle, without commitment.[80]

That last criticism is perhaps the most germane to our argument here. In the writing of art history, there are often issues that demand acknowledgement of the writer's subjectivity; Banham hedged his, blurring the lines between dandy, tourist, and historian. Nevertheless, the moral case for the presence of architecture within art history was, with Banham, carried as much by his personal investment as his historical imagination and his deployment of concepts like image, ethics, and the body within it: the environment – well-tempered, machinic, future-directed, and of course including art – demanded this. The 'new art historians' who followed were much more clear and more political about those demarcations and personal investments, as we will see in the next chapter. They were also, for not unconnected reasons, much less open to architecture.

5

The New Art History

At some point in 1986, the London-based publishing house Camden Press put out a little book, *The New Art History*, edited by A. L. Rees and Frances Borzello (Figure 5.1).[1] Almost everyone who studied art history in Britain at the time has a copy. It had a bold cover designed by Chris Hyde, with the word 'ART' scrawled in violent ink across a white background, Gerald Scarfe-style, while 'NEW' was emblazoned in yellow on a red label, like a supermarket price sticker. The punky cover alluded to the contents, a provocative and divergent collection of seventeen essays by young academics and artists, brought together under the editorial label of the New Art History. Despite the informality of the book and its small scale, it's as good an index as any of what the term meant in the Anglosphere. The back-cover blurb promised to 'take apart art's hidden ideology', and to give 'the society which enshrines art a long hard look'. More straightforwardly, the blurb offered insights into 'the impact of feminist, Marxist, psychoanalytic and social-political ideas on a discipline notorious for its conservatism'. *The New Art History*'s contents ranged from the editors' discussion of the term itself, to accounts of a radical art history journal (*Block* – of which more later), to the bitter work experience of a 'new' art historian, to an account of an exhibition controversy in which the New Art History seemed genuinely to have offended the art establishment.[2] It was a ragged, but lively collection: None of the contributions was very long, the tone was informal, and there was plenty of disagreement, not least regarding the New Art History's politics. For Adrian Rifkin, the New Art History was 'basically reactionary', whatever the alleged radicalism of its methods, as the canon remained largely untouched. 'The masterpieces stay put', he wrote.[3] Was the New Art History the same as radical art history? The question remained, and remains, unresolved.

That said, the editors could identify some unifying features. The New Art History, whatever its politics, was interested in 'the social aspects of

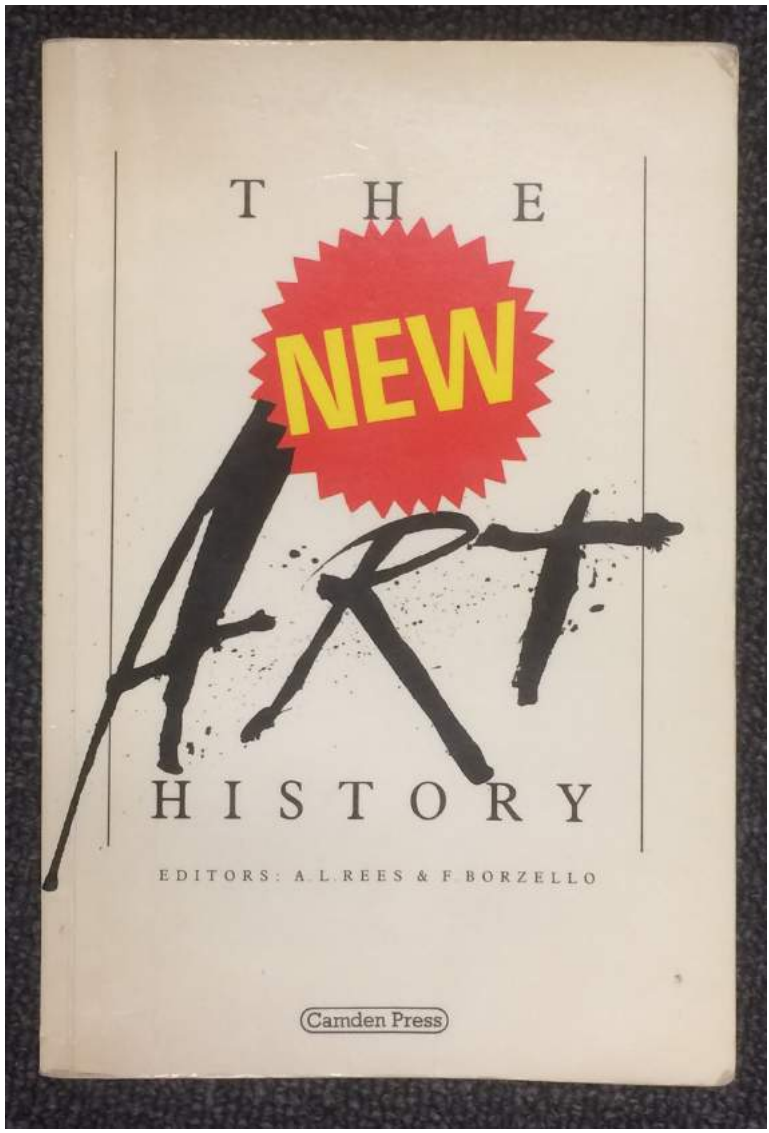


FIGURE 5.1 *Cover of* The New Art History, *1986. Photograph by Richard J. Williams.*

art', it placed 'the stress on theory', and it displayed 'profound skepticism of the view that the work of art (was) a vessel for individual genius'.[4] A key reference point in the book was the art historian T. J. Clark's 1974 essay for the *Times Literary Supplement*, 'The Conditions of Artistic Creation', in which he called for an art history that took account of art's circumstances of production.[5] This was not to be, he wrote, an account

of art making the circumstances of its production into a kind of subject matter, but instead:

> A close description of the class identity of the worker in question and the ways in which this identity made certain ideological materials available and disguised others, made certain materials workable and others completely intractable, so that they stick out like sore thumbs, unassimilated. Towards an account of how the work took on its public form – what its patrons wanted and what its audience perceived.[6]

The key focus was therefore social class, particularly as it was constructed within and made problematic by the image of the worker; art, in the New Art History was part of a contest of meanings, old, emergent, and even those yet to have found their audience. And in this quoted passage, Clark's movement from 'the worker', through 'workable' materials, to 'the work', itself typified the new analytical and historical dynamics in which what was done by the old 'work of art' would now be caught up. Into this mix had already arrived art historical interests in gender and race, as well as newly influential interests in mostly French theories of semiotics and post-structuralism which taught some of the new art historians about new notions of power and their encoded and embodied manifestations. Whether or not this was just a 'cheerful diversification of the subject' (as Clark put it) worried some more than others.[7] But whatever it was, and whatever its politics, the New Art History understood art fundamentally as a social product, and as Rees and Borzello wrote, it adopted a scepticism towards art in general that was distinct and recognizable.

The question for us here concerns the place of architecture and architectural history. You might imagine that the New Art History, with its concern for art as a social product, might turn eagerly towards architecture, both the most public and the most everyday of art forms (or indeed that architectural historians might turn eagerly towards the New Art History). Architecture inscribes social relations in the most public ways. The forms of housing, for example, describe the politics of class, gender and wealth in the most direct way imaginable, and the preoccupations of the New Art History might have been profitably extended through it. But as our previous chapters have argued, architecture had already long been separated from or peripheral to the study of the history of art, through the evolution of the discipline, through the work of organizations such as MoMA, and through the movement of individual scholars away from the German tradition. By 1986, and the publication of *The New Art History*, there were new institutional circumstances to take into consideration, including the creation, in Britain in 1977, of a Design History Society distinct from, and in some ways in opposition to the Association of Art Historians (itself only established in 1974), and in the United States from 1978 the separation of the previously joint annual meetings of the College Art Association and the

Society of Architectural Historians.[8] We would also note the institutional location of much of the New Art History in Britain, typically in schools of art or their successors (for example Middlesex Polytechnic) – these were places that usually had no departments of architecture, and thus no contact with the discipline.[9] With the exception of a few individuals, architecture was, in these circumstances, unfamiliar. It was also, quite possibly, just seen as old-fashioned in its methods, and more interested in the politics of conservation than in disciplinary politics.

When architectural historians did take up approaches and issues that were similar, they were little noticed by the New Art History.[10] The equivalent approaches to the social history of art, for example, were still indebted to older models of patronage studies and empirical forms of social history. They were far less reflective about the relation between the putative 'background' and 'foreground' of the work, less attentive to the ambiguities of description and interpretation, and un-attuned to the role of the public as a 'prescience or a phantasy within the work and within the process of its production', than in the writing of Clark and his followers.[11] The challenge, we might say, was that the New Art History placed the question of how art actively worked the materials of ideology (not reflecting or being determined by them) as central to its accounts and understood these as providing 'material denser than the great tradition' and its reliance on style and on historical conditions either as mere context or as indicative of *Kunstwollen*.[12] And there seemed to be no equivalent interpretation within architectural history – no similar challenge that was being measured up to – that could be engaged with and that might make the nexus newly relevant and purposeful for these approaches.[13]

So what we describe in this chapter is mostly therefore an absence, which we explore through some key texts, including Clark's 1974 essay and his book *The Painting of Modern Life* (1985), a journal, *Block*, and feminist approaches to art history via Griselda Pollock's response to Clark. 'Absence' is not quite right: what emerges at the end of the chapter is architecture as a spectral presence, essentially not there, but visible as outline, container, or scenography. At any rate whatever it is in the New Art History, it serves limited ends which are – mostly – at odds with architecture as discipline, profession, and historical pursuit.

To begin exploring architecture's absence from the New Art History, one place to start is Clark's 1974 essay. As debated at length in the pages of *Block* and elsewhere, Clark's version of the social history of art remained committed not only to the category of art as he had found it, but to a limited class of objects within that category. So everything that we need to know about 'art' from the point of view of thinking about method could be found in painting, specifically French painting of the nineteenth century; from here can be extrapolated a set of class, labour, and capital relations based on that particular practice, with an acute eye for the playing out of those relations in the exchanges between artist and public via the critics.

To say architecture is absent from 'The Conditions of Artistic Creation' is in some ways as meaningless as saying there is no mention of cheese-making or dentistry. After all, an art historian has to start somewhere, and finish somewhere else. But in another sense, to question architecture's absence might be revealing. Is it that Clark means the analyses of painting to exist as an example for all the other arts, to imply that one could, with time and interest, do the same for architecture? Or does it mean that architecture is simply no part of the picture, something 'other'? It is not clear, and yet, as we have suggested, the question is pertinent because it is easy to imagine architecture – so obviously a product of social relations, of capital and labour, and so intricately related to questions of audience, public, and reception – doing the important work that Clark wants of painting.

It is worth returning briefly to that short anthology, *The New Art History*. Perhaps that book, with its ambitions of defining a field and giving a sense of its condition at the time of writing – perhaps that would have something to say on the question of architecture. The answer again is broadly negative, although the range of topics covered by the volume is really quite wide: the state of art history as a discipline (Dawn Ades, Stephen Bann, Adrian Rifkin, John Tagg), the journal *Block* (Jon Bird), art history pedagogy (Mary Gormally, Pamela Gerrish Nunn, Marcia Pointon), photography (Victor Burgin, Ian Jeffrey), art criticism (Charles Harrison, Michael O'Pray, Paul Overy), feminism and art history (Lynda Nead), and semiotics (Margaret Iversen). Photography appears here, as it does in all accounts of the New Art History, as a practice that by its very nature disturbs traditional notions of what art history is, in its reproducibility, its contested status as art, its ready connection with popular cultures. And in the essay on *Block*, Jon Bird – one of the journal's editors – writes of the need to engage with design as a field of practice for the same reasons: an art form that inherently forces questions of art history as a discipline, through reproducibility (again), the relation to the popular (again), the relative lack of authorship in a conventional artistic sense.

About architecture there is practically nothing. The word 'architecture' does not even appear. In Stephen Bann's essay, there is a call for the study of what he terms 'hybrid' objects, such as gardens and museums, both of which of themselves force questions about art history's methods. He acknowledges, but only in passing, that the New Art History might include the study 'of certain types of buildings'. Then there is Gormally and Gerrish Nunn's grim account of the casual labour of art history: 'the new art historian is not necessarily an inhabitant of the university seminar room. … It is difficult to feel either effective or satisfied sitting amongst your books in your own room, changing nappies between chapters, or queueing at the DHSS.'[14]

That is the closest the anthology gets to architecture; not mentioned by name, it exists by implication only as the frame for other activities. The same absence can be found in a much longer account, Jonathan Harris's *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* which, published in 2000, also

has the benefit of a historical perspective. Harris's primary concern was the differentiation of New Art History – which, following Clark, he regarded as the discipline's Balkanization – from 'radical' art history, with which it may have shared methods but was directed to concrete political ends. Harris described four main strands of thought in the New Art History:

> (a) Marxist historical, political and social theory, (b) feminist critiques of patriarchy and the place of women within historical and contemporary societies, (c) psychoanalytic accounts of visual representations and their role in 'constructing' social and sexual identity, and (d) semiotic … and structuralist concepts and methods of analyzing signs and meanings.[15]

These strands were common to both 'radical' and 'new' art histories, Harris wrote, the latter being a form of ideologically driven diversification, essentially uncritical of its objects of study, and politically subservient. (Harris likened the strands of the New Art History to market choices, offering the illusion of free will, while leaving the market itself essentially untouched.)[16] 'Radical' art history meanwhile retained the objective of political change, represented by the tendency's interest in pedagogy, and the politics of museums, and the possibility in both cases for institutional change. Harris was both sharply critical of the New Art History, and pessimistic about the possibilities of radical art history. 'There is a real danger', he wrote, envisaging yet more encroachment by market values, 'that radical art history might become simply another academicism largely unconnected to the world outside'.[17]

Architecture appeared obliquely at various points in Harris's book. The main instances were, firstly, in the discussion of the American art historian Alan Wallach's account of the MoMA in New York which analysed the Cesar Pelli extension constructed in the 1980s, the most significant expansion of MoMA's estate since its founding, but one which involved the construction of a residential tower as a means of financing the project. Wallach's highly critical essay – one of a series on the topic, some written with another radical art historian Carol Duncan – showed, in Harris's words, 'the ways in which buildings – actual structures – as well as institutions "signify": what meanings they come to create or represent in particular moments and societies.'[18] 'The building itself', he continued, 'is a kind of representation of modernity that has evolved (or mutated) through history.' And the museum itself 'produced a history of modernism that justified this aesthetic'.[19]

Harris's next instantiation of architecture was more obscure: an account of John Tagg's discussion of photography depicting conditions at Quarry Hill, Leeds, a notorious slum adjacent to the Yorkshire city's centre. The discussion here concerned documentary photography and the depiction of social class, but the city and its architecture figures here too, and so should be included in our list. Then came Norman Bryson's account of Raphael's 1504 *Marriage of the Virgin*, which depicted an idealized architectural

space, a piazza. Then came a well-developed architectural metaphor in a discussion of Marx and images of structure: for Marxists, Harris wrote, 'society itself was a kind of building with a "material" base and "ideological" superstructure'.[20] It was a similar architectural metaphor that Harris detected in Michael Camille's account of Amiens cathedral in his book *Image on the Edge*, in which these theoretical structures were, he argued, with more than a hint of Panofsky, made literal.[21]

Harris's history continued with more occasional references to architecture and the built environment: Fred Orton on Jasper Johns and the memory of a car on the Long Island Expressway; Dick Hebdidge and a definition of postmodernism that includes 'the design of a building'; the (homo)eroticized industrial buildings in the paintings of Charles Demuth via the queer art history of Kermit Champa; the 'hypersexual black men' in Roman bathhouse mosaics in an essay by John Clarke. In summary, architecture is in Harris's book – just – but in a mediated form, as if it needs permission to exist as an object of study. So it is there when it is already represented in some other art form, such as photography or painting, it is there when it is the frame for a multivalent *Gesamtkunstwerk* such as a cathedral, and it is there when it is a very special class of building such as a museum. It is striking that the closest we get to a social history of architecture – Wallach on MoMA – is restricted to the museum; Wallach does not extend his attention to other forms of architecture, although as Harris's gloss on his text makes clear, there is no reason why he could not. And architecture is present, finally, as a metaphor, a means of thinking about the social and economic structures defined by Marx. What does *not* emerge is the sense that architecture should have any kind of priority as an object of study for art historians in the 'new' conditions of the 1980s. The reverse, if anything, is true. And – as we will see in a parallel study in the next chapter on *October* – architecture, where it makes a detailed appearance, does so in the form of a foil against which other activity can be seen. Wallach is sharply critical of the new MoMA for reasons that have to do with its relation to capital, and the way this informs and conditions our understanding of art. Yet it is hard to imagine Wallach having anything positive to say about architecture at all, while art and artists occupy a different role. The New Art History's imagination of architecture is by default negative.

Block

The journal *Block*, founded at Middlesex Polytechnic in 1979, and lasting through fifteen remarkable issues until 1989, was almost exactly coterminous with the emergence of the New Art History. *Block*, stated its editors (Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, Melinda Mash, Tim Putnam, George Robertson, and Lisa Tickner), was 'a journal devoted to the theory, analysis and criticism of art, design and the mass media'. Their 'primary concern', they went

on, was 'to address the problem of the social, economic and ideological dimensions of the arts in societies past and present'. They listed 'specific issues' which might be of interest to readers: 'Art and Design Historiography and Education; Visual Propaganda; Women and Art; Film and Television … [and] the mass industrial arts of the twentieth century', the latter being, they thought, 'crucially important'.[22]

It is worth pulling out the key aims here: the emphasis on theory, the expansion of the remit to include all forms of visual culture, and (crucially, in view of Harris's argument above) the belief that the project should have some impact on the world outside academia. The boldness of these aims was underlined by *Block*'s striking design, which had nothing at all in common with that of academic journals (Figure 5.2). More like a fanzine, it had a homespun quality representative of the poverty of its production in the first instance. (Production involved 'Lots of late night inexpert cutting and pasting in untidy rooms on Muswell Hill and Crouch End. The notorious Block typos were as much the result of dropping tiny pre-pasted scraps of paper as inept proof reading.')[23] A3 in format, graphically arresting, and unusually well illustrated, in its title and its design it referred explicitly to the moment of the 1917 Revolution, and Constructivist art and design after it – as did the other key art historical journal of this period, over in the United States, *October* (see the next chapter).[24]

Architecture's place in this enterprise remained obscure, however – and when present, never on its own terms. Issue one is a good example: After the editorial statement of purpose, the issue proper commences with John A. Walker's account of art history teaching, 'the Nitty Gritty', opening with: 'Time: Tuesday afternoon, Autumn term. Place: a cramped, windowless room in an old annex of the polytechnic.'[25] Architecture is present here quite strongly, but as a frame for an activity – in this case teaching – and as so often, the framing is negative; in this case, the dreariness of the architecture as experienced and its poor environmental performance, deployed metaphorically to describe the nature of the activities contained within. The airless basement room stands in, as it were, for the airless basement of art history, a room whose dysfunctional character and lowly status both describe the discipline and condition its performance.

