

b. regards des vanguardes au 2<sup>e</sup> par un  
 c. problème de continuité de la modernité  
 une unifiée & heterogeneous experiments  
 a difficulty genealogical & origins?

## INTRODUCTION

*What has been the influence of contemporary architectural historians on the history of contemporary architecture?*

—Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism"

In this book I am concerned with the various ways in which architectural historians in the decades after the Second World War began to assess the legacy of the avant-gardes in order to attempt a coherent narrative of the development of modernism. In the search for a unified vision of modernity following the heterogeneous experiments of the avant-gardes in the first quarter of the twentieth century, historians played a decisive role, defining early twentieth-century programs, forms, and styles in such a way as to imply possible continuities with the present. While there have been an increasing number of studies on the historiography of modernism in recent years, opening up fields of investigation into the value of viewing history as a participant in the history it recounts, I am interested in the ways in which histories of modernism themselves were constructed as more or less overt programs for the theory and practice of design in their contemporary context. That is, whether or not the "origins" of modernism were traced to earlier moments in the Renaissance, mannerist, baroque, or revivalist periods, each genealogy, itself

← that is not the case of Tafelberg

Louis

Baroque

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different from historians of art  
than p/o present

based on art historical theories of style, society, space, and form, proposed a different way of looking at the present and its potential; each, that is, conceived within the dominant paradigms of abstraction, was susceptible to use by architects seeking a way to confront the social and cultural crises of the postwar period without losing sight of the principles that had inspired the early modernists.

Over the last few decades, architectural history has emerged as decidedly problematic for an architecture that, ostensibly at least, was from the beginning of the twentieth century dedicated to the suspension if not the eradication of historical references in favor of a universalized abstraction. What has been called "the return of historicism" by Nikolaus Pevsner, "postmodernism" by Charles Jencks, or "hypermodernism" by Manfredo Tafuri revealed in citations and renewed appeals to the authority of historical architecture, on the assumption that abstraction, the language of international modernism, had failed to gain popular acceptance, and was in any case essentially antihumanist.

Such a revivalism posed a problem for historians and critics. On the one hand, historians were again in demand, as much as they had been in the premodernist period, to provide authorization and depth to present practice. The idea of "type," to give one central example—an idea that stemmed from the need to rethink the tabula rasa planning strategies of the 1950s and to respect the internal formal and social structure of cities—was traced back to its theoretical roots in the eighteenth century.

This state of affairs modified what had been the dominant question for historians in the period of the high modern movement. Where, then, history was regarded with great suspicion as a potential harbinger of stylistic revival, now history was increasingly embedded in curricula and critical discourses. This history was no longer the "history" of the 1920s with its teleological vision of modern abstraction overcoming the "styles." It was both more

dispassionate attitude of the  
critical historian?

academically correct according to the standards of art historical scholarship and more broadly based in interdisciplinary studies, linking it to the interpretative strategies of structuralism and poststructuralism. In the academy, the postmodernism of intellectual debates converged with the postmodernism detected in architectural practice; theory emerged as an almost separate discipline and, together with history in its most responsible forms, became more and more detached from design. For many historians and critics, like Manfredo Tafuri, this was as it should be: what Tafuri called "operative" criticism had been, in his terms, an obstacle since the seventeenth century to the dispassionate view of architecture demanded of the truly critical historian. In this ascription, historians should avoid espousing any particular tendency in contemporary architecture. But for others, this represented a dereliction of the social and political duty of the critic to engage the present with the full weight of past experience.

While more recently the acerbic debates between so-called modernists and postmodernists have softened a little, in favor of a generalized "late modern" position that joins technological expression to iconographic form, the question for history, and thereby for historians, remains. What, in short, does the architectural historian do, not qua historian, but for architects and architecture? Or, to put it more theoretically, What kind of work does or should architectural history perform for architecture, and especially for contemporary architecture? This of course is a version of the commonplace refrain, How is history "related" to design? Is it useful? And if so, in what ways?