This metaphorical use of architecture is, in fact, *Block*'s principal reference to it during its eleven-year run. The few direct treatments of architecture as a subject include: In issue 3, 'Modernism and Archaism in Design in the Third Reich', by John Heskett, which included discussion of the architecture of Albert Speer; 'New York, New York' by Barry Curtis in issue 8; 'The Myth of the Independent Group' by Anne Massey and Penny Sparke in issue 10; two articles on the Festival of Britain in issue 11 by Curtis, and Owen Gavin and Andy Lowe respectively; finally, in issue 15, 'Sneering at Theme Parks' by Patrick Wright and Tim Putnam, and (perhaps tangentially, but worth mentioning), Dick Hebdige's 'Shopping Spree in Conran Hell.' There were passing references to architecture elsewhere in the journal's run: In 'Art History

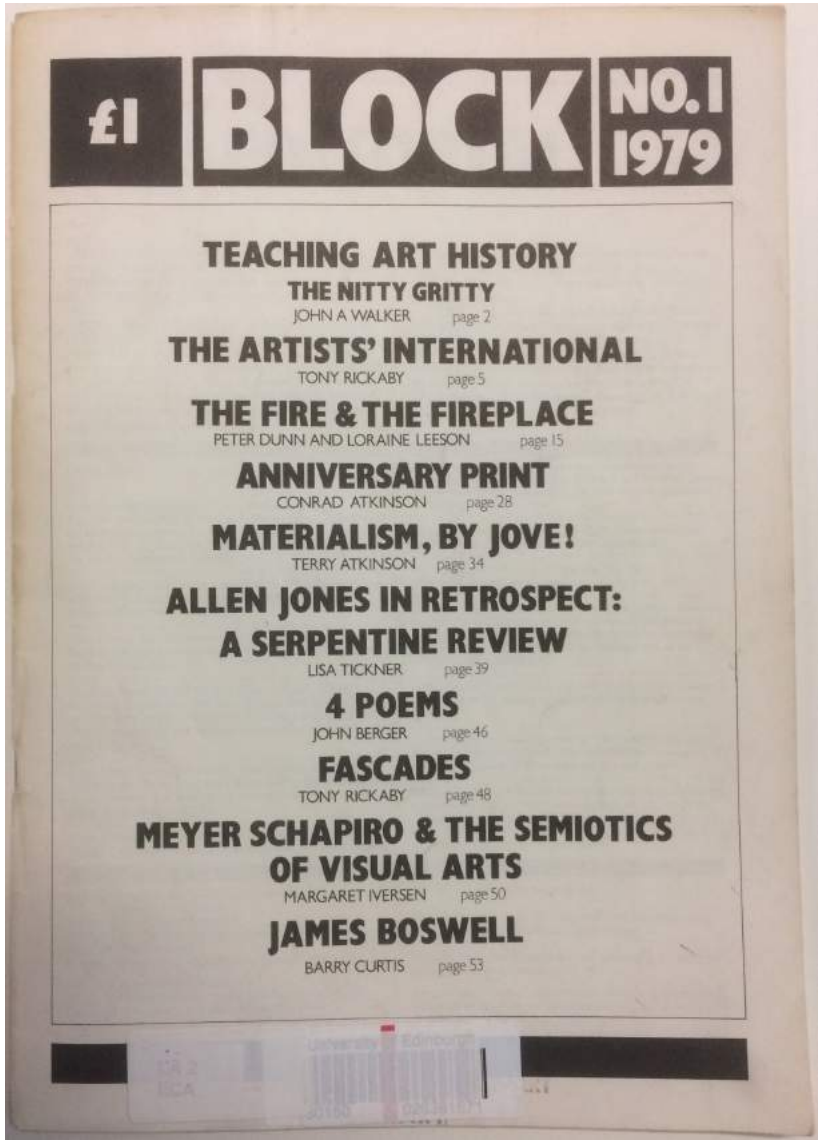


FIGURE 5.2 *Cover of* Block, *1 1979. Photograph by Richard J. Williams.*

and Hegemony', for example, Jon Bird doubted the capacity of postmodern architecture to offer anything other than a play of surfaces (or 'differences' as he put it).[26] Architectural postmodernism was similarly put to the test in Dick Hebdige's 'A Report on the Western Front'.[27] But these were brief, tangential references, in which architecture was caricatured as the dumb expression of capital or power, rather than an autonomous artistic practice.

In the remainder of *Block*, architecture is mainly metaphorical. In an account of art history's nature, the editors quote Donald Preziosi on the discipline, describing it as 'like the Pantheon a vast aggregate of materials, methods, protocols, technologies, institutions, social rituals and systems of circulation and inventory'.[28] Elsewhere, 'home' appears as a politicized space in Philippa Goodall's essay 'Design and Gender'[29]; meanwhile the artist Martha Rosler briefly mentions modernism's promise of a healthy environment.[30] The New Art History proposed engagement with a radically expanded range of objects in order to produce new methodological approaches. The argument for the inclusion of design, or photography, is unanswerable, and the essays on these topics that were published in *Block* and elsewhere both expand the canon, and in doing so, ask questions of the discipline itself. Yet that canonical expansion stopped short of architecture; architecture, where it appears at all in *Block*, does so not as an object of study in itself, but as a cipher for something else, as a Marxist metaphor for society and its organization, or as an unmediated expression of capital, or (in the New Art History's account of postmodernism) a representation of the collapse of post-war social democracy. It is *always* negative in these representations, and with rare exceptions, always a generalization. The few specific examples, such as the John Portman–designed Westin Bonaventure hotel in Los Angeles, appear only because they have already been theoretically mediated, in this case by Fredric Jameson's widely read essay on the culture of late capitalism.[31] And the potential of the interpretive strategies for work on architecture – notably, say, the Althusserian idea of interpellated subjectivity – is left unexplored.

The painting of modern life

Something about *Block*'s (non-) engagement with architecture suggests it was simply of no interest. *Block* emerged from a context – Middlesex Polytechnic – that taught no architecture, so the study of architecture had no institutional presence, but at some deeper level for the New Art History architecture was simply foreign.[32] There was however a residual, and important, engagement with architecture in Clark's work, specifically his book *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*.[33] This book takes the question of architecture into new territory, showing how the New Art History might profitably engage with the topic, but on its own terms. Clark's third book, *The Painting of Modern Life* was published in 1985, ten or so years after two books on mid-century France, *The Absolute Bourgeois* and *The Image of the People*, neither of which placed any importance on architecture.

By contrast, *The Painting of Modern Life* was all about the built environment, drawing explicitly on the work of Guy Debord and the Situationist International (SI), the intellectual provocateurs with whom

Clark associated during his time in Paris researching the early books.[34] Debord's 1967 manifesto *The Society of the Spectacle* defined 'spectacle' as capital 'accumulated until it becomes an image'. Literal spectacles were – in Clark's useful gloss on Debord – 'the rise of mass media, the expansion of advertising, the hypertrophy of official diversions (Olympic Games, party conventions, *biennales*)'.[35] The production of the spectacular society marked, Clark wrote,

> A massive *internal* extension of the capitalist market – the invasion and restructuring of whole areas of free time, private life, leisure and personal expression … It indicates a new phase of commodity production – the marketing, the making-into-commodities, of whole areas of social practice which had once been referred to casually as everyday life.[36]

The 'spectacle' certainly included architecture, whether that of the official events like exhibitions mentioned above, or the more durable form of the architecture for consuming food and drink and luxury goods. Capital's 'colonisation' of everyday life, as Debord put it, required literal spaces in which that colonization could take place, whether they were for shopping, like the original Parisian arcades or later shopping malls, or landscaped avenues built for eating and drinking and strolling, or material tourist attractions such as the Eiffel Tower.[37] The SI's prescription for action meant the critical engagement with architecture: the *dérive* in particular entailed aimless wandering through the abandoned spaces of a city (Paris), reading it as it were against the grain though walking and exploring.[38] The SI's counter-reading of architecture has had, needless to say, a lasting impact on the discipline of architecture itself; counter-readings, psycho-geography, and what now tends to be called urban exploration have long been elements of architectural education. For Debord, the spectacle was a way of describing France's emergent consumer society of the 1960s; for Clark, however, the spectacle explained Paris's built environment under the rule of Baron Haussmann, Prefect of the Seine, with newly created zones for eating, drinking, shopping, and exhibition parks. The spectacle explained the city; SI tactics provided a model of critical engagement with it, with the figure of the *flâneur* reimagined as a proto-Situationist.

Urban theory in the form of Situationism provided *The Painting of Modern Life*'s methodology, and urban form structured its argument. The first chapter was an urban panorama, 'The View from Notre Dame' – in other words, the spectacle from the bohemian quarter of the old city down towards the spectacular new city by the Seine. The second, 'Olympia's Choice', concerned representation of prostitution and the urban spaces of prostitution themselves, not only its interiors but the city's new boulevards which seemed to be purposely designed (Clark argued) to sell women's bodies. Third was 'The Environs of Paris', in which Clark explored the city's edges. Here, paintings by Seurat, Signac, and Manet showed the city

in a perennially unfinished state, an architectural and urban mess, an anti-spectacular by-product of the changes at the centre. The final chapter, 'A Bar at the Folies-Bergères' returned the narrative to the centre of the city and the spectacular architectural interiors of the new spaces of consumption.

So, *The Painting of Modern Life* in some ways takes architecture seriously. The first chapter provides the book's first proper account of Haussmannization and the images that were produced in response to it; Clark's argument, taking up his claim in the first pages of the book that Impressionism had a 'moral' dimension, is that the art of Manet and his circle stood in critical relation to the city. Typically they were not thought of in this way: a critic of them might have argued that these artists only showed an interest in the city at the moment it became fully bourgeois, and 'what did painters do except join in the cynical laughter and propagate the myth of modernity?'[39] No, Clark writes – Manet and his contemporaries offered a critical vision of the city, purposely avoiding 'those spaces, perspectives, occasions and monuments which Haussmann himself would have seen as the essence of Haussmannization'.[40]

As a representative example, Clark cites a small oil painting by Vincent van Gogh, titled simply *Outskirts of Paris* from 1886 (Figure 5.3).[41] A landscape image of the blasted periphery of the city – the specific location is not identified – it depicts an open, half-wild, half-built landscape; the foreground is empty, as if to underline the lifelessness of this part of the city

FIGURE 5.3 *Vincent Van Gogh* – Outskirts of Paris *(1886). Santa Barbara Museum of Art, California. Alamy stock photo.*

by comparison with the (artificial) fullness of the centre. The centre of the middle ground is, along with a lonely figure, occupied by a streetlamp, a visual trope of the genre, signifying the absurdity of the new city (lighting, ironically, crowds, and streets which have yet to appear). The background has lumpy factory buildings in the distance; the execution, with its thick strokes and encrusted paint, makes its surface seem some kind of analogue for the unpolished landscape itself, as if the sketchy street were itself scraped up and pressed onto the canvas. For Clark, the image sat with a genre of paintings of the Parisian outskirts, including works by Manet, Raffaëlli, and Loir: it was 'not unusual for a painter to choose a subject such as this and believe it to be modern and poetical'.[42]

What such paintings represented was the process of Haussmannization – or rather its aftermath, 'the obverse' of the reform that had produced the stifling order of the central city. The bleak atmosphere of 'dissolution and misuse', Clark wrote, gave the impression that 'the modern may not add up to much more than a vague misappropriation of things'.[43] This kind of image is thus central to the book's argument, and is reprised in detail in the third chapter, which explores the outskirts of Paris in depth, particularly through the large-scale paintings of the north-western *banlieue* by Georges Seurat. What emerges here is an oblique, critical take on architecture. These are clearly images of architecture in that they represent buildings and urban settings, but they represent an unofficial view; sometimes a picturesque one, admittedly, but the fixation on dissolution and decay make them into a counter-reading of the city, especially when the desolation is the result of progress. Images like Van Gogh's *Outskirts of Paris* quietly call into question the progress they ostensibly represent, and implicitly what interests the city serves (not those of the figure in the middleground, certainly, alone in this seeming devastation).

While such images in *The Painting of Modern Life* are on some level architectural paintings, they do not represent architecture on its own terms. As readers, we never find out anything about the buildings that populate the paintings, who designed, paid for or built them, what they were made of, even in this case where they were. They have no life here as architectural subjects in their own right. Clark could therefore write that 'none of these details are innocent', and about the buildings themselves we can have only disdain: 'lumpish', and 'dingy', they are ciphers, stand-ins for something else.[44]

None of this is a criticism of the text, but rather an attempt to say what kind of a text it is. The figure of the scrubby periphery is something Clark returns to later in the book, and it frames the whole view of the city, which is not a sculptured whole, but a city destroyed by its own modernization; the architectural figure of this, if there is one, is the ruin. The following section of the chapter also has architectural ruins as a point of focus, in this case the immense ruins created by the construction of the new city's boulevards. The figure of the boulevard is also a figure of a ruin, as an etching by A. P. Martial

shows, which Clark reproduces on page 37. It depicts two things, the ramshackle slum housing of Petit Pologne, and below it, like a mighty river, the new Boulevard Malesherbes. Clark describes this 1861 image as both 'picturesque' and 'sublime', depicting the new construction 'surging through the slums … like a force of nature, a wave about to burst a flimsy dam'. In this and other construction site images, the boulevard is shown not as a finished architectural form but as a 'force of nature', that is something destructive of architectural form. The boulevards were, Clark writes, 'the heart of the matter', the 'matter' being the physical transformation of Paris; 'it was they that laid waste the city'.[45]

The rebuilt central city is a tool of authority, in Clark's account, and the evidence he brings to bear within that account are descriptions of loss (of the old Paris) and alienation (from the new). This city in literary accounts is repeatedly something new or foreign, a 'Babylon', a New York or Chicago, overscaled, out of place, and seemingly, out of time. Among many pungent quotations Clark inserts in the text is a passage from *Maison Neuve*, an 1866 play by Victorien Sadou, in which the main character, an elderly man, complains of the repetition of the new city: 'An eternal sidewalk going on forever! A tree, a bench, a kiosk! A tree, a bench, a kiosk! A tree, a bench … .'[46] Not only is the city alienating, but it is a form of class warfare: Never, Clark writes, had social class 'been inscribed so clearly, so consistently on acre after acre of the city's space; and rarely had a city been given over to speculators with such aplomb'.[47] The city was 'the sign of capital: it was there one saw the commodity take flesh'.[48] In summary, Clark writes of the complaints of the new city: It is corrupt, firstly; secondly, boring in its emptiness and repetition; thirdly, it involved a cruel eviction of the city's working class from their traditional homes; fourthly, it had created two mutually exclusive cities; finally, it was a city of 'vice, vulgarity and display … a pantomime of false rich and false poor in which anyone could pretend to be anything if she or he had the money for clothes'.[49] *The Painting of Modern Life* is, it goes without saying, a book about painting, and the theme of the city is explored primarily through its representation on canvas. Some of these representations – two paintings by Monet of the Tuileries gardens – are straightforward affirmations of the reformed city, dismissed in a few words as 'meretricious', and 'touristic entertainment'.[50] The same goes for Renoir's 1875 *Les Grands Boulevards*. Clark has nothing to say about these images, as for him they reinforce the messages of the architecture (the city as safe and ordered, the city as spectacle, the city as a space of play). He has vastly more to say about those images that represent the critique of the new city, implicit or otherwise, such as the strange and unsettling trio by Caillebotte, de Nittis, and Degas reproduced on pages 74–5. These pictures show the city not as an ordered, integral whole as Haussmann wished, but as disconnected and edgy. The new spaces for circulation open like voids in these images, in which humans look lost and confused, for in these particular images they refuse to engage meaningfully, staring past each other

or in opposite directions. There's no cohering narrative, only dislocation, emptiness, and questions, qualities deeply antithetical to the architecture. So Gustave Caillebotte's image of the Pont de l'Europe begs questions about social class, and sex, about social order (what is that dog doing by itself?), about the literal unhomeliness of this new environment whose structures (the steel girders of the bridge, the great expanses of asphalt) are alien and de-humanizing.

It is worth pausing here for a moment to review this account of the Parisian boulevard, to note its point of view. Clark is describing an architectural phenomenon – the remaking of Paris – but doing it from a perverse viewpoint, a looking up from below, or outwards in; so just as in Martial's astonishing image, it is the destruction of the city, rather than its construction, that takes precedence. Clark's approach refuses to affirm architecture; it holds it to be a politically reactionary force; it names it as the force that throws ordinary people out of their homes (it is in this chapter that the startling figure of 350,000 appears, the total displaced by the boulevard building programme as a whole ('12,000 were uprooted by the building of the Rue de Rivoli and Les Halles alone');[51] it is the force that quelled insurrection, with its barracks at major crossing points, its wide avenues, and long sightlines, all the better to ship troops in and out of the city efficiently. Clark's subject position is that of a scholar-observer, but he identifies with the people on the receiving end of this force, with the displaced poor, and above all with the artist looking on the spectacle of destruction with wry detachment. His subject position is never that of the architect, who is barely mentioned by name, subsumed into the works of the master architect, Haussmann, who is both designer and effective dictator. Architecture, in other words, is present here, but as the material embodiment of authority, against which art resists.

The spaces of femininity

Clark's key term was social class: He saw it inscribed in the representation of the city's architecture, and in doing so provided a counter-reading of urban space. *The Painting of Modern Life* remains one of the fault lines within the New Art History, however, because the elevation of that term within the urban environment seemed to imply the suppression of others, specifically gender. (This was even the case with other kinds of images, like those of cafés and the female body, where Clark's work joined debates about the representation of sexuality but insisted on the primacy of class in their interpretation.) In 'Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity', a chapter of her 1988 book *Vision and Difference*, as well as in earlier critiques, Griselda Pollock took Clark to task for his failure (as she saw it) to address gender and thus for his retention of the naturalized visual regimes of masculinity.[52] The spaces of the new Paris might at their best provide provocative and dangerous interminglings of social class, but the freedoms of the new city

were circumscribed by gender. There could be no *flâneuse*, Pollock wrote, reiterating an argument made earlier by Janet Wolff; the new Paris was a space constructed by and for men, regardless of social class, and from which women were either excluded or played a subservient role.[53] In effect, according to Pollock's argument, although Marxism might be exploited for its 'explanatory instruments',[54] a Marxist social history of art and a feminist history of art were incompatible; they were devoted to fundamentally different aspects of the world.

Gender limited the condition of viewing, Pollock contended, drawing upon Louis Althusser and recent film theory, because space was differently experienced and practised according to what gender you were. So even in her account of Manet's *Bar aux Folies-Bergères* Pollock differed markedly from Clark; could, she asked, a woman relate to the 'viewing position' offered by this painting, which was to say, the position of an imaginary client for whom the barmaid is implicitly for sale? Moreover, would a contemporary female viewer be able to relate to the space of the bar from which she was, in fact, excluded? This being the case, Pollock wrote, Clark's argument failed: having no knowledge of such spaces, a woman could not therefore understand the 'painting's job of negation and disruption'.[55] Could Berthe Morisot (she continued) 'have gone to such a location to canvas the subject? … Could she as a woman experience modernity as Clark defines it at all' (Figure 5.4)?[56] Turning this back onto one of the much-lauded attempts to do a social history of architecture, it has justifiably been asked of Mark Girouard's *Life in the English Country House* (1978), *whose* life is being described within this architecture other than that of the masculine ruling elite?[57]

Pollock went on to delineate the space of the city in feminist terms, listing those (limited) spaces in which women could operate – 'dining rooms, drawing rooms, bedrooms, balconies/verandas, private gardens', along with the more public 'spaces of bourgeois recreation' and the labour involved with child-rearing.[58] The consequent paintings use spatial devices and spatial structures to different ends from those of contemporary male painters: 'two compartments of space often boundaried by some device such as a balustrade, balcony, veranda or embankment … a compression or immediacy in the foreground spaces … a dislocation … outdoor space seems to collapse towards the picture plane … the comfortable vista … is decisively refused.'[59] What emerges from this account is a very different Paris to Clark's – equally architectural, but one in which architectural interiors predominate, along with politeness and restraint in the public realm. Recognizably the same city, it is nevertheless one in which the SI-driven argument about modernity cannot work because its inhabitants – in this case, women – have so little conventional agency in the world that is described. Their architectural world is smaller, more constrained, interiorized, subject to regimes of scopic power that otherwise do not obtain.