This question is a relatively new one; for much of architectural history, history was not a problem for architecture—or rather, instead of being a "problem" per se, the questions surrounding history were a solution for the discipline. From the Renaissance to the mid-nineteenth century, that is, from the moment when medieval tradition was gradually but self-consciously replaced by

parallelism  
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de l'art et  
de l'histoire

postmodernism  
intellectual  
& practical  
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is or is not



the historical revival of antiquity, history supplied the very stuff of architecture. To that end, more or less without exception, the historian was the architect: from Alberti to Schinkel, it was the architect's responsibility to write the history that would authorize both precedent and innovation. Schinkel's unfinished lifework, *Das architektonische Lehrbuch*, was possibly the last in this long line of quasi-historical justifications of design. The emergence of the professional architectural historian, from James Fergusson, Jacob Burckhardt, Heinrich Wölfflin, Wilhelm Worringer, August Schmarsow, to Paul Frankl, marked the development of scholarly academic art history out of the scholarly revision of architectural history—until the sense of the "modern," allied with an emerging sense of "abstraction" and "form" guided by new structural imperatives, gave architects the sense of a break so complete with the "historical styles" that history itself became suspect.

Of course, history did not go away for modernism: rather, it became all the more essential on at least three levels—first, to demonstrate the fundamental antiquity of the old way of building; then, to tell the story of the prehistory of modernism as it emerged out of the old; and finally, with the help of abstract ideas of form and space, to be redrawn as a continuing process of invention and a repertory of formal and spatial moves.

To an extent, this condition held firm through the 1940s and 1950s, especially in academia, where historians like Bruno Zevi and Reyner Banham were appointed to chairs in architectural history in architecture schools. But it was also during this immediate post-World War II period that questions began to be asked about the continuing usefulness of history, traditional or modernist. For during these years the largely unselfconscious energies that had fueled the first- and second-generation modernists were themselves gradually subjected to the inevitable process of historicization. Indeed, as Fredric Jameson has pointed out,

"modernism" itself as a concept and ideology—modernism as we tend to know it today—was largely a product of those postwar years, as critics and historians such as Clement Greenberg were building a coherent and systematized version of "modernism" founded on their interpretation of art from Manet to Pollock.<sup>1</sup>

In the same way, in architecture, around the mid 1950s the status of history was thrown into doubt and its uses rendered questionable by the very history of the modern movement that had been written by its historians—Pevsner, Hitchcock and Johnson, and Giedion, to name just a few. Once relegated to the status of "history," modern architecture itself was susceptible to academicization, even to revival. And it was the revival of modern architecture as style in the 1950s and 1960s—what later critics were to see as the first instances of a "postmodernism"—that so disturbed the historians and critics who, like Sigfried Giedion and Nikolaus Pevsner in the 1930s and 1940s, had tried to write the history of modernism in a partisan, if not propagandistic, mode.

It is this moment that I want to examine, and through the lens of four of its most trenchant critics. For, in the debates about the effects of history on practice that enlivened the architectural scene in Europe and the United States in those decades, we can, I think, begin to set the groundwork for our own thinking about history, its uses and abuses, as Nietzsche once put it. Banham was one of the first to ask the question: "What has been the influence of contemporary architectural historians on the history of contemporary architecture?" He answered it himself, noting, "They have created the idea of a Modern Movement. . . . And beyond that they have offered a rough classification of the 'isms' which are the thumb-print of Modernity."<sup>2</sup>

The first scholarly examinations of modern architecture began to appear in the late 1920s. Adolf Behne's *Der moderne Zweckbau* (1926), Adolf Platz's *Die Baukunst der neuesten Zeit* (1927),



Sigfried Giedion's *Bauen in Frankreich* (1928), and Bruno Taut's *Modern Architecture* (1929), among many other collections, began the process of assembling the evidence and developing the criteria for "modernity," based on which Henry-Russell Hitchcock's *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (1929), Walter Curt Behrendt's *Modern Building* (1937), Nikolaus Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* (1936), and Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (1941) were able to construct more or less coherent narratives of origin and development.<sup>3</sup> Although almost all shared a common aversion to the word "history" as inimical to modern ideals, nevertheless, as Panayotis Tournikiotis has shown, these narratives shared a common concept of history as a determining, unfolding force, capable of articulating questions of the past, present, and future of architecture, as well as a belief in some form of sociocultural *zeitgeist* that, if correctly identified, equally determines the respective "modernity" or nonmodernity of the work.<sup>4</sup> History might lead architecture to modernity, but once there it was to be cast off, like the "styles" vilified by Le Corbusier in *Vers une architecture*.<sup>5</sup>

They were also extremely partial narratives, developing their genealogies from moments in the past that seemed to them starting points that would justify the specific contemporary practices they supported or admired. Thus Hitchcock, in *Romanticism and Reintegration*, sought the roots of his beloved "New Tradition" in the late eighteenth century, and was uneasy as well as excited by the work of the "New Pioneers," whom he saw as at once going beyond and disturbing the rationalism of Frank Lloyd Wright, Otto Wagner, Peter Behrens, and Auguste Perret. Pevsner, in *Pioneers of the Modern Movement*, focused on the relations between Britain and Germany, seeing the origins of Gropius's rational-functionalism in the Arts and Crafts movement and conveniently ignoring the French contribution, while Giedion failed to include

transformation of modernism  
in architectural history

more than a mention of Mies van der Rohe in his *Space, Time and Architecture*, preferring instead to leap from the baroque movement to that encapsulated in Le Corbusier's villas of the 1920s.

But whatever their partialities, these pioneer works accomplished what the modernist architects themselves feared the most: the historicizing of modernism. Indeed, by 1940 modern architecture had become fully assimilated into the art historical canon and given its place in the history of the "styles." Where once Le Corbusier had declared the end of "The Styles" and Mies van der Rohe had rejected academic art history in favor of "building-art," now Hitchcock was rewriting the entire style history of architecture to define what he called an "International Style modeled on the spread of Gothic in the 12th century"; Pevsner was drawing a temporal line around something identifiable called the "Modern Movement"; and Giedion was articulating the relations and historical developments that tied together a modern vision and former styles.

Whether modern architecture was seen to begin with the baroque, classicism, neoclassicism, nineteenth-century eclecticism, or Arts and Crafts revivalism, the floodgates were now opened for a host of competing narratives, a variety of historically based modernisms, and several versions of a possible "unity" of style characterizing the "modern." Further, such a widening of historical reference and roots meant that the history of modern architecture was as dependent on the historians of other ages as it was on its own specialists: as modernity was defined, so its precedents were isolated—and vice versa, allowing historians of the Renaissance, the baroque, as well as those of the newly defined mannerist and neoclassical periods to refer to contemporary tendencies, if not define their own "styles" as a conscious or unconscious response to contemporary tendencies.

For what united all these historical essays of modernity with all other historical work in architecture was their common basis



in a method that had emerged toward the end of the nineteenth century, a method that relied not so much on the identification of "stylistic" motifs as on the comparison of forms—masses, volumes, surfaces—in the abstract. Beginning with Alois Riegl's formal interpretation of ornament and his conceptual history of spatial vision, continuing with Heinrich Wölfflin's psychological analysis of form and studies of the Renaissance and baroque periods, and culminating in the spatial construction of history by August Schmarsow, the architecture of all periods was seen as a series of typical formal-spatial combinations, each tied to specific epochal "wills" or "drives," and each comparable to the next in a natural history of morphological transformation.<sup>6</sup> What the clues offered by the shapes of eaves or drapery movements were to art historians like Bernard Berenson and Aby Warburg, so spatial form was to architectural historians.

Such a history, defining itself as more a history of space than a history of style, was not only commensurate with modernism's own aspirations but began to define an approach particular to an architectural history as it developed its disciplinary identity out of art history in general. Where, for Burckhardt and Wölfflin, architectural history formed an integral part of art history, if not a foundational and constructive object of its study, with the emergence of spatial analysis the three-dimensional characteristics of architecture began to set it apart, first from the visual and two-dimensional forms of painting, then from the equally visual but also empathetically haptic reception of sculpture as investigated by Adolf von Hildebrand.<sup>7</sup> Thus, Paul Frankl, in his 1914 study of the phases of development of modern building, set out to articulate a specific analytical method for architecture based on the identification of spatial form as it was inflected by structure, movement, and use.<sup>8</sup> His categories of spatial form (*Raumform*), corporeal form (*Körperform*), visible form (*Bildform*), and purposive intention (*Zweckgesinnung*) were then calibrated with each

other in a chronology according to four phases of "development": Renaissance, baroque, rococo, and neoclassicism.