The point here is not to pretend that the challenges and complexities of writing about gender and architecture can be exemplified by Pollock's

FIGURE 5.4 *Berthe Morisot* – Two Women Reading *(1869–70). Courtesy: National Gallery of Art, Washington.*

clash with Clark about interpreting the representation of nineteenth-century Paris. The issue of women's place in the architecture profession and in the building professions and trades more widely, the question of how space might be shaped around women's needs and experiences and with women as designing agents, and even the struggle to acknowledge women's perceptions of their environment, all long pre-dated Pollock's intervention (and the feminist critique of the canon of architecture that has come after it). Furthermore, most of these concerns, as with those that arose in art history, were motivated by movements and theories that developed outside the academy.[60] But in terms of this book's interest in the 'architecture of art history', although Pollock's work is not interested in the spatial and material specificity of architecture it is seminally significant because it offers an insight into what did not exist before – a reading of gender's visual and spatial ramifications that cuts across the divide between art and architectural history (even if it did not equally influence both sides of that divide).

This might be called the issue of 'women and space' (with a nod to Virginia Woolf's seminal 1928 essay 'A Room of One's Own'). To be alert to this issue was to comprehend the *Zimmer der Dame* of a Viennese bourgeois house as a place invested with scopic authority: The woman silhouetted against the light of the street, looking down and across the house's *Raumplan* to view

the performance of family rites, and beyond to the garden outside.[61] It was to understand the 'cool, airy and spacious … sanctuary' of Pre-Raphaelite medievalism as in tension with Arthurian chivalry.[62] It was to analyse the spaces of the harem as carefully inflected layers of visibility enabling the projection as much as the withholding of identity.[63] It was to describe late nineteenth-century San Francisco as a built and imagined landscape creating 'islands of femininity', expanding or contracting over time with everyday appropriation and designed intention.[64] And finally, it was to describe the towering convents of seventeenth-century Naples as settings for the projection of aristocratic female power beyond the cloister.[65] In all these, with their deployment of photographs, drawings, altarpieces, and maps, as much as walls, built-in furniture, and commercial frontages, the old nexus seemed to have been reasserted but to strikingly new and challenging ends.

Pollock's important work on Paris helped establish gender and space as a field of inquiry, even if it seemed to leave questions of power untethered from their functioning within capitalism. It expanded the range of architectural spaces that might be considered within the history of art, and in so doing, made the city (generally speaking) bigger or at least gave new perspectives onto it. But Pollock's work shares with Clark an essentially antagonistic attitude to architecture characteristic of the New Art History, which is to say an assumption that it straightforwardly represents authority, be that of capital or patriarchy. We do not learn about architecture on its own terms here, or even in terms of its circumstances of production (of how it 'made certain materials workable', in Clark's terms), but see it represented as something else: capital, social class, women's oppression. What had been the motivating absence of architecture in the work of Baxandall and Steinberg has now turned into something else, a beguiling spectacle, a scenography, a matter of limits and limitations. That essentially antagonistic understanding is, we would argue, still a product of architectural history's now entrenched separation from the history of art, but also by this stage, a sense of architecture itself as a lost cause in the humanities.

6

October's architecture

Like any academic discipline, art history is also the history of its journals; there are periods when what happens in its journals is, in effect, the discipline. For art historians working in the modern and contemporary fields, the late 1970s and early 1980s was arguably one such period, at least in the Anglosphere when one journal mattered to the exclusion of all others. *October*, a small, sober-looking, New York-based academic quarterly exerted a wholly disproportionate influence on the practice of art history at that point. One of the principal vehicles for the introduction of French post-structuralist theory into the discipline, and into Anglophone intellectual life in general, its influence extended well into the 1990s. For convenience, *October*, the journal, is the main focus of this chapter, but by it we mean something like a constellation, or a sphere of influence – so besides that journal, we would include the translation and republication of architecture-related texts by structuralist and post-structuralist theorists such as Michel Foucault, sometimes, but by no means always in the pages of these journals (the popular edited collection, *Rethinking Architecture* would be a good example).[1] And we would also include the work of contemporary philosopher-critics such as Fredric Jameson, occasionally published in the pages of *October*, but speaking to a public beyond the contemporary art sphere that produced it. Needless to say, this constellation does not have exactly defined boundaries, and among the readers of *October* or Foucault in the 1980s were many who were critical of what they read. There are also institutional questions: The *October* constellation orbits art history, but is not exclusively of it; it speaks to an evolution of the discipline, meeting art practice and cultural studies, as well as emerging discourses in museology and curating. That said, the *October* constellation can be described as having a number of key characteristics: left-leaning, critical of establishments (although itself constituting a kind of establishment), critical of institutions, especially museums, anxious, above all, to defend the autonomy of art against capital. This last point marks a continuity with Clement Greenberg's art criticism. The other key figure for the *October*

constellation was undoubtedly Walter Benjamin, whose highly suggestive revision of Marx gave agency to culture, in all its forms. This Greenberg-Benjamin axis produced a new range of objects of study – particularly institutions – and a distinctive, high-minded style, with a foregrounding of methods, and a politics in which art's allegorical role became central.[2]

From the point of view of this book, what *October* does with architecture is key. The journal represents a de facto rapprochement with architecture, but on precisely limited terms. Here, in the journal, and more broadly in the discipline at the time, architecture *can* be admitted, but only certain kinds of architecture are suitable for discussion, and then only in certain ways. There is not much about building form, for example, let alone architecture and society, or the environment, or energy. How much this was intentional can be debated. What we have, however, is an important record of an influential disciplinary engagement with architecture that can be measured and assessed with precision – as we shall see, merely recognizing how often *October* dealt with architecture, and in what ways, tells us much about art history's architecture in this period. Anyone who taught the discipline in *October*'s heyday will recognize something of the picture it describes: What architecture was permitted and what not, how it was to be analysed, and on what terms, what architectural objects of enquiry could be admitted to the forming canon.

October was established in New York, and first published in 1976, edited by two prominent art critics based in the city, Rosalind Krauss and Annette Michelson. Krauss and Michelson had both been editors of the contemporary art journal *Artforum,* and had helped formulate, during its period of greatest influence in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the body of theory underpinning the commercial success of Minimal Art. Krauss had, however, a close relationship with Greenberg – he is a presence throughout her 1993 book *The Optical Unconscious*, and its chapter six (psycho-) analyses a remembered encounter between them.[3] Krauss departed from Greenberg, and his acolyte, Michael Fried, in her assessment of Minimal Art and its allied tendencies – she was readier to see it as a continuation of the attitude of self-criticism that Greenberg had found, and elaborated so eloquently, in Abstract Expressionism. She shared with Greenberg however a commitment to art's autonomy, and a belief, that can be traced all the way back to 'Avant-Garde and Kitsch' of 1939, in art as a kind of safe store for all that was valuable in culture. *October* could often be both high-minded and defensive, traits that owe much to Greenbergian thought.

Krauss and Michelson resigned from *Artforum* in late 1974 in protest at the then editor John Coplans's publication of a notorious advertisement for Lynda Benglis, in which the artist appeared oiled and naked, wearing only Ray-Ban and wielding a gigantic double-headed dildo.[4] Krauss did not like it at all. In a letter published the following month (December) she and Michelson complained of the Benglis ad's 'vulgarity', likening it to 'pornography'. They resigned shortly afterwards, partly in protest at the Benglis, partly (as Gail

Day has indicated) at the journal's refusal to publish Foucault's essay on Magritte, which can be understood in relation to *Artforum*'s attempt to position itself closer to contemporary leftist art. (The plot is made more complicated by Foucault's impact on the writing of architectural history, which has been, it almost goes without saying, transformative since the late 1970s, but largely for his theories on panopticism rather than the linguistic post-structuralism of the essay on Magritte).[5]

A year and a half later, the first issue of their new venture, *October*, appeared – a peer-reviewed academic journal devoted to 'Art, Theory, Criticism, Politics'. The cover, then as now, simply printed the titles of the contents against a plain white background (Figure 6.1). There were no illustrations on the cover, and only limited, monochrome images inside. The editors declared their dominant aim as 'the renewal and strengthening of critical discourse through intensive review of the methodological options now available'.[6] This project, they argued, was only possible with sober reflection on the 'economic and social bases' of art practice, an understanding of the material conditions of art, and a belief in their being perhaps uniquely compromised in the present, referring to the so-called 'culture wars' of the period in which the journal would play a significant role.[7] The emphasis on the material conditions of the production of art superficially seemed to put the journal in the same orbit as the social history of art, and such British journals as *Art History* (in its early years), *Oxford Art Journal*, and *History Workshop Journal*; the title *October*, referring to 1917, a moment at which art and politics were temporarily united was suggestive of the same thing.[8]

October's editors showed only limited interest in social class, however, and they made clear from the start that they wished to sideline Marxist thought, even as they absorbed Russian formalism; early issues made a point of introducing, via translation, structuralist and post-structuralist essays from France, where Michelson had long been resident, and in whose culture she could claim expertise. Krauss, too, was drawn to structuralism: It seemed to continue formalism's repugnance for content (or, at least, particular kinds of content deemed extraneous) but with a conceptual rigour that had been lost in Greenberg's taste-bound criticism.[9] On the design of the journal, the editors were equally clear in their purpose: the journal was to be 'plain of aspect', a rebuke to the increasing tendency to illustration in the art journals whereby writing became an adjunct to the pictures (Greenberg was an example here, no doubt: he notoriously refused to use slides in lectures, on the grounds that they were inferior substitutes for the real thing, and a distraction).[10] So *October* came into the world in the honed if austere form that has since become familiar.

The opening statement from *October*'s editors made no mention of architecture per se, but neither did it preclude it. Joan Copjec, the managing editor from the beginning has said it was not 'ignorant or indifferent' regarding architecture, pointing out that its initial home was New York's Institute of Architecture and Urban Design (IAUD).[11] Its editors were

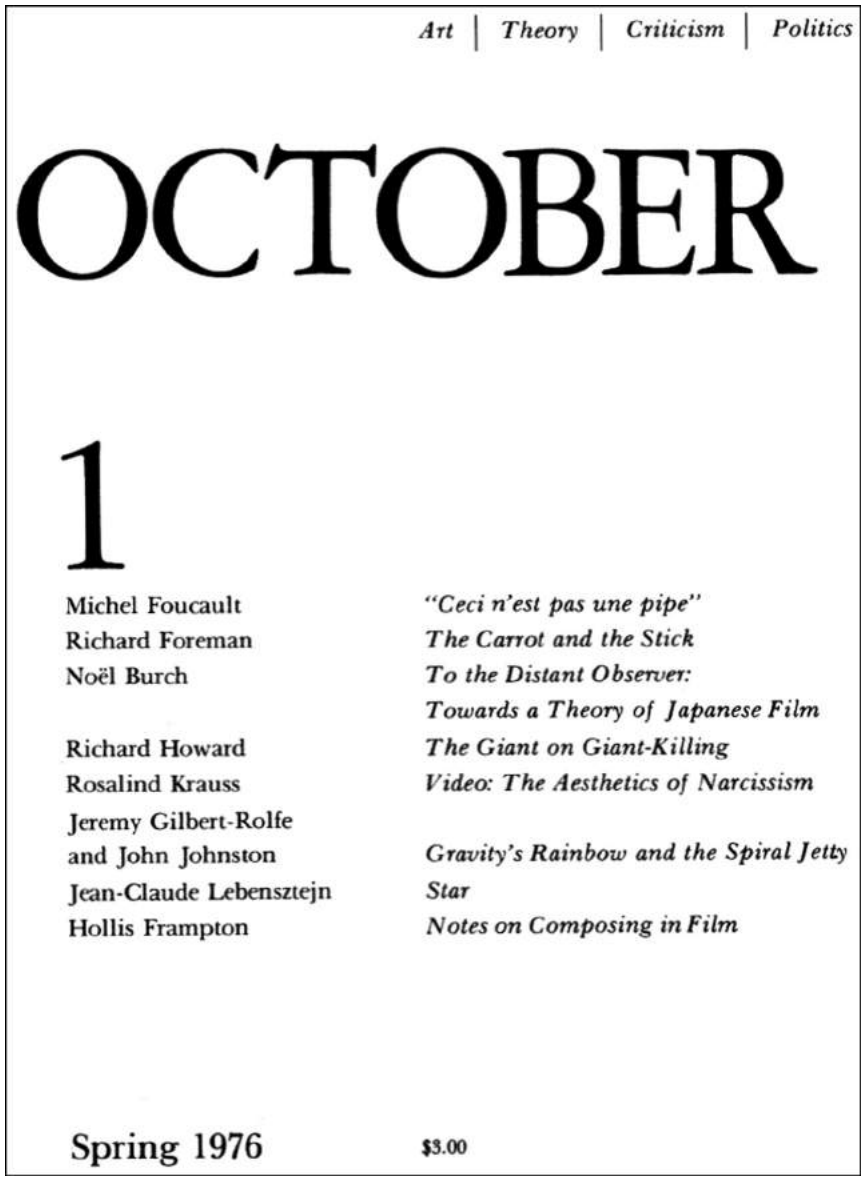


FIGURE 6.1 *Cover of* October, *1, Spring 1976. Photograph by Richard J. Williams.*

members, who regularly spoke at IAUD events, and early on they even included the architect Peter Eisenman (of the IAUD).[12] The journal did not therefore deny architecture in any meaningful sense; if there was a policy at this stage, it was a pragmatic one, with (as Copjec has suggested) architectural

topics being pushed towards the journal *Oppositions*, also housed at IAUD (at least in the early years – *Oppositions* lasted only eleven years, 1973–84). This seems to mirror the separation of disciplines that we have already seen in MoMA's multi-departmental plan, and of course in the dissolution of the German tradition itself. However, if *Oppositions* generally kept away from art, *October* was often enough drawn to comment on architecture.

October's engagement with architecture is well worth exploring because it says something about attitudes to architecture in the modern and contemporary fields of art history, and how different they are from those of earlier periods of the discipline. Fortunately, it is easy to survey, given the journal's plain format, and a tradition of straightforwardness in the titling of essays. However it does present some problems of definition, for as was the case in respect of the New Art History, architecture rarely appears on its own terms. Architecture certainly appears, but mediated through some other thing, sculpture in the first instance, post-structuralist theory later on, then a neo-situationist concern for the 'spectacle', and since 2000 or so, a qualified acceptance of it as an art on its own terms.

We begin at the beginning. In its first decade, there was nothing at all until volume 8 (Spring 1979) and Rosalind Krauss's landmark essay 'Sculpture in the Expanded Field', in which by means of a series of semiological moves she defined sculpture against architecture.[13] Then there was nothing until volume 10, and the artist Daniel Buren's essay on the artist's studio, titled plainly 'Function of the Studio': again this was not architecture per se, but criticism with architecture as a key, albeit dark, presence.[14] Then there was another gap with the odd oblique reference in the ongoing project to define sculpture on new terms (Robert Morris's thoughts on art as land reclamation in volume 12, for example, and again in volume 16 an essay on the landscape sculpture of Walter de Maria).[15] Volume 13 had Douglas Crimp on the museum, and again in volume 18, an essay on the work of Richard Serra whose title 'Sculpture Exceeded' continues with oblique references to architecture vis-a-vis sculpture.[16]

It was not until volume 20, midway through 1982, some six years after the journal's inception that there was direct, unambiguous treatment of architecture in the form of a translation of Jean Baudrillard's 1977 excoriation of Rogers and Piano's Beaubourg (or Pompidou Centre), and in the same issue an interview with Nazi architect Albert Speer.[17] The inference could not be clearer: architecture could appear, not as an art, but as dystopian scenography. 'Dystopia' is certainly the right word in relation to Baudrillard's essay which described an architectural monster in the fourth arrondissement, consuming culture and visitors alike. *October* then took a further nine volumes to deal with it again, and then only obliquely, as it had done in the past – so volume 29 had Yves-Alain Bois's classic essay on Serra's *Clara Clara*, a sculpture that was also a clear work of landscape architecture;[18] Rosalyn Deutsche's account of the gentrification of New York followed in volume 31, raising troubling questions for the role of architecture in making

the city unaffordable for artists.[19] Then in volumes 35 and 36 there were two significant references to architecture in the form of Walter Benjamin's Moscow Diary, and Georges Bataille's essays on the Slaughterhouse and the Smokestack – architecture's presence was dystopian here again, especially in the Bataille (Denis Hollier's later book-length discussion of Bataille was aptly titled *Against Architecture*).[20] The special issue dedicated to the work of the Polish/Canadian artist Krzysztof Wodiczko in volume 38 described the artist's work as a form of tactical architecture in the service of New York's homeless, whose plight was itself both a function of, and a contributor to, another architectural dystopia.[21] Volume 41 had articles on Jeremy Bentham (the progenitor of the Panopticon) and Paris's Musée d'Orsay, as well as Ridley Scott's 1982 film *Blade Runner*, all of which in different ways reprised the journal's dystopian view of architecture. It was an impression further underlined in volume 47 in another article by Rosalyn Deutsche on New York's public art and homelessness.[22]

October's treatment of architecture was then highly intermittent for some years: Krauss on the 'Late Capitalist Museum', and a special issue on 'Situationist Space' by Thomas McDonough were the main examples between volumes 47 and 83.[23] There was then, abruptly, a surprisingly straight roundtable discussion in volume 84, on MoMA's expansion – chaired by Hal Foster, and marking his full entry into the journal as an editor.[24] The following issue marked this more strongly with Pamela M. Lee on Gordon Matta Clark's 1970s interventions in Paris, and Tom Burr's exploration of the unconscious architectures of the Times Square entertainment industry.[25] There was a flowering of interest in architecture in the late 1990s and early 2000s coinciding with Foster's presence on the editorial team; volume 94 was a whole issue treatment of the Independent Group, including an interview with the architect Peter Smithson.[26] Moving on, *October* showed an increasingly direct engagement with the topic in volume 98, which had a roundtable discussion on Tate Modern on the occasion of its opening, with discussion of the form of the building envelope as well as its interiors.[27] Volume 106 was a special issue edited by Anthony Vidler, with an essay by himself on Reyner Banham (established since volume 94 as a figure of interest for the journal), and on radical politics and architecture by Felicity Scott.[28] Volume 136 was a special issue on Brutalism with reproduced texts by Banham and contemporaries, 139 had Hegel on architecture, and 142 was a special issue on the Occupy movement.[29] The most recent issue we were able to cover, volume 156, contained a conversation with Eyal Weizman on so-called 'Forensic Architecture', a critical engagement with the technologies of architectural representation to reveal the mechanisms of power.[30]

So what do we conclude from this list? Architecture was certainly present, but episodically, and its episodes presented architecture in a mediated form.[31] So in the first instance, in the 1970s and 1980s, it appeared as a foil

to sculpture, particularly that of the minimalist Richard Serra, and it was a negative presence altogether in this period (thinking of the reproduction and translation of texts by Bataille and Baudrillard). With Hal Foster's addition to the editorial board in 1991, *October* developed a more positive engagement with architecture, but it was architecture of particular kinds, treated in particular ways: museums, typically, and other buildings connected with art, designed by architects who regarded themselves as artists. The final phase, if we can call it that, saw the journal deal with some particular architectural phenomena in depth, such as Brutalism. In this phase we might ask simply why these things were chosen for such special and rare attention, and what this says about both the journal and the discipline's engagement with architecture. After all, when the focus on architecture was so intermittent, the choice of object greatly matters.