Perhaps most important to our argument, however, is Frankl's innovative attempt to develop diagrams of spatial organization. Whereas art historians had often described "virtual" diagrams of the temporal development of history, architectural historians like James Fergusson and César Daly had depicted temporal progress in diagram form, and historians of structure from Viollet-le-Duc to Auguste Choisy had adopted the axonometric projection to present plan, section, and volumetric form simultaneously, no historian until Frankl had conceived of a comparative taxonomy of diagrammed spaces, with their separate units, the rhythm of their bay structure, their interconnections, and potential movements between them joined in a single, simplified summary of the building.

This taxonomy differed from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century comparative presentations of type as in Julien-David Le Roy's comparative plans of religious buildings or Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand's more complete historical "parallel," in that the notions of distribution and character that informed these earlier comparisons were directly related to plan form and effect. Frankl, by contrast, was working with an idea of spatial dynamics drawn from the psychology of Robert Vischer,<sup>9</sup> the baroque spatial studies of August Schmarsow, the psychological interpretations of Wölfflin, and later from the findings of gestalt psychologists. For Frankl, space has its own distinct relationships to movement, and the relations among spatial units have their rhythms and flows. Diagramming such relations would establish the essential formal characteristics of the object in its place in history and, through comparative analysis, trace the shifts between one phase of architectural development and the next. Through Frankl, architectural history gained its special form of representation, one that sought a diagram in each temporal moment and that was easily taken up

It is interesting to see that within the very definition of style labelled by Wölfflin as an aesthetic figure there is not such a reference to space  
many volumes space - regular ornamental - finding



by architects themselves as they attempted to incorporate history into their own more abstract designs.<sup>10</sup>

In this process, which might be called the "diagramming" of history, it is possible to trace the reciprocal influence of abstraction as it emerges as a force in art and architecture and the exploration of more "scientific" methods in art history. Where modern architecture desires to shake off the stylistic eclecticism of the nineteenth century, modern art history obliges with a counterstylistic mode of analysis that emphasizes perception, experience, and psychological effect on the one hand, and basic formal attributes on the other. In this sense, Frankl's *Die Entwicklungsphasen der neueren Baukunst* (1914) appears as the architectural counterpart to Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915)—a relationship stressed by the title given to the later translation of Frankl's book: *Principles of Architectural History*.<sup>11</sup>

Given the preoccupation of the early generation of architectural historians with the Renaissance, it was no accident that the first histories of modernism were written by historians who had followed Riegl and Wölfflin in exploring the new territory of the baroque and its seeming extension into the modern period. Wölfflin had already shown his distaste for the baroque, seeing it as the first indication of the spatial dissemination characteristic of the modern period: "One can hardly fail to recognize the affinity that our own age in particular bears to the Italian Baroque. A Richard Wagner appeals to the same emotions."<sup>12</sup> Refusing Wölfflin's rejection of the baroque as "formless art," Giedion in his thesis *Spätbarocker und romantischer Klassicismus* (1922)—a work that relied methodologically on Riegl's *Spätromische Kunstindustrie* (1901) even as it supplied the burthen of Hitchcock's *Romanticism and Reintegration*—began to fill the void left by Wölfflin between the baroque and the modern. Pevsner's first book, a detailed history of Leipzig baroque published in 1928 and based on his dissertation of 1924 (written at the University of Leipzig

under Wilhelm Pinder), was explicitly indebted to Schmarsow's studies of baroque and rococo architecture.<sup>13</sup> His later studies in mannerism and the picturesque were directly tied to his belief that these styles prefigured modernism. Emil Kaufmann, student of Riegl and Dvořák, formed his conception of a "revolution" in architecture around 1800 out of his conviction that the generation of Ledoux and Boullée anticipated the modernism of Loos, Le Corbusier, and Neutra.

The enforced emigration of German and Austrian scholars in the 1930s brought these discussions to the attention of British and American audiences, giving a sense of historical legitimacy to a modern movement hitherto largely confined to the Continent. Emil Kaufmann, briefly in England and then taking up residence in the United States in 1940; Nikolaus Pevsner in England from 1933; Rudolf Wittkower moving to London in 1934 to join the Warburg Institute newly reestablished from Hamburg; these scholars and more, quickly integrated into the Anglo-Saxon intellectual culture of their hosts, were to provide the stimulus for a complete reevaluation of modernist history after 1945, as they gained an English-language readership hitherto denied them. Emil Kaufmann, hosted by Philip Johnson and the newly created Society of Architectural Historians in Boston, began ten years of research and publication on neoclassicism, its roots, and resonance to the present; Nikolaus Pevsner shifted his zeitgeist approach to national culture from Germany to England, and became a powerful force in contemporary architectural culture with his editorship of the *Architectural Review* after 1941; and Rudolf Wittkower, publishing his Palladian studies in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute* from 1946, began to attract the interest of a younger group of architects interested in reformulating the principles of a modernism distinct in its social and formal approach from prewar CIAM-dominated theory and practice.