The first kind of engagement with architecture in the journal occurs in relation to sculpture. There was nothing on the topic until volume 8, and Krauss's now classic essay 'Sculpture in the Expanded Field', which defined a field of practice that clearly existed by that moment, but which had received only limited theorization.[32] Sculpture had, wrote Krauss, expanded beyond the familiar, to become installations and arrays of materials that rivalled architecture and even landscape in scale. They seemed to be proliferating, in number and size and kinds of objects, and this proliferation is what Krauss meant by the 'expanded field'. This had a clear relation to Michael Fried's canonical essay of 1967, 'Art and Objecthood', where he analysed the sculptor Tony Smith's account of a drive on the New Jersey Turnpike and his experience of the landscape as framed in the windscreen.[33] There may also be some relation to what Leo Steinberg had identified (as we explained in Chapter 2) as the displaced situational dynamics of painting from Caravaggio to Jackson Pollock and Robert Rauschenberg (whose work Steinberg memorably characterized as the 'flat bed picture plane'),[34] which had re-reoriented the viewer's relation to the artwork as well as expanding the space in which that work could be said to operate. Performing a semiotic analysis using a Klein diagram (a mathematical tool used to describe groups), Krauss described a logical situation emergent in the mid-1960s when sculpture as a term – at least in the minds of critics such as herself – started to appear as pure negativity. It was, she wrote, thinking of Robert Morris's Green Gallery show of 1964 which showed off a series of astonishingly blank, architectural-scale boxes, the combination of 'not architecture' and 'not landscape'.[35] In a series of logical moves, Krauss argues that new forms of sculpture produced by artists from the mid-1960s by Morris, but also Robert Smithson, Richard Serra, Michael Heizer, Walter de Maria, and others had turned this 'neither-nor' condition of sculpture into (broadly speaking) a 'both-and' condition, in which architecture and landscape had been assumed into the new condition of sculpture. The new condition did, Krauss argued, have a significantly

architectural condition in its experience: 'in every case of these axiomatic structures', she wrote,

> There is some kind of intervention into the real space of architecture sometimes through partial reconstruction, sometimes through drawing, or as in the recent works of Morris, through the use of mirrors … but whatever the medium employed, the possibility explored in this category is a process of mapping the axiomatic features of the architectural experience – the abstract conditions of openness and closure – onto the reality of a given space.[36]

This expanded condition of sculpture was somewhat opaque (what was that 'real space of architecture'?) and it was far from pluralist, as it might first have seemed. What was clear, however (as Krauss's diagram showed), was that it was *not* architecture. In the journal's numerous discussions of its de facto protégé, Richard Serra, it was also clear that 'not architecture' could easily also mean 'against architecture'. See, for example, Yve-Alain Bois's 1984 essay, 'A Picturesque Stroll Around *Clara-Clara*', the title referring to one of Serra's monumental steel works.[37] Bois's essay built on Krauss's earlier one to introduce the term 'picturesque'. What is striking for us is the extent to which Bois drew out Serra's hostility to architecture. (Its publication coincides with perhaps the clearest real-world expression of this, the *Tilted Arc* case, of which more follows.) The issue in the first instance was simply one of status: Architects devalued sculpture by using it blandly to adorn public spaces whose form was already predetermined: 'we know he is irritated by architects', wrote Bois, 'who take only a utilitarian interest in sculpture (to adorn their buildings, to add something soulful to their central banks and multinational headquarters)'. This 'irritation', this 'lack of fondness' was his 'right' he continued, because it was a way of 'reminding architects of some forgotten truths'.[38] Serra did not wish to be mistaken for an architect, Bois wrote,

> When sculpture leaves the gallery or the museum to occupy the same space and place as architecture, when it redefines the space and place in terms of sculptural necessities, architects become annoyed. Not only is their concept of space being changed but for the most part it is being criticized … to criticize a language there must be a second language available dealing with the structure of the first but possessing a new structure … This is exactly the position in which Serra's sculpture finds itself in the presence of modern architecture: the former maintains a connection that allows it to criticize the latter. Both have a common denominator that allows them to communicate.[39]

There is a lot about architecture here. Bois understood Serra's work as sharing a common language with architecture that facilitates communication, but at

the same time the work exists in a critical relationship with it, in which architecture was understood to be the problem (other essays on Serra were similarly anti-architectural, such as Douglas Crimp's 'Richard Serra: Sculpture Exceeded').[40]

The controversy around Serra's *Tilted Arc*, replayed this position in public, involving all members of the journal's editorial board.[41] *Tilted Arc* was a sculpture in corten steel by Serra, commissioned by the General Services Administration of the US Federal Government and installed in Federal Plaza, New York, in 1981 (Figure 6.2). Dividing the square in two,

FIGURE 6.2 *Richard Serra* – Tilted Arc *(1981) © ARS, NY and DACS, London 2018.*

and cutting all sight lines across it with a monumental curve, the sculpture was the subject of a campaign for its removal from its first appearance in 1981. The controversy was hardly a surprise: Serra's approach represented confrontation rather than amelioration, using sculpture to attack what he felt were the architecture's shortcomings. A public hearing on its future eventually took place in March 1985 at which a decision was reached to resite the sculpture, against the wishes of the artist and his supporters (Serra appealed, unsuccessfully). *Tilted Arc* was destroyed in 1989, replaced by somewhat innocuous street furniture. The controversy was *October*'s cause célèbre, allowing the journal to stage a public battle over culture, central to which was its critique of architecture. Many of the witnesses in the original hearing called on to defend the sculpture drew attention to the quality of the architecture. Crimp (at that stage still one of *October*'s editors) spoke of its 'stark ugliness'.[42] Benjamin Buchloh described the square's 'conditions of alienation that made people detest art in the first place'.[43] The art critic Roberta Smith described New York's tendency to 'tear down great buildings' to replace them with mediocre ones, and the towers of Federal Plaza being fine examples of precisely this: 'The news delivered by the *Tilted Arc*, the fact it brings out, is that the buildings behind it should be the real target of public outrage.'[44]

One way of exploring *October*'s attitude to architecture is therefore to examine the way it appears as a foil in its important discussions around sculpture. There was truly nothing in its representation of architecture that was positive; in the *Tilted Arc* controversy, the architecture appears on the side of reactionary populism connected, quite explicitly in the testimony of more than one witness, with the actions of Nazi Germany in the 1930s.[45]

FIGURE 6.3 *Renzo Piano and Richard Rogers – Pompidou Centre (Beaubourg), Paris (1971-77). Photograph by Richard J. Williams.*

That bleakness colours the handful of articles in the early years that deal explicitly with architecture.

The Baudrillard essay on the Beaubourg is particularly revealing (it is worth noting that the translation is credited to Krauss and Michelson, making this as much an *October* piece as any) (Figure 6.3). The first explicit discussion of architecture in *October*'s history, its author was no specialist in architecture, but a sociologist-philosopher. It avoided the normal things that a piece of architectural analysis or history might do: There was no discussion of the building's designers, its design evolution, or its spatial organization. Likewise there was no treatment of the building's political origins in the May 1968 events, nor the subsequent international architectural competition. There was no systematic analysis of the building's form, nor anything substantive on its structure or its servicing, and consequently no presentation of the kinds of data on these things (weights, volumes, materials, costs, and so on) that might typically appear in an architectural review article. Nor were there any illustrations, in line with the journal's severe policy (they were regarded as a distraction at best, if not moral laxity).[46]

Then there was the text. There was a breathless, racing quality to the language, a sense of excess from the first line, with the piling up of images upon images, hyperbole at all levels, a disregard for facts or evidence. Entirely free of footnotes, or data of any kind, it functioned more as a kind of speculative fiction, and it is arguably these striking literary qualities as much as anything else that has led to its enduring presence on art history curricula. It said, broadly, three things – that Beaubourg constituted a new form of architecture that had somehow exceeded the capacity of ordinary human beings to understand it; that it represents the end, or death of, culture; and that it contains within its architectural programme an unconscious plan of destruction. Nowhere did Beauboug appear as a straightforward building: instead Beaubourg was perverse and contradictory, seemingly designed to collapse under the weight of its visitors. Baudrillard cheered on the destruction; 'MAKE BEAUBOURG BUCKLE!', he wrote. There was no need 'to torch it or to fight it', he went on,

> Just go there! That's the best way to destroy it. Beaubourg's success is no mystery; people go there just for that. The fragility of the structure already exudes catastrophe, and they stampede it just to make it buckle[47]

It was a chance to 'finish off architecture and culture in one blow', and its destruction would 'make it the most audacious object and successful happening of the century'.[48] Baudrillard's piece illustrates a number of key points in the journal's early treatment of architecture: First, that architecture is a simple representation of political power (in this case of the state); second, that this power (and thereby architecture) must be resisted; third, and with a touch of vague nostalgia, that real architecture only perhaps existed before 1930 (or 1890, or 1800); and finally and perhaps most enticingly for this

declaredly iconoclastic journal, that architecture, like capital itself, contained the seeds of its own destruction.

That idea, that architecture, as a representation of capital, might somehow be self-destructive shows up in the choices of architectural object the journal made. Architecture was always about to collapse, always under threat. The Baudrillard piece is a fine example, an argument for how the politics of culture at the time created a structure that through its very popularity produced its destruction and that of culture more generally (or seemed to do so – Beaubourg, after a three-year refurbishment in 1997–2000 is still, happily, standing). Something similar occurred in the same issue as the Beaubourg piece in a translation of a 1978 interview with Albert Speer – one of only two interviews with architects the journal has ever published (the other, a conversation with Peter Smithson, appeared in 2000 in a special issue on the Independent Group).[49] The choice of Speer in itself points to the continuing interest in an architecture of failure. Architecture, it could be said, appears in the *October* universe when it is threatened by its own destruction, here the destruction of total war (in this case *October* effectively continued a debate over Speer carried on in the pages of *Oppositions* in 1981, which involved a Leon Krier defence and a powerful rebuttal by Joan Ockman – what is interesting here is less their conclusions, than the fascination in the first place).[50]

FIGURE 6.4 *Krzysztof Wodiczko* – Homeless Vehicle *(1988–9). Photographer unknown.*

For *October* art existed in a different moral universe, allowed to be corrective, to be critical and sometimes ameliorative of capital – it was a *good*. Architecture in these early years could not be a good, a point made more explicit still in the selection of two short pieces by Georges Bataille which appear in volume 36, 'Slaughterhouse' and 'Smokestack'.[51] The former text, a typically dense and epigrammatic note, ironically regretted what has been lost by banishing the slaughterhouse to the margins, to a place of 'small mindedness and boredom' where 'there is no longer anything terrible' and the population is 'reduced to eating cheese'. It was a sad contrast to an alternative, prior universe in which the slaughterhouse had 'lugubrious grandeur'.[52] An enigmatic mixture of irony and certitude, the piece mourned for a time when violence was more explicitly part of the day-to-day, regretting the sanitization of the present day.

The appeal of Bataille here lies in the journal's ongoing political project to expose the violence in the everyday world, and it was – *October* implied – typically through the object of architecture that violence was manifest. Architecture was again therefore in this usage a vehicle, rather than an object of attention in its own right. As with its appearance in the *Tilted Arc* controversy where it appeared as a foil for art, here it stood in for something else, capital or power, and often both – as is the case of the work of Rosalyn Deutsche (volumes 31 and 38, the latter on the artist Krysztof Wodiczko's engagement with New York's homeless) which explore the actions of the real estate markets in New York, and the role of art and artists within them (Figure 6.4).

Architecture and institutions

October's engagement with architecture developed after this early period in which it was used to some other, mostly negative, purpose. Architecture appeared next in its engagement with institutions, an area in which it was influential in the formation of Anglophone world art history curricula. Encouraged by *October*, the study of institutions and institutional politics, broadly conceived, became a key object of concern, and this work was typically done with reference to the physical fact of its architecture, with the political programme understood as inscribed in the buildings. An early (1979) example of this is the artist Daniel Buren's exploration of the artist's studio as a political space.[53] That analysis of the institutions of art through its architectures was an occasional theme through the first two decades, seen again, for example in Crimp's work on exhibitions of which 1984's 'The Art of Exhibition' is a good example; an exposé of the politics of exhibition making, it elaborated the way in which the exhibition existed in the service of the powerful, again explored through the trope of architectural interiors. His account of MoMA centred on the Bell 47D1 helicopter the museum proudly displayed as a design classic, noting its role as a killing machine in the Korean and Vietnam conflicts.[54]

However, these explorations of the institutions of art, while they invoked architecture, were a long way from architectural criticism or architectural history; the architecture is treated in a vehicular way, as an expression of something else, lacking in agency. The authors notably avoid discussion of specifics – of architects themselves, of the architectural programme, of design in general, of the architectural object as something that might be complex and ambivalent and require similarly attuned interpretation. It is easy to come away with the impression of architecture as a peculiarly dumb category, as the material expression of the political unconscious. It might be shaped to be worked into a discussion of art, but in that move, it would lose any distinct character of its own.

October's approach to the institutions of art did however evolve significantly with the arrival on the editorial board of Hal Foster in 1991, a critic and art historian with specific interests and expertise in architecture. Foster's interests quite quickly became prominent. Specific to architecture, by the end of the 1990s, *October*'s interest in the institutions of art was bolstered by a much greater openness to architecture's potential for agency. So, in volume 84's treatment of the extension to the MoMA, there was a new openness to design. Here for the first time was an account of a building that acknowledged design, and with it a sense that a building does not emerge mute and fully formed into the world as if by magic, but was the result of a multilayered imaginative process, parallel to that which might produce an art object.[55]

Structured as a conversation between a group of the journal's editors and Terence Riley, the MoMA's curator of architecture and design, the article centred initially on the politics of the competition process ('so it *is* very political' insisted Krauss, when she comes to understand that the model privileges the architect over the institution), followed by the politics of the exhibition space, manifest in, for example its approach to hierarchy, and the notion of the heterotopia.[56] But the discussion quite quickly moved into new territory for the journal as – under pressure from Krauss to explain himself – Riley argued that the politics of the institution could be found illustrated in its microarchitectures. Speaking of the 1939 building designed by Philip L. Goodwin and Edward Durrell Stone, he narrated the slow disappearance of the original design elements to produce a space subservient to capital: 'those delicate curtains, the little baseboards, the terrazzo floors, the translucent glass walls, and the skylights, are disappearing, and bit by bit the architecture is being eaten up to, in effect, make it reprogrammable.'[57]

What is striking here, and later when the discussion turns to the quality of the later buildings (Krauss: 'the fact is, here you are, the curator of architecture in a building which is spectacularly bad, architecturally') is that architecture can, at last, breathe.[58] The MoMA discussion remains at the level of paper architecture, a still – we suspect – comfortable object for the journal, so there was little cause to engage with architecture at the complex and often messy end of realization. For that, we can look at another roundtable discussion piece, this time on Tate Modern, published

in 2001, the year following its inauguration.[59] This roundtable discussion involved mostly London-based academics (Briony Fer, Antony Hudek, Mignon Nixon, Alex Potts, and Julian Stallabrass) and was – of a kind – a sort of post-occupancy study that sought to explore the building's appeal, beginning with a question derived from a 1956 poster by Richard Hamilton – just what was it that 'makes Tate Modern, so different, so appealing?' The discussion covered, in order of appearance, the politics of the gallery's origins, the mood of its exhibition spaces, and the building in general, the nature of the thematic curation (a matter of much controversy when the gallery opened in 2000), the *Century City* exhibition, the politics of modernity and the relationship with the New Labour government of the time, the relationship of the architecture to the landscape, the relationship of the newly created museum to the building's past as a coal-fired power station, and the meaning of the place in relation to contemporary trends in British art (this being *October*, it ends on a somewhat melancholy note – the new museum is, in Julian Stallabrass's words, 'so official, so much an arm of the state' and a monument to a moment in British contemporary art that had now 'passed away').[60]

The remarks about architecture said a lot about the journal's attitude in general – nobody on the panel was an architectural specialist (or had that Germanic dual interest that might easily have been found in the 1950s), so technical questions were largely avoided as were, for the most part, questions concerning the architectural programme. In their place came no less pertinent, but different, questions on the use of the building, how it was occupied by both people and objects, and how these different forms of occupations speak to power. Sometimes the questions have a strikingly art historical dimension: when Potts extemporized on the high-level balcony providing a view over the City, he referred implicitly to recent art history on landscape and power, particularly in relation to the eighteenth century.[61] There was a great deal on mood, and on nostalgia, which invoked the language of psychoanalysis to probe the extent to which this former industrial site is a place of mourning or melancholy, or both. It's not, they conclude. There's no ghost of a former workplace, says Stallabrass, so complete has been the transformation of the power station. Potts says something similar about the Tate's peculiar lack of emotional affect in spite of its industrial origins: 'a particular moment of mourning about the loss of a sense of the historical is over. And the Tate is a convenient institution to epitomize that.'[62]

October's take on Tate Modern again epitomizes a precise form of engagement with architecture. It *is* a direct engagement with the problem of architecture from an art historical perspective, much more explicitly so than in the early issues of the journal in which it is almost as if the engagement has to be coded. Here the engagement is clear enough, with the art historian Briony Fer anxious to bring the discussion around to the building, for her much more than its contents the real topic of discussion. What it looks and feels like, and the politics of its location are the points of focus, which

gives the analysis a distinct character – these are essentially art historical concerns, drawing on post-structuralist and psychoanalytical theory as well as a broadly Marxist understanding of power and capital. The analysis – although specific in its attention to a building – is distinctly different to an architectural-historical approach, with (as ever) a range of building-specific areas of concern simply missing. *October*'s concerns are, as ever, politics of a particular art-world kind, not design.[63]

October's understanding of architecture nevertheless evolves beyond the way it appears in the first two decades, and its treatment becomes both more explicit and more attentive to the object. Two instances of this are volume 94 on the Independent Group and 136 on New Brutalism. The centrepiece of issue 94 is a rambling interview with the architect Peter Smithson on his recollections of the Independent Group.[64] Smithson's interlocutor here is not one of the usual editors, but Beatriz Colomina, Professor of Architecture at Princeton, and by that stage known for her interest in the mediatization of architecture. The interview is, for *October*, unusually well illustrated with reproductions of the well-known group portrait of the Smithsons with Eduardo Paolozzi and Nigel Henderson in the middle of a London street ('two couples', jokes Smithson), the Smithsons' much admired jeep, the 'private air diagrams' of 1955–6, the *House of the Future*, and *Patio and Pavilion* from the exhibition *This is Tomorrow*. The conversation takes a variety of twists and turnings, covering the major exhibitions, the experience of the war, social class, and the peculiar social groupings that made the Independent Group viable, and of sustained interest.

Smithson represents a peculiar sort of architectural content. One would scarcely imagine, presented with the interview for the first time, that Smithson was in the business of designing buildings. The architecture described here is of the most mediatized kind, to use Beatriz Colomina's concept, barely existing in the form of solid, three-dimensional structures with a fair degree of permanence. Instead, this architecture of the Independent Group exists in the most contingent forms imaginable: exhibitions of temporary and fragile materials, casual arrays of photographs, snatches of remembered experience and conversations, advertisements – a picture of a jeep, memories of the war. The understanding of the Independent Group that appears in this interview and then in subsequent articles by Mark Wigley, Julian Meyers, and Isabelle Moffat is of a tendency whose value lies precisely in its distance from the prosaic business of making buildings; its detachment from that, even from the business of making things at all, is significant; this is the kind of architecture that is permissible in the journal, and one would have to say that its potential for some systematic rethinking of the art-architecture relation is certainly there (as the Independent Group members themselves understood, and as we have seen in Reyner Banham's work) if exploited in limited ways. If the early years of *October* saw a significant, but highly critical engagement with

architecture in which it largely played the role of foil against which games of cultural politics could be played, this later, more positive engagement with the category of architecture finds value in the careful selection of objects. The Independent Group is the perfect architectural object for *October*: far removed from the reality of building, porous to other forms of art, highly mediatized, and legibly in some critical relation with its surroundings. To put it another way, the *October* universe allows a positive dialogue with architecture, but the objects of that architecture need careful selection.

So the Independent Group makes it into this restricted canon, as does the related tendency of Brutalism, which gets a special issue in volume 138, reproducing texts by Reyner Banham and contemporary critical essays. Brutalism represents the same things, as does (to pick two other objects of study out of a very limited critical range) the architecture of Rem Koolhaas, and the criticism of Kenneth Frampton. The latter perfectly represents *October*'s concerns for architecture: a theorist rather than a builder, a critic, a figure of the left, implacably opposed to the spectacularization of modern life and the role of the image in particular, a figure whose work, like *October*'s, has been essentially political, exposing the political meaning of form throughout his career.[65] Frampton's architecture and *October*'s are in many ways coterminous, and the fascinating interview with Hal Foster sketches out how Modernism might be continued as a political project. It explains Frampton, and the journal very well. It also makes clear how far this architecture, principally an architecture of ideas, is from the prosaic architecture of clients and buildings. This has continued with Foster's more recent book, aptly named *The Art-Architecture Complex* (2011), in which he argues that the fusion of art and architecture is a defining feature of contemporary culture: art has reanimated architecture, and architecture has inspired changes in art.[66] We might, just, be in the world of the German tradition here – the art-architecture nexus *redivivus*. But the terms of any *rapprochement* are limited. In that world, now with its *October*-flavoured slant, architecture has a distinctly negative cast, while the concerns of the architectural and other building professions, let alone those of the public, have little or no purchase. Understanding these distinctions goes a long way to explaining *October*'s position on architecture, and by extension, art history's position on the same in the late twentieth century.

Conclusion

In the decades after the Second World War and after the diaspora of German and Jewish art historians, art history came to flourish as never before in the United States and in Britain. And yet the tradition of German art history that it seemed to have brought with it had irrevocably changed. As we have argued in this book, one of the losses was the idea of a close interdependent relationship between the study of architecture and the study of art, one that went beyond the level of artists who made architecture or architects who made art, and instead was embedded deep within the most ambitious claims that art history could make as a serious form of cultural and historical study. And yet this nexus, as we have called it, dissipated and dissolved without crisis and with little apparent discussion, while the continuity or re-evaluation of other aspects of the German tradition were intensely contested and debated. Of course, art historians like Pevsner, Wittkower, and Krautheimer, and to a lesser extent Panofsky and Gombrich, continued to write about both media (as indeed did art historians outside the tradition like Anthony Blunt and John Summerson) but the centre of probing intellectual work no longer lay across the two disciplines. And when the great – and we must add creative and productive – crisis came in art history in the 1970s and 1980s, it happened almost entirely within an art history that already took for granted the irrelevance of architectural history. Architectural history was already largely separated out in its disciplinary infrastructure of associations, journals, and conferences, and even if its practitioners continued in art history departments, they continued on their own path, their methods and intellectual ambitions seeded either from disciplines beyond art history or from a sense of their own distinct disciplinary concerns.

What were the reasons for this dissipation? To some extent the *Kunstwissenschaft* tradition was a seam worked out, whose Alexandrian forms (as represented by Giedion's later work) had become lazy or self-fulfilling and whose claims of objectivity had become self-evidently the product of a particular point of view, directed at architects and skewing away from the balance Wölfflin or Riegl had found. More significantly, though, the nexus could not survive the post-war diaspora; it had become identified with – in fact, wrongly swept up into – the revulsion against the fascist connections and zeitgeist-type assumptions of the German tradition in the interwar period. The key post-war art historians in Britain (Gombrich) and the United States (Panofsky), and the key institutions (the Warburg Institute

in London and the Institute of Fine Art in New York), largely turned away from the deep association of art and architecture that had been so important to their German predecessors; its continuing undertow was tantalizingly apparent in Baxandall's work, while turned into distinct interpretative ends by Steinberg. Finally, new movements in art and architecture in the shape of Modernism developed towards powerful institutional and critical versions that emphasized the separation between the arts (Rowe's brief and strange counter-example notwithstanding). Notions of autonomy and discipline-specificity had inevitable ramifications for curating, the writing of history, and the teaching of art and architecture.

We might also speculate that the primary interdisciplinarity of art and architecture's relationship in art history became vulnerable to other disciplinary interests in the post-war decades, and most particularly in the new contexts of structuralism (in anthropology and linguistics) and post-structuralism (in literary theory and post-Freudian theory). Here, while the less architecturally engaged work of Gombrich and Warburg proved newly fertile (if at different times), the larger effect was to fragment and balkanize disciplinary identity even further from what it had been in the German tradition.

The conflict or crisis of the discipline in the 1970s and 1980s initially pitted a range of new methods and political readings against the status quo. This latter was perceived as mired by its connection with the art market or trapped in approaches that had been developed decades before, lacking interest in either the new social movements of the time or new theoretical developments in other disciplines. In this context architectural history, already cut off from a dynamic relation with art history by the end of the German tradition, seemed irrelevant to the new interdisciplinary energies. The potential for rapprochement was certainly there, in elements of the social history of art, in feminist writing on space, and in the connections with contemporary art projected by some of the *October* stable of writers. But within the discipline's formal structures (in subject associations, academic departments, and their curricula), the fate of the New Art History was to evolve into a climate of happy or inoffensive pluralism, a tolerant coexistence of approaches in which the idea of any curriculum unified around shared intellectual concerns (or even intellectual conflicts) gave way to the curriculum increasingly conceived as a container for options in which the fragments of separated intellectual projects might temporarily take up abode. Correspondingly, journals and conferences multiplied either to colonize more interdisciplinary spaces or to enable more hyper-specialization. The centre could not hold. In this situation, architectural history might be tolerated as just another approach, another option, but its presence both in art history's intellectual formations and in its formal structures has inevitably become more precarious.

All this begs the question why, or if, we should want to reactivate the interest in architecture now. Perhaps the art-architecture nexus, as we have

called it, is simply a historic feature of the discipline of art history, and we should simply acknowledge it, reread its key texts in a critical spirit, and move on, as we have largely done with psychobiography, say. In writing this book, we have a stake in the opposing position. We think art historians should pay more attention to architecture than they, at present, do. Here are three reasons why we think that should be the case.

First is the global re-emergence of architecture as an art form since the 1990s, which is to say that the most self-conscious part of the discipline has been concerned with image-making more than anything else. Global architectural firms, whether they are building in Beijing or Barcelona, have constructed icons, the primary task of which has been to represent power and capital, sometimes with great ingenuity. Iconic architecture has itself often been associated with art – consider the global museum boom of the 1990s and early 2000s for example – although, increasingly, iconic buildings seem to have acquired their own logic, exceeding whatever functional or local justification they may have once had. Rafael Viñoly's 432 Park Avenue, in midtown Manhattan, is a prime example. Ostensibly a block of flats, neither that description, nor the knowledge that it is a place to park capital in a footloose world, really begin to explain its scarcely credible form – pencil-thin, super-extruded, and with seemingly infinite repetition of Minimalist units, like a Sol LeWitt sculpture taken to its extremes. We may deplore this spectacularization of architecture, or we may welcome it; we – that is, art historians – cannot ignore it. Architecture has arguably become *the* global art form and it demands our attention. It is a phenomenon that is certainly linked to a surge of interest in understanding architecture in a more global way and across time, and while art history has also seen efforts to globalize the curriculum and to question the Western-centric narratives that have pertained, neither discipline is in serious communication with the other about the problems faced and the issues raised which are, arguably, more specific to them than they are to the other humanities and social science disciplines.

If we can make a case for remembering architecture, are there still unexplored areas of the art-architecture nexus that might be excavated? One area, as suggested above, is the sheer volume of contemporary architectural production, hidden in plain sight. But a larger project, and one that would avoid the accusation of the discipline's 'cheerful diversification' about which T. J. Clark warned in the 1970s, would be a methodological one: to explore what it would mean to study architecture in an art historical context, and to devise, as it were, a remit for research. Such a project might explore the limits of study: what kinds of architectural objects to include, and which ones to leave out, what might be profitable source material for studying them, and what might be the balance between the design of these objects, and their use or occupation. The tradition of questioning what is an art object and what is architecture has been most productive, we would suggest, within the art-architecture nexus – in the work of Riegl, Rowe, and Banham, for example

– where it comes out of a rigorous scrutiny of how different kinds of objects might be perceived and related, and therefore, implicitly or explicitly, a radical scepticism about the status of the categories of art and architecture. Following this, the project might reciprocally investigate the place of vision (description, visual analysis, visuality) in the study of architecture, and the place of space and materiality in the study of art. Architecture is a visual art, but perhaps more than any other, its apprehension is embodied, and temporal – and the study of it could give life to the new art historical methods and approaches that emerged in the 1990s, sometimes described as the 'bodily turn' in the discipline, as well as the more recent interest in material culture, in both of which the third dimension of space has been surprisingly marginal. Studying architecture might also give some centre to a discipline that – as almost everyone who has lately tried to devise an art history curriculum agrees – is, at best, fragmented and centrifugal. That needn't, we would argue, be a phony exercise: Architecture's publicness means that it demands attention from us all, wherever we come from, and it forces, whether we like it or not, a conversation about what it means to have a public culture.

If we would like some more reflection on what it means to study architecture, we might also suggest, finally, that art history can offer something to the discipline of architecture. Drawing on art history's 'crisis' of the 1980s, and the ensuing process of self-examination, this might include an understanding of buildings as art forms whose authorship is uniquely complex, involving not only the designers and builders normally understood to have agency, but the users and inhabitants too. It might also include an appreciation of the importance of (visual) representation in architecture, and the understanding that buildings are only one of a range of possible existences that architecture may have. And art history might offer an understanding of the architectural object in time, not only as historically produced, but also as an object with an afterlife during which its meaning and status, and even its material existence, may change. Art history has no monopoly on these approaches to the study of objects, but it has a lot of experience of deploying them, since its 'crisis' of the 1980s. While we wouldn't be so presumptuous as to say that art history might be able to help make better architecture, we do think – as we hope this book has shown – that it can help us understand it better.

NOTES

Introduction

1 This combination of evident tenderness and constructed-ness may stand for the very idea of filiation, or relatedness, through the craft of furniture-making. The boy is the son of Jean-Jacques Le Noir, a furniture dealer and cabinet maker and a close friend of Chardin's, whose own father was a maker of billiard tables (similarly, of course, green baized).

2 Martin Heidegger, *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New York: Doubleday, 1961), p. 100.

3 This is the so-called 'institutional theory of art': see Richard Wollheim, *Art and its Objects* (1968) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), especially Essay 1 'The institutional theory of art' and Essay 3 'A note on the physical object hypothesis'.

4 For the first of these see Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (1869) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948). For the second see Dave Beech and John Roberts, *The Philistine Controversy* (London and New York: Verso, 2002).

5 Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in Hannah Arendt (ed.), *Illuminations* (London: Fontana, 1970), p. 241.

6 This is the argument in Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality – Painting and the Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1980).

7 This has a long history in aesthetics, going back to Plato's *Republic* and forward to Benedetto Croce's *Aesthetic* (1902) and R. G. Collingwood's *The Principles of Art* (1938).

8 See Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth-Century Britain and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Clive Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989).

9 As James Stourton has recently shown, Clark combined aspects of the aesthetic theory of Walter Pater, the high moralism of Ruskin, and elements of the German tradition and its ambitions, with the connoisseurial formalism of his training with Bernard Berenson: James Stourton, *Kenneth Clark: Life, Art and 'Civilisation'* (London: HarperCollins, 2016).

10 Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (1878) (London: Phaidon, 1945), p. 87.

11 Burckhardt, *Cicerone*, p. 151, as quoted in Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 103.

12 Alina Payne, 'Architectural History and the History of Art: A Suspended Dialogue', *Architectural History 1999/2000. A Special Issue of JSAH (Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians)*, 58:3 (September 1999), p. 292.

13 For a typical example see Henri Zerner, 'Editor's Statement: The Crisis in the Discipline', *Art Journal*, 42:4 (Winter 1982), p. 279.

14 The only cross reference is in T. J. Clark, *Farewell to an Idea: Episodes from a History of Modernism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 306. The most substantial comparative discussion of their work is Gail Day, *Dialectical Passions: Negation in Postwar Art Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), but Day is not concerned with the relation between art history and architectural history. In this respect second wave social art history continued the lack of interest in architecture shown by the first wave of Arnold Hauser, Frederick Antal, and others. Here the suspicion of the paired disciplines was clearly based on the neo-Hegelian and neo-Kantian assumptions behind the unifying idea of form. The major exception among these Marxist art historians is Max Raphael, who published a book on the Doric temple (1930).

15 Similarly, as enshrined in their well-known MA programmes, the Social History of Art in Leeds and the socially inflected History of Architecture at the Bartlett, worked in parallel, without convergence.

16 Roland Barthes, *The Neutral* (1977–8), trans. Rosalind E. Krauss and Denis Hollier (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), pp. 6–7.

17 Although this is not an argument that engages with the current, usually managerial view, of interdisciplinarity, it is an argument that recognizes the historical specificity of disciplines and tries to understand the changing territorial demarcations both within and outwith any discipline.

18 Susie Harries, *Nikolaus Pevsner: The Life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2011); Stephen Games, *Pevsner – The Early Life. Germany and Art* (London: Continuum, 2010). See also Peter Draper (ed.), *Reassessing Nikolaus Pevsner* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

19 As a student, Pevsner was so starstruck he marked Wölfflin's house on his map of Munich: Harries, *Nikolaus Pevsner*, p. 51.

20 See, for instance, Donald Preziosi (ed.), *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), where none of the essays chosen from after 1945 deals in any substantial way with architecture. A similar absence can be felt in Donald Preziosi, *Rethinking Art History: Meditations on a Coy Science* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989). Also, in Richard Shone and John-Paul Stonard (eds.), *The Books That Shaped Art History* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2013), none of the books considered from after 1936 deal with architecture. Books on the state of architectural history are equally amnesiac: see, for instance, Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgin Turan Özkaya

(eds.), *Rethinking Architectural Historiography* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

21 Whitney Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011). Visual culture here means either 'visuality' as the cultural and encultured phenomenon of vision, the general field of visual theory, or the relation between the fine arts and various other visual artefacts of non-artistic status.

22 Davis, *A General Theory*, p. 287.

23 Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 1. Even texts sceptical about the notion of visual culture have tended to treat the subject as entirely or almost entirely uninterested in architecture: see, for instance, James Elkins, *Visual Studies: A Sceptical Introduction* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).

24 There are exceptions, of course: see, for instance, Lynda Nead, *The Tiger in the Smoke: Art and Culture in Post-War Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017).

25 See Margaret Olin, *Forms of Representation in Alois Riegl's Theory of Art* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 1992), pp. 129–53; Margaret Iverson, *Alois Riegl: Art History and Theory* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1993), pp. 2–19. More substantial discussions of Riegl and architecture can be found in Richard Woodfield (ed.), *Framing Formalism – Riegl's Work* (Amsterdam: G+B Arts, 2001).

26 T. J. Clark, 'The Conditions of Artistic Creation', *Times Literary Supplement* (24 May 1974), pp. 561–2.

27 Georges Didi-Huberman, 'History and Image: Has the "Epistemological Transformation Taken Place?"', in Michael F. Zimmermann (ed.), *The Art Historian: National Traditions and Institutional Practices* (Williamston, MA: Clark Art Institute, 2004), p. 138. Relevantly, despite calling for a reconsideration of this tradition that makes use of 'archaeological, anachronistic and prospective' viewpoints, Didi-Huberman's emphasis on 'debates on images' seems to sideline the tradition's architectural aspect. For Max Weber (on Wölfflin), György Lukács (on Max Dvořák and Alois Riegl), and Walter Benjamin (on the new Vienna School) see Max Weber, 'Value Judgements in Social Science', in W. G. Runciman (ed.), *Max Weber Selections in Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 97; György Lukács, 'Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat' (1922) republished in *History and Class Consciousnes*s, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: Merlin, 1971), p. 153; Walter Benjamin, 'Rigorous Study of Art: On the First Volume of *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen*' (1931–3) repub. and trans. in Christopher S. Wood (ed.), *The Vienna School Reader – Politics and the Art Historical Method in the 1930s* (New York: Zone Books, 2000), pp. 439–52. See also Thomas Y. Levin, 'Walter Benjamin and the Theory of Art History', *October*, 47 (Winter 1988), pp. 77–83. For a wider study of relations between art history and critical theory in the early twentieth century see Frederic J. Schwartz, *Blind Spots: Critical Theory and the History of Art in Twentieth-Century Germany* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

Chapter 1

1 The fictive architecture is the work of Mengozzi Colonna – not then known to Wölfflin – while Tiepolo was responsible for the figurative scenes visible through the openings of the 'architecture'.

2 For 'critical history of art' see Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982). On *Kunstwissenschaft* see Daniel Adler, 'Painterly Politics: Wölfflin, Formalism and German Academic Culture, 1885–1915', *Art History*, 27:3 (June 2004), pp. 431–56. The revamped idea of the discipline was not the reason for the establishment of art history in the university – this had happened several decades before – but it certainly enhanced its position there: see Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution: Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979).

3 Aby Warburg is the interesting exception. It was, one might suggest, both the historical specificity of his studies as well as their interest in anthropological realism that pulled him away from the formalist architectural interests and large historical schema of his peers.

4 G. W. F. Hegel, *Introductory Lectures on Aesthetics*, trans. Bernard Bosanquet (London: Penguin Books, 1993), p. 90. For Hegel and art history see Jason Gaiger, 'Hegel's Contested Legacy: Rethinking the relation between art history and philosophy', *Art Bulletin*, 3:2 (June 2011), pp. 178–94.

5 Podro, *The Critical Historians*, pp. 143–4.

6 On Schmarsow and Kant see Andrea Pinotti, 'Body-Building: August Schmarsow's *Kunstwissenschaft* between Psychophysiology and Phenomenology', in Mitchell B. Frank and Daniel Adler (eds.), *German Art History and Scientific Thought – Beyond Formalism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 14–15.

7 Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000), pp. 149–72. See also David Summers, '"Form", Nineteenth-Century Metaphysics and the Problems of Art Historical Description', *Critical Inquiry*, 15 (Winter 1989), pp. 372–93.

8 Leonardo Impett and Franco Moretti, 'Totentanz: Operationalizing Aby Warburg's *Pathosformeln*', *New Left Review*, 107 (September/October 2017), p. 81.

9 Schwartz, *Blind Spots*, p. 18. On style see two classic essays: Meyer Schapiro, 'Style' (1953) and E. H. Gombrich, 'Style' (1968), both republished in Preziosi (ed.), *The Art of Art History*, pp. 143–9 and 150–63.

10 Alois Riegl, 'The Main Characteristics of the Late Roman *Kustwollen*' (1901), trans. in Wood (ed.), *The Vienna School*, p. 95; Christopher Wood, 'Introduction' in Ibid., p. 31; Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque* (1888), trans. Kathrin Simon (London: Fontana/Collins, 1973), p. 78.

11 In fact Meyer Schapiro had already criticized Riegl's followers for their recourse to entities like 'race, spirit, will, and idea' as 'mythical, racial-psychological constants' rather than properly historical explanations: Meyer Schapiro, 'The New Viennese School', *Art Bulletin*, 18:2 (June 1936), p. 258.

12 Herbert Read, 'Introduction', in Heinrich Wölfflin (ed.), *Classic Art: An Introduction to the Italian Renaissance*, trans. Peter and Linda Murray (London: Phaidon, 1952), p. v. The complex and multiple meanings of 'formalism' might simply be indicated by Wölfflin's final sentence: 'we have no desire to advocate a formalist type of art criticism: it is indeed the function of light to make the diamond sparkle': ibid., p. 288.