The unsung progenitor of this reevaluation of modern history was Emil Kaufmann. By linking the pseudo-abstract designs of Ledoux and Boullée to the principles of the Enlightenment in his 1933 book *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier*, Kaufmann gave a depth to the idea of modernism that appealed to those wishing to sustain the inheritance of Le Corbusier, but needing to plumb new sources of rationalism in the face of its apparent betrayal in the postwar work at Ronchamp. Kaufmann's influence initially touched Philip Johnson in the early 1940s, endowing Johnson's own traduction of Mies with neoclassical overtones; later, with the posthumous (1954) publication of *Architecture in the Age of Reason*, Kaufmann won an audience in Britain and Italy, specifically with Colin Rowe and Aldo Rossi. Rowe himself was especially open to Kaufmann's thesis, having in 1947 followed his teacher Wittkower in pushing back the origins of modernism even further, to the mannerist period, stressing the continuity of tradition in mathematical order and mannerist composition. Rowe's influence on contemporaries, from Alan Colquhoun to James Stirling, was profound. At the same time, Reyner Banham, in an attempt to outdo his own teacher Pevsner, offered the first scholarly assessment of modern architecture in a kind of continuation of Pevsner's *Pioneers*, treating what he called the "zone of silence" between 1914 and 1939. It is paradoxical, in retrospect, that Rowe's modernized neo-Palladianism, at first taken up with enthusiasm by the "new brutalists," was to emerge as a foundation for Banham's own countermodern idea of the new brutalism, a stance later rejected in favor of his conclusion that the modern movement had failed in its technological aspirations.

The histories of modernism thus developed certainly rested on methodological, and often archival, bases that, from increased distance and primary research, were wider and deeper than those of their predecessors. However, their not-so-hidden agendas were, in different ways, still pointed toward contem-

porary practice. Kaufmann's Enlightenment was a clear moral fable for a renewed modern movement at a moment of serious social reaction in Germany and Austria; Rowe's modern mannerism opened the door to a variety of formal and semiotic experiments that gradually shifted the argument from new modern to postmodern; Banham's technological optimism and his call for "une architecture autre" supported brutalists, metabolists, and neofuturists. In this sense, the students of the first generation of modernist historians were as engaged in proselytizing as their teachers: from Pevsner and Giedion to Rowe and Banham, the objects of enthusiasm may have changed but not the message. History was at once source, verification, and authorization.

Among the first to criticize this "instrumental" use of history was Manfredo Tafuri, who, trained as an architect and planner, had begun his career as a historian by assessing the present state of modern historiography. Published in 1968, his essay *Teorie e storia dell'architettura* identified the profound "antihistoricism" of the modernist avant-gardes, and attempted to distinguish between the realms of criticism, theory, and history in such a way as to protect history from its complicity with practice.<sup>14</sup> His criticism was precisely aimed to those historians—Giedion, Zevi, Banham—who had seen history as instrumental in giving meaning to architecture, who had "read in late antique architecture the premises of Kahn or Wright, in mannerism those of expressionism or of the present moment, in prehistorical remains the premises of organicism or of a few 'nonformal' experiments."<sup>15</sup> Here, in his rigorous refusal of those who posed as the "Vestals" of the modern movement and his insistence on the historicization of the very instruments of criticism themselves, Tafuri attempted a demythologization of history, as complete as that assumed by his intellectual mentor Max Weber early in the twentieth century. And yet his ceaseless search for methods of analysis drawn from structuralism, psychoanalysis, semiology, and poststructuralism

created a "theory effect" that proved for architects as powerful a lure as historical reference, one apparently shielded from the pitfalls of eclecticism by "scientific" authority.