13 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art*, trans. M. D. Hottinger, seventh edition (1929) (New York: Dover), p. 8. On the way that Wölfflin moves from art to architecture in each of his chapters, and the consequences of this see Marshall Brown, 'The Classic is the Baroque: On the Principles of Wolfflin's Art History', *Critical Inquiry*, 9:2 (December 1982), pp. 383–5.

14 On ideological displacement see Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

15 Alina Payne, 'Portable Ruins: The Pergamon Altar. Heinrich Wölfflin, and German art history at the fin-de-siècle', *RES: Journal of Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 54/55 (Spring–Autumn 2008), pp. 168–89; and Alina Payne, *From Object to Ornament: Genealogies of Architectural Modernism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 116–19.

16 Robert S. Nelson, 'The Slide Lecture, or the Work of Art History in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Critical Inquiry*, 26 (Spring 2000), pp. 414–34.

17 On the history of the Baroque as concept see Helen Hills, 'The Baroque: The Grit in the Oyster of Art History', and Alina Payne, 'On Sculptural Relief: *Malerisch*, the Autonomy of Artistic Media and the Beginnings of Baroque Studies', both in Helen Hills (ed.), *Rethinking the Baroque* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 11–36, 39–64.

18 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Prolegomena to a Psychology of Architecture* (1886), trans. in H. F. Mallgrave and E. Ikonomou, *Empathy, Form and Space – Problems in German Aesthetics* (Santa Monica: Getty Center, 1994), pp. 149–92.

19 Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, p. 77.

20 Brown, 'The Classic', p. 380. For more on *Formpsychologie* see Mark Jarzombek, 'De-Scribing the Language of Looking: Wolfflin and the History of Aesthetic Experientialism', *Assemblage*, 23 (1994), pp. 32–44.

21 Heinrich Wölfflin, *The Sense of Form in Art* (1931) trans. Alice Muehsam and Norma Shatan (New York: Chelsea Publishing Company, 1958), p. 4.

22 For the pedagogy see E. H. Gombrich, *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1971), p. 90.

23 Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, 'Preface to the First Edition', unpaginated.

24 Ibid., p. 45.

25 For more on this see Evonne Levy, *Baroque and the Political Language of Formalism (1945–1945): Burckhardt, Wölfflin, Gurlitt, Brinckmann, Sedlmayr* (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2015).

26 For the sources of all these quotes see Hans Sedlmayr, 'Bruegel's *Macchia*' (1934), trans. in Wood (ed.), *The Vienna School*, pp. 353–6, and 374–5, n. 32; and for Panofsky see Andrew Leach, 'The Future of the Baroque, c. 1945', in

Andrew Leach, John Macarthur and Maarten Delbeke (eds.), *The Baroque in Architectural Culture, 1880–1980* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 123.

27 Hans Sedlmayr, *Art in Crisis – The Lost Centre*, trans. Brian Battershaw (London: Hollis & Carter, 1957). Sedlmayr's book was based on lectures originally given in wartime Austria.

28 Evonne Levy, 'Riegl and Wolfflin in Dialogue on the Baroque', in Leach, Macarthur and Delbeke (eds.), *The Baroque*, p. 87; Adler, 'Wölfflin', pp. 438–9. See also Payne, *From Object*, p. 125. On 'painterly' (*Malerisch)* as a term captured more for architecture than painting see Alina Payne, 'Architecture, Ornament and Pictorialism: Notes on the Relationship between the Arts from Wölfflin to Le Corbusier', in Karen Koehler (ed.), *The Built Surface: Architecture and the Pictorial Arts from Romanticism to the Twenty-first Century*, vol. 2 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 57–61. Michael Podro dated the abandonment of empathy theory to 1893, but there are many vestiges of it in Wölfflin's later writings: Podro, *Critical Historians*, p. 107.

29 Wölfflin, *Principles*, pp. 32–3.

30 On the idea of projecting the viewer into the work see Brown, 'The Classic', pp. 379–404.

31 Wölfflin, *Principles*, p. 65.

32 Ibid., p. 70.

33 Ibid., p. 69.

34 See also Daniel Adler, 'The Formalist's Compromise: Wölfflin and Psychology', in Frank and Adler (eds.), *German Art History*, pp. 73–95.

35 Podro, *Critical Historians*, pp. 62–6.

36 For more on these aspects of Riegl's work see Payne, *From Object*, pp. 128–38. See also Iversen, *Alois Riegl*; Olin, *Forms of Representation*.

37 Alois Riegl, *Late Roman Art Industry*, trans. Rolf Winkes (Rome: Bretschneider, 1985), p. 9. See also Alois Riegl, *Problems of Style – Foundations for a History of Ornament*, trans. Evelyn Kain (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 4, 18–19.

38 Riegl, *Late Roman*, pp. 9–17.

39 Ibid., p. 15.

40 Another possible reason was Riegl's belief, despite his attempts not to write history based on aesthetic judgement, that outside architecture the arts of this period did actually decline; placing architecture first would mask this problem: Olin, *Forms of Representation*, pp. 129–30.

41 Riegl, *Late Roman*, pp. 19, 43.

42 Ibid., pp. 32–5.

43 Ibid., p. 45.

44 Ibid., pp. 46, 48–50.

45 Ibid., p. 223.

46 Christopher S. Wood, 'Introduction', in Wood (ed.), *Vienna*, p. 10.

47 Hans Sedlmayr, *Die Architektur Borrominis* (Berlin: Frankfurter, 1930) and Emil Kaufmann, *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier* (Vienna: Rolf Passer, 1933).

The others are articles, including an early version of Kaufmann's book: see Otto Pächt (ed.), *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen, II* (Berlin: Frankfurter, 1933). The first issue of the *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen* (there were only two issues) included essays on Hagia Sophia (by G. A. Andreades) and on architectural drawing (by Carl Linfert).

48 Podro, *Critical Historians*, p. xxvi. For more on the difference between iconography and iconology see Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (1939) (New York: Harper, 1962).

49 On this see Caroline van Eck, 'The Warburg Institute and Architectural History', *Common Knowledge*, 18:1 (2012), pp. 134–48. On *Kulturwissenchaft* see Edgar Wind, 'Warburg's Concept of *Kulturwissenschaft* and Its Meaning for Aesthetics' (1930), repub. in Preziosi (ed.), *The Art of Art History*, pp. 207–14. However, for one essay by Warburg in which architecture plays a prominent role see his 'Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America' (1923), repub. in Preziosi (ed.), *The Art of Art History,* pp. 177–206.

50 For more on Panofsky's intellectual context and his early writings see Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

51 Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form* (1924–5), trans. Christopher Wood (New York: Zone Books, 1992); Erwin Panofsky, 'The History and Theory of Human Proportions as a Reflection of the History of Style' (1921), in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970).

52 Erwin Panofsky, 'Introduction: The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline', in Panofsky, *Meaning,* pp. 23–50.

53 Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, p. 77.

54 E. H. Gombrich, *In Search of Cultural History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 9–10, 28.

55 Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 171.

56 Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (1951) (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), p. 2.

57 Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, pp. 67–8.

58 Ibid., p. 21.

59 Ibid., p. 45.

60 Ibid., p. 59.

61 Ibid., pp. 87–8.

62 Erwin Panofsky, 'Abbot Suger of St-Denis', in Panofsky, *Meaning*, p. 163.

63 Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170–1300* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 60.

64 Didi-Huberman, 'History and Image'.

65 Pierre Bourdieu, 'Postface to Erwin Panofsky *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*', trans. Lawrence Petit, in Bruce Holsinger (ed.), *The Premodern Condition: Medievalism and the Making of Theory* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 223, 226. For a detailed discussion of

the relation between *habitus* and Panofsky's work see William F. Hanks, 'Pierre Bourdieu and the Practices of Language', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34 (2005), pp. 67–83.

66 Panofsky, *Meaning*, pp. 204–5, 308.

67 Wölfflin, *Principles*, p. 13.

68 For a contemporary review which made exactly that point see Guido Kaschnitz-Weinberg, 'Review of Alois Riegl, *Die Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*' (1927), trans. in *Art History*, 39:1 (February 2016), pp. 98–123.

69 Payne, *From Object*, 116–38; Andrew Ballantyne, 'Space, Grace and Stylistic Conformity: *Spätromisch kunstindustrie* and Architecture', in Richard Woodfield (ed.), *Framing Formalism: Riegl's Work* (Amsterdam: G+B Arts, 2001), pp. 98–9.

70 Giedion, *Space, Time*, p. 4.

71 Ibid., p. 5. As discussed by Hilde Heynen, this argument emerges first in Giedion's *Bauen in Frankreich, Bauen in Eisen, Bauen in Eisenbeton* (1928): Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity – A Critique* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1999), p. 30. Heynen uses the term 'subconscious' but the Freudian 'unconscious' seems more appropriate. She also makes the point that Giedion's later work like *Space, Time and Architecture* drops the social connotations of the 1920s writing: Ibid., pp. 41–3.

72 Sokratis Georgiadis, *Sigfried Giedion – An Intellectual Biography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), pp. 17–18.

73 This is from an early edition of the *Principles*, as quoted in Schwartz, *Blind Spots*, pp. 20–1.

74 Sigfried Giedion, *Building in France, Building in Iron, Building in Ferroconcrete*, trans. J. Duncan Berry (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), p. 91.

75 Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Judges VI, 34: But the Spirit of the Lord Came Upon Giedion and He Blew a Trumpet', *Architectural Review*, 106 (August 1949), pp. 77–8.

76 Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture* (London: Granada, 1980), p. 8.

77 Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky, 'Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal' (1963), republished in *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1976), pp. 159–83.

Chapter 2

1 See Erwin Panofsky, 'Epilogue – Three Decades of Art History in the United States', in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (New York: Doubleday, 1955), pp. 321–46.

2 Karen Michels, 'Transfer and Transformation: The German Period in American Art History', in Stephanie Barron with Sabine Eckmann (eds.), *Exiles and Emigres: The Flight of European Artists from Hitler* (Los Angeles: LA County

Museum and Harry N. Abrams, 1997), pp. 304–16. See also Emily Levine, *Dreamland of Humanists: Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky and the Hamburg School* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2013), pp. 244–84.

3 E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon, 1960), pp. 14–18.

4 On Riegl's 'lateness' see Richard Woodfield, 'Reading Riegl's *Kunst-Industrie*', in Richard Woodfield (ed.), *Framing Formalism: Riegl's Work* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2001), pp. 57–9.

5 As Fredric Jameson suggested, the longevity of Wölfflin's influence had as much to do with the suggestiveness of his means as the simplicities of his pedagogy. The latter reinforced the vanity of an art history all-too surely in command of its diachronic sequences, while its 'conservative politics masqueraded as ethics': Fredric Jameson, *Marxism and Form: Twentieth-Century Dialectical Theories of Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 322–4.

6 Levy, *Baroque and the Political Language of Formalism (1945–1945)*, p. 362.

7 Jennifer Montagu and Joseph Connors, 'Rudolf Wittkower 1901–1971', *Introduction to Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750*, 6th edn., vol. 1 (London: Pelican, 1999), pp. ix–xi.

8 Alina Payne, 'Rudolf Wittkower and Architectural Principles in the Age of Modernism', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 53:3 (September 1994), pp. 327–8.

9 Levy, *Baroque*, 363–4.

10 Michael Hill, 'Steinberg's Complexity', in Leach, Macarthur and Delbeke (eds.), *The Baroque in Architectural Culture, 1880–1980*, p. 217.

11 'Leo Steinberg – The Gestural Trace', an interview with Richard Candida Smith, 2001, p. 39, accessed 10 November 2017 at https://archive.org/details/gesturaltraceleo00stei. Leo Steinberg, *Borromini's San Carlo Alle Quattro Fontane – A Study in Multiple Form and Architectural Symbolism*, PhD thesis submitted in 1960 (New York University), (New York and London: Garland, 1977), p. xviii.

12 'Leo Steinberg – The Gestural Trace', pp. 34–5.

13 Steinberg's case does not illustrate the common idea that the disciplines split because of greater specialization. Here we disagree with those who argue that the separation of the two disciplines resulted from greater disciplinary specialization: Alina Payne, 'Architectural History and the History of Art: A Suspended Dialogue', *Architectural History 1999/2000. A Special Issue of JSAH (Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians)* 58:3 (September 1999), p. 292. (Payne suggests one reason is also the increasing migration of architectural history into the architectural schools, and here she is clearly describing a phenomenon specific to the United States.) Some branches of architectural history certainly became more concerned with space. But even the attempts of Paul Frankl to develop different modes of spatial analysis were accompanied by a continuing commitment in the same historian to write about art: Anthony Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), pp. 8–9. In fact the opposite was the case. It was the movement away from the idea that art

and architectural history shared a central concern with form and the eye that established the separation as fact. For more on this see Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present*.

14 See ibid., pp. 100–2.

15 The first modern monograph on Borromini was Eberhard Hempel's, *Francesco Borromini* (1924). Krautheimer regularly took tours of Borromini's work in Rome: Denise R. Costanzo, 'Giedion as Guide: *Space, Time and Architecture* and the Modernist Reception of Baroque Rome', in Leach et al., *The Baroque*, p. 135.

16 Kevin Parker, 'Art History and Exile: Richard Krautheimer and Erwin Panofsky', in Barron with Eckmann (eds.), *Exiles and Emigres*, p. 319. See also Colin Eisler, '*Kunstgeschichte* American Style: A Study in Migration', in Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn (eds), *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America, 1930–1960* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1969), pp. 615–6.

17 Quoted in Schwartz, *Blind Spots*, p. 153.

18 Hans Sedlmayr, 'Gestaltetes Sehen', *Belvedere*, 8 (1925), pp. 65–73; Sedlmayr, *Die Architektur Borrominis*. On Sedlmayr's Borromini book see Schwartz, *Blind Spots*, pp. 157–67.

19 Steinberg, *Borromini's San Carlo*, 119–20, pp. 346–50.

20 Ibid., p. 352.

21 For his comments on visual analysis versus document-based analysis see Steinberg, 'Preface – 18 Years After', ibid., pp. xviii–xix.

22 Ibid., pp. iii, xiii.

23 For examples see the analysis of how the façade relates to how viewers approach it, or the comments on window ornament: Steinberg, *Borromini's San Carlo*, pp. 101, 405–10.

24 Steinberg, 'Preface – 18 Years After', in Steinberg, *Borromini's San Carlo*, p. iii. He also wrote, 'Eighteen years older now, I am still testing the method worked out by the student who persisted in this dissertation': ibid, p. xix. But he gave up architectural history in part because he felt his lack of technical knowledge limited his ability to write about it: 'Leo Steinberg – The Gestural Trace', p. 145.

25 Leo Steinberg, 'Observations on the Cerasi Chapel', *Art Bulletin* 41:2 (June 1959), pp. 183–93.

26 Ibid., p. 184.

27 Leo Steinberg, *Michelangelo's Last Paintings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 7.

28 Ibid., pp. 30, 32.

29 Ibid., pp. 30–1.

30 Ibid., p. 33.

31 Ibid., pp. 35, 51.

32 Ibid., p. 52.

33 Leo Steinberg, *Leonardo's Incessant Last Supper* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), p. 171.

34 Steinberg, *Leonardo's Incessant Last Supper*, p. 173.

35 Ibid., p. 183.

36 Leo Steinberg, 'The Philosophical Brothel', *October*, 44 (Spring 1988), p. 11. The article was originally published in *Art News,* September and October 1972.

37 Ibid., p. 13.

38 The quote is actually from a separate article: Leo Steinberg, 'Velázquez *Las Meninas*', *October*, 19 (Winter 1981), p. 48.

39 Steinberg, 'The Philosophical Brothel', p. 15.

40 Ibid., pp. 52, 63.

41 This is a quite different view of the intellectual roots of Steinberg's work from, say, those that suggest it springs from the art historical approach of Riegl, although like that argument it too recognizes the importance of the spectator's role in the interpretation of art. For the Rieglian argument see Margaret Iversen and Stephen Melville, *Writing Art History: Disciplinary Departures* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), pp. 96–8.

42 Leo Steinberg, 'Other Criteria', in *Other Criteria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 90.

43 Jules Lubbock, 'Architecture and Experience: Some Unpublished Manuscripts by Michael Baxandall', *Burlington Magazine*, CLIX (August 2017), pp. 298–307. See also Jules Lubbock, '"To Do a Leavis on Visual Art": The Place of F. R. Leavis in Michael Baxandall's Intellectual Formation', in Peter Mack and Robert Williams (eds.), *Michael Baxandall, Vision and the Work of Words* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 25–48.

44 Lubbock, 'Architecture and Experience', p. 301.

45 Langdale, 'Interviews', 6. Lubbock argues that Baxandall's lectures on the Ducal Palace at Urbino, repeated at points during his career, offer a way of understanding how the period eye is located in the commissioning agency of the client of architecture: Lubbock, 'Architecture and Experience', p. 306. The idea of any one person having their 'own' period eye, however, seems to lose the destabilizing aspect of Baxandall's idea, returning more to the area of the stable subjectivities typical of patronage studies.

46 Allan Langdale, 'Interviews with Michael Baxandall, February 3rd and 4th, 1994, Berkeley CA', *Journal of Art Historiography* (2009), p. 5. https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2011/02/media_139141_en.pdf (accessed 26 April 2017).

47 E. H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order – A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (London: Phaidon, 1979), p. 5.

48 Much of his work, from his unfinished project with Ernst Kris on caricature to his interest in the psychology of perception and his distrust of political interpretations of art, was driven by this antagonism: Louis Rose, *Psychology, Art, and Antifascism: Ernst Kris, E. H. Gombrich and the Politics of Caricature* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016). As Christopher Wood has written, 'Gombrich … tried to quell the instability [he] found in past works of art by injecting them wherever possible with redeeming universal or

humanist content': Christopher S. Wood 'Introduction', in Christopher S. Wood (ed.), *The Vienna School Reader – Politics and the Art Historical Method in the 1930s*, p. 51. For his critique of formalism see especially E. H. Gombrich, 'Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia*' (1955), in E. H. Gombrich (ed.), *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance I*, (London: Phaidon, 1966), pp. 64–80.

49 Rudolf Wittkower, 'Brunelleschi and Proportion in Perspective', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld institutes*, 16 (1953), p. 289.

50 Lubbock categorically denies architecture's presence in Baxandall's work: Lubbock, 'Architecture and Experience', p. 298.

51 Baxandall finally returns to it, if briefly, in his essay 'Alberti's Self' (1992), republished as 'Alberti's Cast of Mind' in *Words for Pictures: Seven Papers on Renaissance Art and Criticism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 29–30.

52 Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 62–9.

53 Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, p. 176.

54 Ibid., p. 180.

55 A more puzzling omission is in the discussion of the Fugger Chapel in St Anne's, Augsburg (1512–18), where the sculpture is part of a coordinated extension of the church. It seems perverse to ignore the plastic dialogue between architectural and sculptural elements as if they are irrelevant to the chapter's theme of 'individual style': ibid., pp. 132–5.

56 Svetlana Alpers and Michael Baxandall, *Tiepolo and the Pictorial Intelligence* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 7.

57 Ibid., pp. 85–93, 101–27.

58 Ibid., pp. 106, 118.

59 Ibid., pp. 130–2.

60 Ibid., pp. 94, 170–1.

61 Michael Baxandall, *Shadows and Enlightenment* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 84.

62 Baxandall, *Shadows and Enlightenment*, p. 88.

63 Alpers and Baxandall, *Tiepolo*, p. 165.

64 Michael Ann Holly, 'Patterns in the Shadows: Attention in/to the Writings of Michael Baxandall', *Art History*, 21:4 (December 1998), p. 467.

65 Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 36.

66 Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 15.

67 Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention*, p. 26.

68 Ibid., p. 31.

69 Iversen and Melville, *Writing*, pp. 30–2.

70 Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention*, p. 26.