In the following chapters, I examine the historical approaches of these four modernist historians and critics: Emil Kaufmann, Colin Rowe, Reyner Banham, and Manfredo Tafuri. Each is seen in the context of his intellectual formation, the specific nature of the "modernism" advanced by his historical narrative, and the influence of these models on practice. Rather than attempt a comprehensive review of the life and work of each historian, I have preferred to concentrate on a specific moment or group of writings that brings these issues sharply into focus and particularly on the period between 1945 and 1975, a period of especial intensity in the debates over the role of history in architectural practice and education. Each of these different histories imagined modernism in a form deeply complicit with the "origin" it proposed. Thus, the modernism conceived by Kaufmann was, like the late Enlightenment projects he selected, one of pure, geometrical forms and elemental composition; that of Rowe saw mannerist ambiguity and complexity in both spatial and surface conformations; that of Banham took its cue from the technological aspirations of the futurists, but with the added demand of successful realization; that of Tafuri found its source in the apparently fatal division between technical experiment and cultural nostalgia represented respectively by Brunelleschi and Alberti. Inevitably, each spawned its own version of the contemporary "modern," and each supported, often unwittingly, a selective list of approved architects.

In conclusion, I ask the more general question of whether the continued reliance on history by architects in the second half of the twentieth century should be seen as the apparently new phase commonly called "postmodernism"—or whether modernism as a whole, and from the outset, harbored its own spatio-entropic

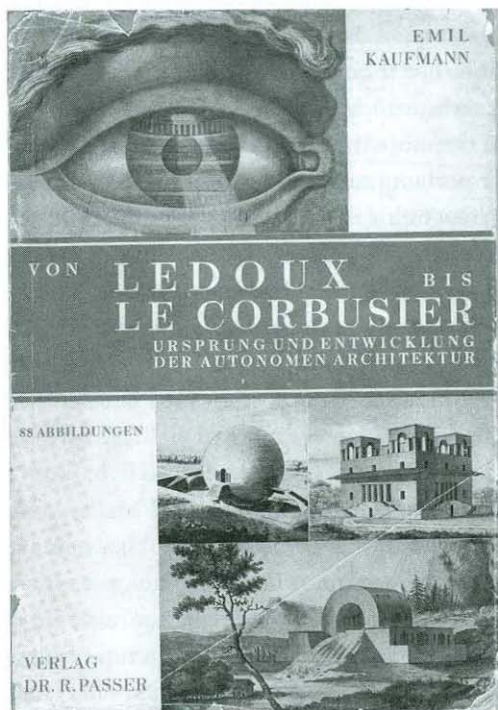
critique in what has become known since the 1860s as *posthistoire* thought, a sense of stasis and ending that matched the neo-finalism of post-Darwinist biology.

In this investigation, then, I hope to demonstrate not the pernicious effect of history on design, nor the need radically to separate the two, but rather their inevitable collusion, one that pervades all modern architectural discourse, a collusion that has given rise to some of the more interesting architectural experiments of the postwar period, including Johnson's Glass House, Stirling's Staatsgalerie, Archigram's Living City, Rossi's Città Analogia, and, more recently, Koolhaas's Kunsthalle and Eisenman's Houses I–XI, to take only a very few examples.)

to which history, which historian?  
your own approved architects?

Kaufmann  
Rowe, Banham  
Tafuri





Emil Kaufmann, *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier* (1933), cover



## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1. Fredric Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present* (London: Verso, 2002), 169. Jameson characterizes Greenberg as "that theoretician who more than any other can be credited as having invented the ideology of modernism full-blown and out of whole cloth" (ibid.).
2. Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Review* 118, no. 708 (December 1955): 355.
3. Adolf Behne, *Der moderne Zweckbau* (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1926); Gustav Adolf Platz, *Die Baukunst der neuesten Zeit* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1927); Sigfried Giedion, *Bauen in Frankreich, Bauen in Eisen, Bauen in Eisenbeton* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1928); Bruno Taut, *Modern Architecture* (London: The Studio, 1929); Walter Curt Behrendt, *Modern Building: Its Nature, Problems, and Forms* (London: Martin Hopkinson, 1937); Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (New York: Payson and Clarke, 1929); Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (London: Faber and Faber, 1936); Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941).
4. See the excellent analysis by Panayotis Tournikiotis, *The Historiography of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), which must form the basis of any serious study of the works of Pevsner, Zevi, Benevolo, Hitchcock, Collins, and Tafuri. Influenced by the semiotic structuralism of his thesis advisor Françoise Choay, Tournikiotis restricts his analysis to the structural comparison of key texts, deliberately removing any discussion of context or authors, in the belief that "the context . . . and the personalities . . . have nothing to tell us about the nature of the written discourse *per se*" (5-6). The present work, however, studies these relations specifically, understanding the writing of history, whether or not under the guise of objectivity, to form a practice immersed in the theory