71 Ibid., p. 29.

72 Ibid., p. 36.

73 Ibid., p. 40.

74 Wolfflin, *Principles of Art History*, p. 11.

75 Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention*, pp. 86–7.

76 Marvin Trachtenberg, *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 252. Kimberley Skelton makes an important point about the transition from 'period eye' to a mobile eye in the *Tiepolo* book, but the argument is undeveloped: Kimberley Skelton, *The Paradox of Body, Building and Motion in Seventeenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p. 12.

77 John Onians, 'Leon Battista Alberti – The Problem of Personal and Urban Identity', and 'Brunelleschi: Humanist or Nationalist?', both in John Onians, *Art, Culture and Nature* (London: Pindar, 2006).

78 Onians, 'Leon Battista Alberti', p. 28.

79 John Onians, *Neuroarthistory* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 8; John Onians, 'Art History and Memory, from the Couch to the Scanner: On How the New Art History Woke Up to a Neural Future', *Art History*, 40:4 (September 2017), pp. 708–15. For an architectural account see Harry Francis Mallgrave, *The Architect's Brain: Neuroscience, Creativity and Architecture* (New York: Wiley, 2009). It is as if the opening paragraphs of the 'Period Eye' chapter have been inverted so that skills 'developed out of experience' have been made to seem less significant than the equipment for visual perception.

80 Adrian Rifkin, 'Editor's Introduction', in Adrian Rifkin (ed.), *About Michael Baxandall* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 3.

81 T. J. Clark, 'Preliminary Arguments: Work of Art and Ideology', in *Papers Presented to the Marxisms and Art History Session of the College Art Association Meeting* (Chicago, 1976), p. 5.

82 Sigmund Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, vol. 1 of the Pelican Freud Library (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), p. 143; and Sigmund Freud, 'A Note on the Unconscious in Psychoanalysis' (1912), in *On Metapsychology*, vol. 11 of the Pelican Freud Library (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), pp. 174–5.

Chapter 3

1 Colin Rowe, 'Mannerism and Modern Architecture' (1950), republished in *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays* (Cambridge Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1976).

2 As Rowe pointed out, the Villa Schwob was not included in the architect's *Oeuvre complète*.

3 Mannerism had only recently arrived as an art historical trend in Britain: Nikolaus Pevsner, 'The Architecture of Mannerism', *Mint*, 1946; Anthony Blunt, 'Mannerism in Architecture', *RIBAJ*, March 1949.

4 See, for example, Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, 'The Museum of Modern Art as Late Capitalist Ritual', *Marxist Perspectives*, 4 (1978), pp. 29–51.

5 Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (London: Architectural Press, 1960).

6 Anson Conger Goodyear in 1931 and Alfred Barr in 1933, as quoted in Christoph Grunenberg, 'The Politics of Presentation', in Marcia Pointon (ed.), *Art Apart: Art Institutions and Ideology Across England and North America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 196.

7 Alice Goldfarb Marquis, *Missionary for the Modern* (Chicago: Contemporary, 1989), p. 41.

8 Marquis, *Missionary for the Modern*, p. 44.

9 Ibid., p. 48.

10 Ibid., p. 50.

11 Ibid., p. 51.

12 Franz Schulze, *Philip Johnson: Life and Work* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), p. 92; Mary-Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1998), p. 64.

13 Letter to his mother (22 September), Philip Johnson papers, Getty, 980060.

14 Letter to his mother (18 November), Philip Johnson papers, Getty, 980060. The film he describes here is almost certainly Dziga Vertov's *Man With a Movie Camera* which was released in 1929.

15 Nina Stritzler-Levine, 'Curating History, Exhibiting Ideals: Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Architectural Exhibition Practice at MoMA', in Frank Salmon (ed.), *Summerson and Hitchcock: Centenary Essays on Architectural Historiography* (Studies in British Art, New Haven and London: Yale Center for British Art and Paul Mellon Centre, 2006), pp. 35–7.

16 See MoMA exhibition history online, searchable: https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/history?locale=en

17 Marquis, *Missionary for the Modern*, pp. 86–7.

18 MoMA, *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* (New York: MoMA, 1932), p. 76.

19 One exception was the housing section in 1932, and Mumford's accompanying essay in the catalogue, which was a sop to 'protect MoMA's left flank', according to Peter Blake: Peter Blake, *No Place Like Utopia: Modern Architecture and the Company We Kept* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), p. 148.

20 Staniszewski, *The Power of Display*, p. 199.

21 See, for instance, Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (eds), *Art in Theory 1900–1990 An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

22 Caroline A. Jones, *Eyesight Alone: Clement Greenberg's Modernism and the Bureaucratisation of the Senses* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

23 The original version is Clement Greenberg, 'Avant Garde and Kitsch', *Partisan Review*, 6:5 (Fall 1939), pp. 34–49.

24 Clement Greenberg, *Art and Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 5.

25 Clement Greenberg, 'Modernist Painting', in J. O'Brian (ed.), *Clement Greenberg The Collected Essays and Criticism Vol. 4* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 85.

26 Ibid., 83. On Schmarsow see Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art*, pp. 143–5.

27 Alfred H. Barr, 'Foreword', in Museum of Modern Art, *Modern Architecture – International Exhibition* (New York: MoMA, 1932), p. 13.

28 Greenberg, *Art and Culture*, p. 20.

29 Ibid., p. 21.

30 T. J. Clark, 'Clement Greenberg's Theory of Art', *Critical Inquiry*, 9:1 (September 1982), pp. 139–56.

31 Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia – Design and Capitalist Development*, trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1979), pp. 170–82.

32 Mary McLeod, 'Architecture and Politics in the Reagan Era', in K. M. Hays (ed.), *Architecture Theory Since 1968* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1998), p. 697, n. 4. See also Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present*, pp. 84–5.

33 For a recent discussion of this see Sam Rose, 'Close Looking and Conviction', *Art History*, 40:1 (February 2017), pp. 157–77.

34 Forty, *Words and Buildings*, p. 24.

35 Colin Rowe, 'The Theoretical Drawings of Inigo Jones: Their Sources and Scope', unpublished MA thesis, University of London, 1947 (now in Senate House Library), pp. 2–3.

36 Rowe, 'The Theoretical Drawings of Inigo Jones, pp. 30–2.

37 Ibid., 35.

38 Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present*, pp. 68–78. Vidler attributes this impact to Colin Rowe's strongly Wittkower-influenced essay on 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa'.

39 Several of Wölfflin's works had been translated before the war, most notably *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915) as *Principles of Art History* in 1932.

40 Colin Rowe, 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa' (1947), republished in Rowe, *The Mathematics*, p. 16.

41 On Rowe's intellectual formation see Anthony Vidler, 'Reckoning with Art History – Colin Rowe's Critical Vision', in Emmanuel Petit (ed.), *Reckoning with Colin Rowe: Ten Architects Take Position* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 41–55; and Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present*, pp. 61–96.

42 Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky, 'Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal' (1963), in Rowe, *The Mathematics*, p. 161.

43 Ibid, p. 162.

44 In a rare and particularly surprising example of a straw man, the essay treats Picasso's Cubist paintings mostly as examples of literal transparency, seemingly without observing the contradictory functions of many of the artist's devices. It is only in the lateral areas of his '*L'Arlésienne*' that phenomenal effects are observed. The logic of the literal/phenomenal thesis implies that all aspects of a work belong in one or the other category.

45 Rowe and Slutzky, 'Transparency', pp. 164–5.

46 Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture* would be the best illustration of this, and Slutzky has made it clear this is what they had in mind: 'To Reason with One's Vision – Robert Slutzky in conversation with Emmanuel Petit', in Petit (ed.), *Reckoning with Colin Rowe*, p. 118. Alan Colquhoun has suggested that in his *Bauen in Frankreich, Bauen in Eisen, Bauen in Eisenbeton* (1928, but not translated until 1995), Giedion's use of the term 'transparency' has some similarity to Rowe and Slutzky's 'phenomenal transparency': Alan Colquhoun, 'Transparency Revisited', in Petit (ed.), *Reckoning with Colin Rowe*, p. 109.

47 Rowe and Slutzky's references show that they were actually very familiar with the latest publications on the subject, and specifically those that were then giving it academic respectability. As well as Alfred Barr (probably his MoMA catalogue *Cubism and Abstract Art*, 1936), they cite Christopher Gray's *Cubist Aesthetic Theory* (1953), and Winthrop Judkins's 'Towards a Reinterpretation of Cubism', *Art Bulletin*, 30:4 (1948), pp. 270–8.

48 On Slutzky's contribution see Slutzky, 'To Reason with One's Vision', pp. 113–25. Certainly, Rowe attributed a great deal to Slutzky, including the idea that 'statements of flatness [were] provocative of arguments about depth': Colin Rowe, introductory notes to 'Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal, Part II', in *As I Was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1996), p. 74. This second essay, written shortly after the first, adds little to it except the argument that phenomenal transparency, far from being a post-Cubist matter, could be found in many much older buildings.

49 Rowe and Slutzky, 'Transparency', p. 167.

50 Alan Colquhoun understands phenomenal transparency as about '[suggesting] the frame structure that [Le Corbusier's buildings] … both conceal and reveal'. This seems unnecessarily to limit the concept, which is rarely linked only to frame structure: Alan Colquhoun, 'Transparency Revisited', in Petit (ed.), *Reckoning with Colin Rowe*, p. 102. It seems perverse to criticize Rowe and Slutzky for '[struggling] to give verbal expression to their strong visual feelings': ibid., p. 110.

51 Rowe and Slutzky, 'Transparency', p. 168. Here, and in their reference to the villa's 'gridding of space' the authors are drawing on Rowe's earlier diagrammatic analysis in 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa', *Architectural Review* (March 1947), pp. 101–4.

52 Rowe and Slutzky, 'Transparency', pp. 174–5.

53 Ibid., p. 175.

54 Ibid., p. 170.

55 Peter Eisenman recalled that, during a visit to one of Palladio's villas, Rowe implored him to 'Tell me something about what you are looking at that you cannot see': Peter Eisenman, 'Bifurcating Rowe', in Petit (ed.), *Reckoning with Colin Rowe,* p. 57.

56 Jean Petit, *Un couvent de Le Corbusier* (Paris: Cahiers Forces Vives-Editec, 1961), p. 20.

57 Petit, *Un couvent de Le Corbusier*, pp. 28–9.

58 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, 'Eye and Mind' (1961) trans. Carleton Dallery in *The Primacy of Perception* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), p. 163; Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Phenomenology of Perception* (1945) trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 256, 266.

59 Colin Rowe, 'La Tourette', in *The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa and Other Essays*, p. 186, originally published as 'Dominican Monastery of La Tourette, Eveux-sur-Arbresle, Lyons', *Architectural Review*, 129 (June 1961), pp. 400–10. Page numbers that follow are from the version in *The Mathematics*.

60 Vidler, 'Reckoning with Art History', 48.

61 Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History*, p. 73.

62 This also relates to a tradition of thinking which has been called the 'Berkeleian theory of vision', in which three dimensions are learnt through touch or our associations with it, that is 'the constant correlations that hold between certain visual sensations and certain tactile associations': Wollheim, *Art and its Objects*, p. 35.

63 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, 'Cezanne's Doubt' (1945) trans. Hubert and Patricia Dreyfus in *Sense and Non-Sense* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964).

64 Rowe, 'La Tourette', p. 187.

65 Ibid, p. 188.

66 Ibid.

67 In this sense, the monastery is a 'theoretical object' for both Le Corbusier and Rowe: see Hubert Damisch, 'Against the Slope: Le Corbusier's La Tourette', in *Noah's Ark – Essays on Architecture* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 2016), pp. 78–9.

68 Rowe, 'La Tourette', p. 189.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid, p. 191.

71 Merleau-Ponty, 'Eye and Mind', p. 172.

72 Rowe, 'La Tourette', p. 191.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid, p. 192.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid, p. 194.

78 This is ignored in some commentaries: see Emmanuel Petit, 'Rowe after Colin Rowe', in Petit (ed.), *Reckoning with Colin Rowe,* p. 11. It seems particularly incongruous to describe Rowe's early essays as 'formalist idealism': Ibid., p. 12.

79 Rowe, 'La Tourette', p. 197.

80 Ibid, p. 200.

81 Ibid.

82 Colin Rowe, 'Thanks to the RIBA – Part 1', *Journal of Architecture*, 1 (Spring 1996), pp. 8–9.

83 Colin Rowe, *As I Was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays*, vol 1 (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), p. 10.

Chapter 4

1 He was known as Peter, or 'PRB' to family. 'Reyner' was a pen name.

2 Nigel Whiteley, *Reyner Banham: Historian of the Immediate Future* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2002), pp. 4–5.

3 Paul Goldberger, 'Reyner Banham, Architectural Critic, Dies at 66', *New York Times*, 22 March 1988. http://www.nytimes.com/1988/03/22/obituaries/reyner- banham-architectural-critic-dies-at-66.html?scp=2 &sq=reyner%20 banham&st=cse

4 Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (London: Architectural Press, 1960).

5 *Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles* (BBC TV, 1972).

6 Sutherland Lyall, 'Banham, (Peter) Reyner (1922–1988)', rev. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn., May 2008. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39982, accessed 30 January 2017. The Courtauld in the immediate post-war years was dominated by Anthony Blunt, its director from 1947. Although much of its teaching was still firmly in the English tradition of empirical and connoisseurial art history, Blunt himself had some interest in the German tradition and his first appointment was of the one-time Marxist and Vienna-school art historian, Johannes Wilde, as his deputy.

7 Pevsner was then employed at Birkbeck College but Banham had access to him through the overarching University of London. Banham came into contact with Giedion during his undergraduate degree. The Oedipal quality of Banham's relationship with Pevsner has been described in various sources, including Anthony Vidler, 'Another Brick in the Wall', *October*, 136 (Spring 2011), p. 129. See also Jared Langevin, 'Reyner Banham', *Architectural Theory Review*, 16:1 (2011), p. 3.

8 Reyner Banham, 'Vehicles of Desire', *Arts* 1 (1 September 1955), p. 3.

9 Reyner Banham, 'The New Brutalism', *Architectural Review*, 118:708 (December 1955), pp. 355, 358–61.

10 Adrian Forty, 'One Partially Americanised European', in Louise Campbell (ed.), *Twentieth Century Architecture and its Histories* (London: SAHGB, 2000), pp. 195–206. Forty himself went to the Bartlett to study with Banham for a PhD, although he completed his studies under different supervision after Banham's move to SUNY Buffalo (conversation with Forty, 27 January 2017).

11 Whiteley, *Reyner Banham*, pp. 4–5.

12 Peter Reyner Banham, *The Theory of Modern Architecture, 1907–1927*, unpublished PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1958.

13 See Anne Massey, *The Independent Group* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) and David Robbins (ed.), *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1990).

14 Banham, 'Vehicles of Desire', p. 3.

15 Ibid.

16 Reyner Banham, 'Unlovable at Any Speed', *Architects Journal*, 144 (21 December 1966), pp. 1527–9.

17 For a convincing recent argument that New Brutalism should be understood as a movement across visual culture (understood as including architecture) rather than one limited to architecture, see Ben Highmore, *The Art of New Brutalism – Rescuing Hope from Catastrophe in 1950s Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale, 2017), especially pp. 8–16.

18 Banham, 'New Brutalism', p. 356.

19 Ibid., p. 361.

20 Ibid., p. 356.

21 Ibid., p. 358.

22 Ibid., p. 361.

23 See Anton Ehrenzweig, *The Hidden Order of Art* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967). Also Michael Fried, 'Art and Objecthood', *Artforum* (June 1967), pp. 12–23.

24 Vidler, 'Another Brick in the Wall', p. 123.

25 On gestalt and anti-gestalt in the Independent Group see Mark Crinson, 'Eye Wandering the Ceiling: Ornament and New Brutalism', *Art History*, 41:2 (April 2018), pp. 318–43.

26 Banham's interests parallel those of Roland Barthes, and his essay on the Cadillac predates Barthes's on the Citroën DS. But there is no equivalent to 'Myth Today'; the treatise is on the theory and practice of semiotics that appears at the end of *Mythologies*. See Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972).

27 The journalism was what 'paid the bills'; Banham regarded his journalistic and academic identities as separate. Mary and Ben Banham, interview with Richard J. Williams, London (8 May 2017).

28 Banham, *Theory and Design*, p. 132.

29 It was this quality of imageability that Banham probably saw as linked to the 'new art-history', particularly as manifested in Wittkower's diagrammatic analyses, Panofsky's iconography and Gombrich's psychology of perception: Crinson, 'Eye Wandering', p. 341, n. 37.

30 *Guide to Modern Architecture* (London: Architectural Press, 1962) and *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic* (London: Architectural Press, 1966)

31 Reyner Banham, 'Big Doug, Small Piece', *Architect's Journal*, 136 (1 August 1962), pp. 251–3.

32 Banham's appreciation of the Douglas company's design incidentally had a model in industrial designer W. D. Teague's 1940 appreciation of the piston-engined DC-3 airliner. See William Dorwin Teague, *Design This Day* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1940). Copy of pp. 142–3, annotated by Banham in Banham papers, Getty, 91009.

33 Reyner Banham, 'The Education of the Environmentalist', International Design Conference at Aspen, *Environment by Design*, (1970), p. 54. For the School's defining statement, and the place of history within it, see Richard Llewellyn Davies, 'The Education of an Architect', *RIBAJ* (January 1961), pp. 118–20.

34 Reyner Banham, unpublished private memoir, undated (1973), Banham papers, Getty, 91009. 'Myself I finally got to Aspen in 1963 after a false alarm when I nearly got invited in 1959. Even so I only got there by means of a certain amount of self promotion and conning Peter Blake, that year's program chairman, into inviting me under slightly false pretences.'

35 For more on Paepke, and Aspen in general, see James Sloan Allen, *The Romance of Commerce and Culture* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2002).

36 Peter Blake, letter to Banham (13 October 1969), Banham papers, Getty, 91009. Blake refers to a positive review of the book in advance of publication. The description is affectionate, but revealing.

37 Reyner Banham, *The Architecture of the Well-Tempered Environment* (London: Architectural Press, 1969), p. 13.

38 Banham, *Well-Tempered Environment*, p. 9.

39 Ibid., p. 11.

40 Ibid., p. 266.

41 Ibid., p. 11.

42 Ibid., p. 14.

43 Ibid., p. 208.

44 Ibid., p. 129.

45 Ibid., p. 130.

46 Ibid., p. 178.

47 Ibid., p. 186.

48 Pierre Francastel, *Art and Technology in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1956), trans. Randall Cherry (New York: Zone Books, 2000).

49 Banham, *Well-Tempered Environment*, p. 80.

50 Ibid., p. 83.

51 Whiteley, *Reyner Banham*, pp. 253–60.

52 Ibid., pp. 12–24.

53 Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (London: Penguin, 1972). On Banham's interest in ecological issues see Michael Osman, 'Banham's Historical Ecology', in Mark Crinson and Claire Zimmerman (eds.), *Neo-avant-garde and Postmodern: Postwar Architecture in Britain and Beyond – Studies in British Art 21* (New Haven and London: Yale Center for British Art and Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2010), pp. 231–50.

54 Whiteley, *Reyner Banham*, p. 225.

55 *Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles* (BBCTV, 1972).

56 Banham, *Los Angeles*, p. 36; Whiteley, *Reyner Banham*, p. 227.

57 Banham, 'Unlovable at Any Speed', p. 1529.

58 Banham, *Los Angeles*, p. 23.

59 Robert Smithson, 'A Tour of the Monuments of Passaic', *Artforum* 6:4 (December 1967), pp. 48–51; Robert Venturi, Denise Scott-Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1972). We should also place Banham's interest within a range of recent British, specifically Independent Group and post-Independent Group, musings on car culture: from the Smithsons' dismay at what traffic was doing to working-class culture (in the early 1950s), to their attempt to solve London's traffic problems with a net of urban motorways (in 1959), to Alison Smithson's eventual book (in 1983) extolling the pleasures of driving, and including Richard Hamilton's 1950s fascination with the car as fetishized object of desire.