and design of architecture at any one moment, within a comprehensive practice that, as it embraces all aspects of the architectural field, might properly be called its "discourse." A less "structuralist" and analytical introduction to the field is Demetri Porphyrios, ed., "On the Methodology of Architectural History," special issue of *Architectural Design* 51, no. 7 (1981), which, in its range of critical essays by historians on historians, represents an important snapshot of the field in the late 1970s.

5. The first book to use "history" in its title was in fact Bruno Zevi's *Storia dell'architettura moderna* (Turin: Einaudi, 1950); the first in English was Jürgen Joedicke's *A History of Modern Architecture*, translated by James Palmes (London: Architectural Press, 1959) from his *Geschichte der modernen Architektur: Synthese aus Form, Funktion und Konstruktion* (Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje, 1958). It is interesting to consider that both are postwar reflections on a modernity already in the past and subject to serious critique, the one written in exile in the United States, and at Harvard, where the International Style was already academicized, the other in Germany on the wreckage of modernity's darker follies; but both are by authors who sought to rescue the ideals and formal premises of modernism and set them on new democratic bases.
6. Alois Riegl, *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (Berlin: G. Siemens, 1893), and *Die spätromische Kunst-Industrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn im Zusammenhange mit der Gesamtentwicklung der bildenden Künste bei den Mittelmeervölkern* (Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staats-druckerei, 1901); Heinrich Wölfflin, *Prolegomena zu einer Psychologie des Architektur* (Munich: Dr. C. Wolf & Sohn, 1886), and *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien* (Munich: Theodor Ackermann, 1888); August Schmarsow, *Das Wesen des architektonischen Schöpfung* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1894).
7. Adolf von Hildebrand, *Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst* (Strasbourg: Heitz and Mündel, 1893), trans. Max Meyer and Robert Morris Ogden as *The Problem of Form in Painting and Sculpture* (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1907); retranslated in Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonou, eds., *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 227-279.

8. Paul Frankl, *Die Entwicklungsphasen der neueren Baukunst* (Stuttgart: Verlag B. G. Teubner, 1914).
9. Robert Vischer, *Über das optische Formgefühl: Ein Beitrag zur Aesthetik* (Leipzig: Hermann Credner, 1873).
10. See Mallgrave and Ikonou, introduction to *Empathy, Form, and Space*, 1-85; and Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).
11. Paul Frankl, *Principles of Architectural History: The Four Phases of Architectural Style, 1420-1900*, trans. and ed. James F. O'Gorman, foreword by James Ackerman (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968). The new title is an evident reference to the English translation of Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* as *Principles of Art History*.
12. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, trans. Kathrin Simon, introduction by Peter Murray (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964), 87.
13. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Leipziger Barock: Die Baukunst der Barockzeit in Leipzig* (Dresden: Wolfgang Jess, 1928). In the foreword, Pevsner thanks "Wilhelm Pinder und Franz Studniczka, Rudolf Kautzsch und Leo Bruhns, denen ich vielleicht, wenn auch nicht mehr auf Grund persönlich genossener Ausbildung, so doch auf Grund seiner für die ganze wissenschaftliche Methode dieses Buches vorbildlichen Arbeiten über das Wesen des Barockstiles, August Schmarsow anfügen darf," and refers to August Schmarsow's *Barock und Rokoko: Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung über das malerische in der Architektur* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1897), vol. II of Schmarsow's *Beiträge zur Aesthetik der bildenden Künste*.
14. Manfredo Tafuri, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura* (Rome and Bari: Edizioni Laterza, 1968; 3rd ed., 1973).
15. *Ibid.* (1973), 266; my translation. The English translation of the fourth (1976) edition of *Teorie e storia*, translated by Giorgio Verrecchia with a foreword by Dennis Sharp (London: Granada Publishing, 1980), is thoroughly unreliable and filled with omissions and mistakes. The present citation is an example, where "esperienze 'informali,'" referring to avant-garde experiments in the *informe* or "nonformal" as they had been tied back to prehistoric architectures, is rendered meaningless by the phrase "some abstract experiences."