60 Reported in Whiteley, *Reyner Banham*, p. 228.

61 For a gloss on picturesque and urban design, see Richard J. Williams, *The Anxious City* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 25–53.

62 This mode of reflection on the car as a frame for passing landscape can also be found in Michael Fried's canonic essay of 1967, 'Art and Objecthood', where he analysed the sculptor Tony Smith's account of a drive on the New Jersey Turnpike and his experience of the landscape as framed in the windscreen: Michael Fried, 'Art and Objecthood', *Artforum* (June 1967), republished in Gregory Battcock (ed.), *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology* (New York: Dutton, 1968).

63 Banham, *Los Angeles*, p. 24.

64 John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 2002).

65 Reyner Banham, *Scenes in America Deserta* (London: Thames and Hudson 1982). The book is loosely based on Charles Doughty's 1888 travelogue, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*.

66 Reyner Banham, 'The Becher Vision', in Bernd and Hilla Becher (eds), *Water Towers* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 7–8.

67 Barbara Penner, 'The Man Who Wrote Too Well', *Places Journal* (September 2015). https://placesjournal.org/article/future- archive-the-man-who- wrote-too-well/

68 Reyner Banham, *A Concrete Atlantis* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1986), pp. 9–11.

69 Banham, *Concrete Atlantis*, p. 15.

70 Ibid., p. 9.

71 For new art history takes on the picturesque, see David Solkin, *Richard Wilson: The Landscape of Reaction* (London: Tate Publishing, 1982) and Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).

72 For a summary of Buffalo's economic fortunes in the twentieth century, see 'Back in Business', *The Economist* (30 June 2012). http://www.economist.com/node/21557797#

73 Erwin Panofsky, 'The Ideological Antecedents of the Rolls-Royce Radiator', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 107:4 (15 August 1963), pp. 273–88.

74 Osman, 'Banham's Historical Ecology', p. 233.

75 Banham, *Aspen Papers*.

76 Jean Baudrillard, 'The Environmental Witch-Hunt', Banham, *Aspen Papers*, pp. 208–10.

77 Banham, *Aspen Papers*, p. 207.

78 For more on Banham and politics at Aspen 1970 and beyond, see Whiteley, *Reyner Banham*, pp. 264, 265, 289.

79 Peter Plagens, 'Los Angeles: The Ecology of Evil', *Artforum* (December 1972), pp. 67–76.

80 Plagens, 'Los Angeles', p. 76.

Chapter 5

1 A. L. Rees and Frances Borzello (eds), *The New Art History* (London: Camden Press, 1986).

2 Neil McWilliam and Alex Potts, 'The Landscape of Reaction', in Rees and Borzello, *The New Art History*, pp. 115 ff. The case study is the Tate's exhibition of Richard Wilson; the Marxist catalogue essay by David Solkin was controversial.

3 Adrian Rifkin, 'Art's Histories', in Rees and Borzello, *The New Art History*, p. 162.

4 Ibid., p. 8.

5 Clark, 'The Conditions of Artistic Creation', pp. 561–2.

6 Ibid., p. 562.

7 Ibid., p. 561.

8 The June 1976 edition of the SAH *Newsletter* however describes the arrangements for the last joint conference, held in Los Angeles. Here the organizations occupied two different hotels, the Biltmore (SAH) and the

Hilton (CAA), with a shuttle bus between the two. It was in effect two entirely separate conferences. *Newsletter of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XX, 3 (June 1976), p. 1. See also Marvin Trachtenberg, 'Some Observations on Recent Architectural History,' *Art Bulletin* 70:2 (June 1988), pp. 208–41. In Britain, the Society of Architectural Historians was founded in 1956, initially as a chapter of the American Society of Architectural Historians. It was a disciplinary-specific society concerned with empirical and antiquarian approaches, little interested in the German tradition or even (until recent years) in modern architecture or architecture outside Britain. The professional separation of design history from art history was in part another aspect of the same critique of art history that had energized the new art history; thus the journal *Block* was an important catalyst for the separation. Again, however, architectural history was not seriously engaged in this debate even though some of its major writers had deep engagements with design history (Giedion, Pevsner, Banham, and more recently Tim Benton and Adrian Forty). For a contemporary account of these issues see Clive Dilnot, 'The State of Design History. Part I: Mapping the Field' and 'The State of Design History. Part II: Problems and Possibilities', *Design Issues*, 1:1 (Spring 1984), pp. 4–23 and 1:2 (Autumn 1984), pp. 3–20.

9 For more on the institutional background, see Lisa Tickner, *Hornsey 1968: The Art School Revolution* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2008); Kate Sloan, *Systems in the Post-war Art School: Basic Design, Groundcourse and Hornsey*, unpublished University of Edinburgh PhD thesis (2014).

10 The situation was somewhat different in Germany, where the journal *Kritische Berichte* (launched in 1974) led an equivalent movement in art history and published articles on architectural history as well as on history of photography and the fine arts.

11 T. J. Clark's manifesto statement of his approach was his introductory chapter 'On the Social History of Art', in *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1973), pp. 9–20 (the quote about the public as prescience is on p. 15). The best examples of social histories of architecture contemporary to Clark's earlier work, if unaffected by it, were those of Mark Girouard: see for example his *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1978). A new wave of social histories of architecture and design, often inspired by Michel Foucault's theories of power and Roland Barthes's structuralism, emerged in the 1980s: Examples include Anthony D. King (ed.), *Buildings and Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984); Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society Since* 1750 (London and New York: Thames & Hudson, 1986); and Thomas Markus, *Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993). Markus and King also launched 'Architext', a series of Routledge books with a particular interest in postcolonialism and other recent social and cultural theory.

12 Clark, 'On the Social History of Art', p. 18.

13 The work of Manfredo Tafuri and the Venice School of architectural historians and theorists was entirely absent from consideration by the New Art History.

Perhaps symptomatic is the statement from the editorial preface to a recent compilation on Marxist art history that 'a certain narrowness of focus – architecture and the issue of the capitalist city – has prevented this scholarship from serving as a model beyond these respective fields. Isolated within the academic context of their country, the most important resonances of the Venice School have been felt, as is often the case, in North America, and there more in schools of architecture than within the field of art history': Warren Carter, Barnaby Haran, and Frederic J. Schwarz, 'Preface', in Warren Carter, Barnaby Haran, and Frederic J. Schwarz (eds.), *Renew Marxist Art History* (London: Art Books, 2013), pp. 12–13. This lack of interest in architectural history can also be found in those more recent accounts of Marxist art history and the social history of art that have re-connected contemporary concerns to those of the moment of the New Art History (and before): Andrew Hemingway, 'New Left Art History's International', in Andrew Hemingway (ed.), *Marxism and the History of Art* (London and Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006), pp. 175–95; Warren Carter, 'Introduction – Towards a History of the Marxist History of Art', in Carter, Haran, and Schwarz (eds.), *Renew Marxist Art History*, pp. 14–28. One exception here is Day, *Dialectical Passions*.

14 Rees and Borzello, *The New Art History*, p. 55. The DHSS was the now abolished Department of Health and Social Security, responsible for unemployment benefit payments.

15 Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 7.

16 Harris, *The New Art History*, p. 25.

17 Ibid., p. 20.

18 Ibid., p. 78.

19 Ibid., p. 78.

20 Ibid., p. 162.

21 Ibid., p. 176.

22 John A. Walker, 'Teaching Art History the Nitty Gritty', *Block*, 1 (1979), p. 1.

23 Jon Bird, 'Art History and Hegemony', in Block, *The Block Reader in Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. xii

24 Sam Bibby has suggested a range of sources for *Block*'s title and design, including the early Soviet magazines *Lef* and *Ma*, the 1920s Polish magazine *Blok*, and a range of avant-garde and left-wing magazines of the 1960s and 70s: Sam Bibby, '"New! Art … Plus Added Social Purpose": BLOCK and the Magazine as Collage in Late-1970s Britain', paper delivered at Birkbeck College, November 2016.

25 Walker, 'Teaching Art History the Nitty Gritty', p. 2.

26 Bird, 'Art History and Hegemony', p. 80.

27 Ibid., p. 287.

28 Ibid., p. 5.

29 Ibid., p. 189.

30 Ibid., p. 265.

31 Fredric Jameson, 'Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism', *New Left Review*, 146 (July–August 1984). For an account of the Bonaventure Hotel in theory and practice, see Richard J. Williams, *Sex and Buildings* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), pp. 128–45.

32 Confirmed in conversations with Jonathan Harris and Fred Orton in 2017.

33 T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985).

34 Ibid., p. 9. The key text is Guy Debord, *La Société du Spectacle* (Paris: Buchet-Chastell, 1967).

35 Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life,* p. 9.

36 Ibid., p. 9 (Clark's emphasis). Clark's understanding of the spectacle as having a primarily architectural/environmental form is notably different from other Anglophone writers who, as Toscano and Kinkle have pointed out, tend to understand it within the spheres of the media and consumption: Alberto Toscano and Jeff Kinkle, *Cartographies of the Absolute* (Winchester and Washington: Zero Books, 2015), pp. 28–32.

37 Guy Debord, 'Perspectives de modifications conscientes dans la vie quotidienne', *Internationale Situationiste*, 6 (August 1961) pp. 20–7.

38 For more on the architectural and urbanistic dimensions of Situationism see Simon Sadler, *The Situationist City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998).

39 Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life*, p. 23.

40 Ibid., p. 24.

41 Ibid., p. 25. The painting is in a private collection.

42 Ibid., p. 25.

43 Ibid., p. 30.

44 Ibid., p. 29.

45 Ibid., p. 37.

46 Ibid., p. 42.

47 Ibid., p. 59.

48 Ibid., p. 69.

49 Ibid., p. 47.

50 Ibid., pp. 71–2.

51 Ibid., p. 37.

52 Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 50–90. Feminist critiques of the German tradition have been rare, but see Margaret Iverson, 'Retrieving Warburg's Tradition', in Preziosi (ed.), *The Art of Art History*, pp. 215–26.

53 Janet Wolff, 'The Invisible *Flaneuse*: Women and the Literature of Modernity', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 2:3 (1985) pp. 37–46.

54 Griselda Pollock, 'Vision, Voice, and Power: Feminist Art History and Marxism', *Block*, 6 (1982), pp. 2–21.

55 Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, p. 53.

56 Ibid., p. 54.

57 For a critique of Girouard's book along these lines see Dana Arnold, *Reading Architectural History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 140–2.

58 Pollock, *Vision and Difference*, p. 54.

59 Ibid, pp. 62–3.

60 See Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1981); the two special issues on 'Gender and Architecture', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 55:2 and 55:3 (November 2001 and February 2002); Jane Rendell, Barbara Pender, and Iain Borden (eds), *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000); Louise Durning and Richard Wrigley (eds), *Gender and Architecture* (Chichester: John Wiley, 1996); Hilde Heynen and Gülsüm Baydar (eds), *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).

61 Beatriz Colomina, 'The Split Wall: Domestic Voyeurism', in Beatriz Colomina (ed.), *Sexuality and Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), pp. 73–98.

62 Deborah Cherry, entry on Elizabeth Siddal's 'The Lady of Shalott', in Alan Bowness (ed.), *The Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Tate Gallery/Penguin Books, 1984), p. 266.

63 See the essays in Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (eds), *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002).

64 Jessica Ellen Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890–1915* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), p. 169.

65 Helen Hills, *Invisible City: The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth Century Neapolitan Convents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Chapter 6

1 Neil Leach, *Rethinking Architecture – A Reader on Cultural Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).

2 As Warren Carter has pointed out, Craig Owens's article 'The Allegorical Impulse: Towards a Theory of Postmodernism', *October* 12 (Spring 1980), pp. 67–86, was particularly significant in this regard: Carter, 'Introduction', p. 28, n. 67.

3 Rosalind Krauss, *The Optical Unconscious* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1993).

4 See *Artforum* (November 1974). The advertisement was intended by the artist as a feminist response to Robert Morris's earlier one – also somewhat arresting – in which he posed in S&M garb for a Castelli gallery

retrospective. The complex background to the images (among them, the fact that Rosalind Krauss was Morris's photographer in this case) is explored in Ana Cecilia Alvarez, 'Bend it Like Benglis', *The New Inquiry* (20 October 2014). https://thenewinquiry.com/bend-it-like-benglis/

5 Lawrence Alloway, Rosalind Krauss, Joseph Maschek, and Annette Michelson, 'Letters', *Artforum* (December 1974), p. 9. Gail Day, *Dialectical Passions: Negation in Postwar Art Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), p. 134.

6 Rosalind Krauss and Annette Michelson, 'About October', *October*, 1 (Spring 1976), p. 4.

7 Krauss and Michelson, 'About October', p. 4.

8 Ibid., p. 3.

9 On formalism and structuralism see Fredric Jameson, *The Prison-House of Language: A Critical Account of Structuralism and Russian Formalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 195–216.

10 Krauss and Michelson, 'About October', p. 5.

11 Joan Copjec, correspondence with Richard J. Williams (25 August 2016).

12 Carlos Brillembourg, 'Peter Eisenman', *Bomb*, 117 (Fall 2011). http://bombmagazine.org/article/5991/peter-eisenman

13 Rosalind Krauss, 'Sculpture in the Expanded Field', *October*, 8 (Spring 1979), p. 36.

14 Daniel Buren and Thomas Repensek, 'The Function of the Studio', *October*, 10 (Autumn 1979), pp. 51–8.

15 Robert Morris, 'Notes on Art as Land Reclamation', *October*, 12 (Spring 1980), pp. 87–102.

16 Douglas Crimp, 'On the Museum's Ruins', *October*, 13 (Summer 1980), pp. 41–57; 'Sculpture Exceeded', *October*, 18 (Autumn 1981), pp. 67–78.

17 Jean Baudrillard, 'The Beaubourg Effect: Implosion and Deterrence', *October*, 20 (Spring 1982), pp. 3–13; Bernhard Leitner and Sophie Wilkins, 'Albert Speer, the Architect from a Conversation of July 21, 1978', *October*, 20 (Spring 1982), pp. 14–50.

18 Yve-Alain Bois, 'A Picturesque Stroll Around Clara-Clara', *October*, 29 (Summer 1984), pp. 32–62.

19 Rosalyn Deutsche and Cara Gendel Ryan, 'The Fine Art of Gentrification', *October,* 31 (Winter 1984), pp. 91–111.

20 Walter Benjamin, 'Moscow Diary', *October*, 35 (Winter 1985), pp. 9–4; Georges Bataille and Annette Michelson, 'Slaughterhouse' and 'Smokestack', *October*, 36 (Spring 1986), pp. 11–13, 15–16; Denis Hollier, *Against Architecture: The Writings of Georges Bataille* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1992).

21 *October*, 38 (Autumn 1986), pp. 1–98.

22 Jacques-Alain Miller and Richard Miller, 'Jeremy Bentham's Panoptic Device', *October*, 41 (Summer 1987), pp. 3–29; Patricia Mainardi, 'Postmodern History at the Musée D'Orsay', *October*, 41 (Summer 1987), pp. 31–52.

23 Rosalind Krauss, 'The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum', *October*, 54 (Autumn 1990), pp. 3–17. 'Guy Debord and the Internationale Situationiste' (Special Issue), *October*, 79 (Winter 1997), pp. 1–142.

24 Hal Foster, Denis Hollier, Silvia Kolbowski, Rosalind Krauss, and Terence Riley, 'The MOMA Expansion: A Conversation with Terence Riley', *October*, 84 (Spring 1998), pp. 3–30.

25 Pamela M. Lee, 'On the Holes of History: Gordon Matta-Clark's Work in Paris', *October*, 85 (Summer 1998), pp. 65–89; Tom Burr, 'Sleazy City: 42nd Street Structures and Some Qualities of Life', *October*, 85 (Summer 1998), pp. 91–105.

26 'The Independent Group' (Special Issue), *October*, 94 (Autumn 2000), pp. 1–128.

27 Mignon Nixon, Alex Potts, Briony Fer, Antony Hudek, and Julian Stallabrass, 'Round Table: Tate Modern', *October*, 98 (Autumn 2001), pp. 3–25.

28 *October*, 106 (2003), pp. 1–50.

29 'New Brutalism', Special Issue, *October*, 136 (Spring 2011), pp. 1–191; Hassanaly Ladha, 'Hegel's *Werkmeister*: Architecture, Architectonics, and the Theory of History', *October*, 139 (Winter 2012), pp. 15–38; 'Occupy Wall Street' (Special Issue), *October*, 142 (Fall 2012), pp. 1–161.

30 Yve-Alain Bois, Michel Feher, Hal Foster, and Eyal Weizman, 'On Forensic Architecture: A Conversation with Eyal Weizman', *October*, 156 (Spring 2016), pp. 116–40.

31 The same, incidentally, can be said about *October*'s one foray into trade publishing, the monumental *Art Since 1900*. Hal Foster, Yve-Alain Bois, Rosalind Krauss, Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, *Art Since 1900* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004).

32 Krauss, 'Sculpture in the Expanded Field', *October*, 8 (Spring 1979), pp. 30–44.

33 Michael Fried. 'Art and Objecthood', *Artforum* (June 1967), republished in Gregory Battcock (ed.), *Minimal Art: A Critical Anthology* (New York: Dutton, 1968).

34 Leo Steinberg, 'Other Criteria', in *Other Criteria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 55–91.

35 Krauss, 'Sculpture in the Expanded Field', p. 36.

36 Ibid., p. 41.

37 Bois, 'A Picturesque Stroll Around Clara-Clara'.

38 Ibid., pp. 38–9.

39 Ibid., p. 40.

40 Crimp, 'Sculpture Exceeded'.

41 Clara Weyergraf-Serra and Martha Buskirk, *The Destruction of Tilted Arc: Documents* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1991).

42 Weyergraf-Serra and Buskirk, *The Destruction of Tilted Arc*, p. 73.

43 Ibid., p. 91.

44 Weyergraf-Serra, *Destruction*, p. 103.

45 Ibid., p, 91.

46 Krauss and Michelson, 'About October', p. 3.

47 Baudrillard, 'Beaubourg Effect', p. 9.

48 Ibid.

49 Beatriz Colomina, 'Friends of the Future: A Conversation with Peter Smithson', *October*, 94 (Fall 2000), pp. 3–30.

50 Both essays can be found in K. Michael Hays, *Oppositions Reader* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), pp. 400–24.

51 Bataille and Michelson, 'Slaughterhouse' and 'Smokestack'.

52 Ibid.

53 Daniel Buren, 'The Function of the Studio', *October*, 10 (Autumn 1979), pp. 51–8.

54 Douglas Crimp, 'The Art of Exhibition', *October*, 30 (Autumn 1984), pp. 49–81.

55 Crimp, 'The Art of Exhibition'.

56 Ibid., p. 5.

57 Ibid., p. 9.

58 Ibid., p. 20.

59 Nixon et al., 'Tate Modern'.

60 Ibid., p. 25.

61 For example, Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740–1860* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986).

62 Nixon et al., 'Tate Modern', p. 24.

63 On the way that *October* acted to absorb and dilute Marxist art theory see Carter, 'Introduction', pp. 23–4.

64 Colomina, 'Friends of the Future'.

65 Stan Allen and Hal Foster, 'A Conversation with Kenneth Frampton', *October*, 106 (Fall 2003), pp. 35–58.

66 Hal Foster, *The Art-Architecture Complex* (London and New York: Verso, 2011).

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